HIGHGATE ARCHWAY

THE

HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

HIGHGATE.

"*What is said upon a subject is gathered from a hundred people.*"

DR. JOHNSON.

No. _____

J. Dawe R.A.

Leopold Lowenstam

S. T. Coleridge.

THE

HISTORY, TOPOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITIES

OF

HIGHGATE,

IN THE COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX;

With Notes

ON THE SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOOD OF

HORNSEY, CROUCH END, MUSWELL HILL, ETC.

BY

JOHN H. LLOYD,

HONORARY SECRETARY OF

THE HIGHGATE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION.

With a Map and Illustrations.

HIGHGATE:

PRINTED BY SUBSCRIPTION

ON BEHALF OF THE LIBRARY FUND, IN CELEBRATION OF

THE JUBILEE OF THE INSTITUTION.

1888.

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TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE BARONESS BURDETT-COUTTS,

AN HONOURED RESIDENT OF HIGHGATE,

WHOSE LARGE-HEARTED LIBERALITY

HAS INAUGURATED WORKS WHICH, FROM THEIR MAGNITUDE,

MAY BE CONSIDERED ALMOST

NATIONAL,

AND YET WHOSE UNOSTENTATIOUS CHARITY HAS NOT OVERLOOKED THE

PERSONAL WANTS OF

THE SUFFERING POOR,

THIS BOOK IS, BY PERMISSION,

Respectfully Dedicated,

BY HER LADYSHIP'S OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT NEIGHBOUR,

JOHN H. LLOYD.

PREFACE.

THE labour involved in compiling a volume like the present, to one unaccustomed to literary work, is so considerable that my readers might reasonably enquire, Why was it undertaken?

Having served the office of Honorary Secretary of the Highgate Literary and Scientific Institution for some twelve years, and during that time—aiming to make it a centre of local interest—collected and collated a very considerable number of prints and portraits relating to Highgate and its neighbourhood (now hung upon the walls of the reading-room of the Institution), I became the depositary of much local information, tradition, and gossip, which has given me an immense interest in the old village. This accumulated information I have been kindly and repeatedly urged to put into some permanent form.

Having but little leisure, the matter has stood over until such a time as convenience and inclination might happily meet.

When the "Jubilee fever" in connection with Her Majesty's happy reign set in, it brought to mind the fact that the Institution was founded in January 1839; therefore in January 1888 it would enter upon *its jubilee year;* and it occurred to me that such a time might be fitly celebrated on behalf of an Institution, which had given so marked an

impetus to the social and literary life of Highgate; and that the best way to acknowledge its past usefulness would be to try to make it more efficient and helpful for the future, and as the beneficent result of the Elementary Education Act was creating a new class of readers, and giving a considerable stimulus to literature and to literary pursuits, it would be a most desirable object largely to increase the library, and for that purpose, as a jubilee memorial, to try and raise the sum of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS!

This sum would purchase some FOUR THOUSAND additional books, which, added to the present number, would form an important library of TEN THOUSAND VOLUMES! I make this suggestion in the belief that the more valuable the library, the more assured is the permanence of The Literary and Scientific Institution.

With this impression, and believing that if the enterprise were fairly started it would meet a hearty response, it appeared to me that the time had *now* arrived when with a definite purpose the proposed "History of Highgate" might be written, the intention being to devote the entire surplus proceeds—after providing for cost of printing, etc.—to the Library Fund; and thus, if my plans were brought to a happy consummation, securing a not inconsiderable portion of the suggested sum.

This purpose was strengthened by a knowledge of the fact that the population of the parish of Hornsey—of which Highgate may be considered the capital—had during the last *six* years increased by FIFTEEN THOUSAND inhabitants! and this without taking into account the adjoining and interlacing districts of St. Pancras and Islington; and, further, from the lands now being laid out for building purposes, and the plans deposited almost daily at the offices of the Local Board, it was likely that a vast increase would be maintained for many years

to come, and that this army of peaceful invaders would naturally be interested in the history of the locality of their homes, and thus there would be a fair chance of the proposed book commanding a sufficient sale to fulfil the end in view.

But I candidly confess, I should not have had the courage to commence such a work had not its foundation been already laid.

In 1841 the Committee of the Institution offered a gold medal for the best essay on the "History and Antiquities of Highgate," appointing Harry Chester, Esq., President of the Institution and Clerk to the Privy Council; Rev. J. B. Dyne, D.D., Principal of the Grammar School, and J. Gough Nichols, Esq., the antiquary, as adjudicators. The minutes do not record the number of competitors, but simply state that William Sidney Gibson, F.S.A., F.G.S., of Lincoln's Inn, was the writer of the successful essay, and was awarded the medal; and that it was read by the author in the theatre of the Institution, on 17th December, 1841. This essay was published as a pamphlet of sixty-seven pages in a paper cover in 1842. That there was at least one other competitor is certain, as an essay by Frederick Prickett was also published in 1842, in the shape of an 8vo volume of 174 pages. Prickett does not allude to the competition, nor, for obvious reasons, was he likely to do so, and although he failed in his original purpose, in the end he was entirely successful.

Gibson's essay is that of an able and scholarly man knowing his authorities well, and how to use them to the best advantage, but utterly wanting in local knowledge and in local sympathy.

Prickett's work was a "labour of love," and a real labour it was. He had had no literary experience, and possessed but little faculty for

arrangement; and having to explore historical and antiquarian fields hitherto unknown to him, with all his painstaking endeavour, he missed some of the richest; but he had this immense advantage, *he knew* Highgate well, being not only a native, but a member of a well-to-do family that had resided there for certainly four generations! and being a resident, he was in touch with his neighbours, who, sympathizing with him in his disappointment, encouraged him to publish his essay by subscription, and this, although long since out of print (as indeed both essays are), still remains "*The* History of Highgate." Besides this essay, I have had the good fortune to have access to some MS. notes, compiled by Prickett at a later date, of which I have made full use. Under these circumstances, it is a matter of simple justice that in re-writing the annals of Highgate, the names of these industrious compilers, now both deceased, should be prominently noticed. They have preserved and handed down information which has largely helped to invest Highgate with a kind of "old world interest." To me, the old village seems to be like a grave and honoured old patriarch, sitting in solemn grandeur on the hill top, surrounded by a crowd of impertinent staring young suburbs, which came into existence the day before yesterday.

Had this volume been submitted to the public under the usual trade competition, I freely admit it would be *dear* as a book, and, I fear, *dearer* still as a literary effort; but my aim, as frankly set forth, will, I hope, disarm criticism, and find a sufficient excuse for many manifest shortcomings; in fact, I would respectfully suggest that subscribers should consider they have simply made a donation of *one guinea* to the "Jubilee Library Fund," and received a book in exchange.

Compilations like the present must necessarily consist of a judicious combination of "paste and patience," for it is obvious that local history cannot be produced on the convenient plan of the collection of autographs belonging to an ancient gentlewoman, who vouched for their authenticity, on the ground that "she wrote them all herself;" but its success must depend upon the amount of diligent research made by the compiler into the records of the past, and this very modest merit I venture to claim.

I gratefully make my acknowledgments for freely rendered information and assistance

To Mr. J. T. Taylor, Assistant Secretary of the British Museum; and to the Librarians of St. Paul's Cathedral and the Guildhall Libraries.

To Miss Bloxam, Mr. W. P. Bodkin, J.P., Mr. John B. Dyne, Mr. Charles Turner, and Mr. John Martin, representing old resident families.

To Mr. Gilbert Robins, Churchwarden of Hornsey; Mr. R. C. C. White and Mr. De Courcy Meade of the Hornsey Local Board, and to Mr. E. B. Bennett of the South Hornsey Board.

To Mr. George Potter and to Mr. Ambrose Heal for the fullest use of their interesting and important local collections.

To Professor Tomlinson, F.R.S., for the Sonnet which so happily closes the last chapter.

To Mr. John Sime and Mr. James Drummond, for their very practical and valuable co-operation; and lastly

To My Daughters, for their cheerfully rendered assistance as amanuenses.

Old Camden in his *Britannia* quaintly sums up the status of a compiler thus :—

> "Through dangerous fords, o'er ways unbeaten too,
> The searchers after Truth are bound to go;
> This poor employ can few Professors get,
> A boyish task, below the men of wit.
> But 'tis a work of hardship when begun,
> A load uneasie to be undergone."

Having so happy a motive, I have not been conscious of the "load uneasie," but it is almost too much to venture to hope that my subscribers may altogether escape from the sense of its infliction.

J. H. LLOYD.

MERTON LANE, HIGHGATE,
January 16th, 1888.

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THE HISTORY OF HIGHGATE.

CHAPTER I.

ANCIENT RECORDS.

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THERE is reason to believe that long after other portions of Great Britain were inhabited by man, the great valley or basin of which Highgate is one of the highest northerly ridges still continued in the condition of an estuary; the waters of the river Lea, before the embankment of the Thames by the Romans, covering the marshy lands of Tottenham, and extending probably to almost the eastern confines of the present parish of Hornsey, formed a continuous lake from Tottenham to Hertford,[1] to which

[1] Robinson's *History of Tottenham.*

vast expanse of waters the eminences of Hampstead and Highgate, crowned by the great forest of Middlesex, would present a picturesque background of considerable altitude.

The geologist has found that the strata of the hill upon which Highgate is situated, and the fossils therein discovered, exhibit unequivocal traces of marine deposit, and partake of the character exhibited elsewhere in the formations to which these strata belong. The clay which forms the basis of the superior strata, and the superimposed layer of sand,—which is nearly identical with that of the sea shore,—are doubtless the deposit of that pre-existent ocean which once submerged our island, and had probably not retired from it before the separation of Great Britain from the continent of Europe.[1]

The excavations on the eastern side of Highgate Hill for the foundations of the archway, as well as the railroad tunnels under Primrose Hill and Hampstead Heath, have thrown considerable light upon the geological structure of the district, and afford good reasons for the belief that Highgate and the neighbouring eminences are throughout of a similar structure, the basis being a vast mound of ferruginous clay of a dark bluish-grey colour, changing near the surface, or where united with the superior strata, to a yellowish-brown; and the identity of the substratum with that which extends throughout a great part of East Kent, Surrey, Middlesex, and Hampshire is abundantly established.

Upon this mound of clay, more particularly at Highgate and Hampstead, rests a stratum of sand not by any means of uniform thickness, but lying in seams of unequal depth, in many places mingled with rolled pebbles or with clay, in others almost superseded by them. On the sides of the hills the soil is either wholly composed of clay, or a mixture of sand and pebbles under a very few feet of mould; Park says, "About Highgate the arenaceous formation unmixed with clay or pebbles is of inconsiderable extent."[2] This latter statement can now be authoritatively corrected, as, upon the whole of the roads of Highgate being lately excavated for drainage works, it was found that the upper portion of the village stood upon a stratum of fine sand of a yellowish tinge—known to geologists as the Bagshot sand—from six to thirty feet in depth![3] This sand contains exceedingly few fossils, but in the lower clay formation many specimens are found, a list of some of which, discovered by the late well-known Highgate geologist, Mr. Wetherell, will be found in the Appendix.

During the archway excavations, amongst other fossil remains were found vegetable productions, pieces of wood pierced by the teredines or

[1] Parkinson's *Organic Remains of a Former World.*
[2] Park's *History of Hampstead.*
[3] Some thirty-six feet have been actually excavated!

ship worms, sharks' teeth, palates and scales of fish, shells, especially some fine nautili of the large species which is so abundant in the blue clay near Hordwell, Hants,[1] and a peculiar resinous substance, which emits an odour when heated, and melts into a limpid fluid, which has been named *Highgate resin* or *Copaline*.

At the Museum of Practical Geology there is a large model, on a scale of six inches to a mile, showing the formation of the "London Basin," covering an area of one hundred and sixty-five square miles, from Hampstead on the north to Penge on the south, from Turnham Green on the west to Barking on the east. It shows the strata to the "Gault," which at the time the model was made had only been touched by two borings, the one at Kentish Town, the other at Crossness; since then some lower beds have been reached, but it is safe to say that the "Gault" underlies the whole of London, with the "Lower Greensand" underneath it, and at a depth of over a thousand feet the "Devonian" formation. Above the Gault is the "Upper Greensand," but none of these strata appear on the surface. Next above them is the "Chalk," which does not crop out nearer London than Chislehurst. This formation is five hundred feet thick; above it are the sandy beds named after Thanet, Woolwich, and Blackheath, where they are observed. Above them is the great bed of "London clay," some four hundred and fifty feet thick, capped here and there, as on the summits of Highgate, Hampstead, and the upper part of Richmond Park, by the "Bagshot sand." On the surface, especially in the northern suburbs, are alluvial deposits of various periods, but all post-pleiocene, consisting of glacial and old river drifts.[2]

On the sides of the northern heights may be discovered traces of the glacial epoch—in the heavy clay mounds and the beautifully rounded slopes fashioned by the continuous action of the waters. The vast icebergs of this period, as the divinely-appointed time arrived for their disappearance, seem to have moved long distances, carrying with them vast masses of matter, being the soil on which their foundations rested, or absorbed by them during the ages of their formation; and when their movements were arrested by the inequalities of the earth or the subsidence of the waters, they deposited these enormous burdens, and so formed the upper clay and brick earth we are so familiar with round Highgate.[3]

Muswell Hill is supposed to be a deposit of the glacial period; the railway cutting at the entrance of Nether Street, Finchley, is a glacial moraine, the rocks and fossils found there, being identical with those of Lincolnshire.[4]

Imagination can only faintly conceive what the breaking up of the

[1] Fine specimen in the Highgate Institution.
[2] Whitaker, *Geology of London*.
[3] Fire and building bricks are the produce of the washed boulder clay.
[4] Geological Survey.

glacial period meant; it seems to have been accompanied by an unusual amount of diluvial action, and possibly the separation of some portion of the land hitherto a part of the European continent.

"The ice was here, the ice was there,
The ice was all around;
It cracked, and growled, and roared, and howled
Like noises in a swound!"

COLERIDGE.

The grinding of the glaciers, the rush of the great drift floods, the local displacement of the sea level, rolling the ocean over the land, the storm and horrible tempest, seemingly utter destruction and ruin, but in His hands Who guideth all things, the preparation for the sustenance of the coming nations.

It is not the sun which has made our land fit for the ploughshare and the harrow, it is the water and the ice; these mighty forces crushed up rocks which would have defied the effects of "mere weather," grinding them down till they fell through the silent waters in soft fertile mud.

We owe our arable land to the agency of the frost and the flood; which ground as in a mill the upper portions of the surface rocks, rounded them off so beautifully as to be a constant source of delight, and then covered them with their own deposit, thus preparing the earth in due time for "creation's heir," or, as Hugh Miller beautifully puts it, "Man, the appreciative guest of the Divine feast."[1]

There is no reasonable doubt that at the time of the Roman invasion the whole country north of their Trinobantium, or London, was covered by a vast forest; these woods were the natural fastnesses of the earlier inhabitants, and it has been suggested by Camden[2] that the etymology of London may be traced to the British word "Lhwn," or Grove, as designating "Lhwntown," or the City of the Grove. In this light it is not a little interesting to note that the corporation of London have recently been aiding in the preservation of a remnant of the original woods[3] from which the metropolis itself *may* have taken its name; but a distinguished modern authority[4] prefers finding its derivation from the words Llyn-din or don, a lake fort; and remembering that the name of the Thames is derived from the Saxon "Tam Ise," a collection of waters, and that London is described

[1] For traces of Palæolithic Man in North-West Middlesex, see work of that title by J. A. Brown, F.G.S.
[2] Camden, *Britannia.*
[3] Gravel Pit Wood, Highgate.
[4] Loftie, *History of London.*

by Ptolemy as being situated on "Tamesa Æestuarium," there is great force in this suggestion.[1]

The hamlet of Highgate is situated principally in the parish of Hornsey (otherwise Harringay, also spelt Harringee, Harrenghee, Harnesey, and Harnsey), partly in Islington (otherwise Eyseldon, from Ishel = *lower*, also spelt Iseldon, Isendone, Izendune, Isenden, Isleton, and Yseldon), and partly in St. Pancras, and is bounded on the north by Hornsey, on the south by St. Pancras, on the east by Islington, on the west by Hampstead. The hill on which it stands is four hundred and twenty-six feet above the sea level; the highest point of Hampstead being four hundred and forty-one feet—fifteen feet higher.

The etymology of Haringey or Hornsey, the mother parish,—some ten-twelfths of the hamlet lying within it,—is from a Saxon root,[2] "Haringe," a meadow of hares; if to which is added the word "haia," enclosure, "Haringhaia," we get the full meaning, viz., the enclosure of the field of hares. The identification of the meaning of the Saxon "haia" with our modern word hedge is established,[3] and that parts enclosed from a forest surrounded by a hedge were so called. The termination "hay" is preserved in many ancient localities. In Exeter there is both the northern and the southern "hay," etc. From the same root we get the name of Highgate, the Haia-gat or gate—the hamlet at the entrance of the enclosure,—doubtless a sufficient indication for the few cottages lying under the shelter of the hill, the inhabitants of which found employment in the woods or the fields of the great land-owner. Nearly all our old towns, and many of our villages, have thus sprung up—the feudal retainers of the noble, gathering as closely as possible around the "Castle" for protection and assistance.[4] Hatfield, within a few miles of Highgate, is a case in point, the narrow streets of mean houses on the side of a hill crowned by the stately mansion of the Cecils dominating the entire town.

The transition from Haia-gat to Highgate is so easy that it only needs the rapid repetition of the word some half-dozen times—and Highgate is the outcome.

It is of interest to note that the word "haia" seems to have been derived from the hawthorn fence, which was largely used for protective purposes by the early Saxon settlers. Many of the older enclosures for the purpose of the chase made with this hedge were called "haighs" or

[1] Linn, Celto-c, a deep pool.
Don, Celtic, Saxon, a hill fort.
Den, „ „ a wooded valley.

[2] Lysons. [3] Isaac Taylor. [4] In this case the lodge of the Bishop.

"heys." In Lancashire the fruit of the hawthorn is still called "haigh," whilst in the south it is called haw. "Ham" is a very common termination of the names of villages, especially in the eastern and south-eastern parts of England, and was derived from the early settlements being "hemmed in" chiefly by hedges, so that from this old shrub has probably been derived the dearest of all English words, "home," *i.e.*, *ham*, an enclosure. Other village names end in "sett," as "Heather*sett*," from the Anglo-Saxon *setan*, to plant, the ancient swine pastures being enclosed by thorn fences, nothing else being capable of arresting the migratory impulses of the "porkers;" and to this day we call a hawthorn hedge a "quick*set*" fence, showing the vitality of these old words, and how much genuine history is silently locked up in their almost forgotten meaning. There is Rothwell Haigh near Leeds, Haye Park at Knaresborough, Horsehay near Coalbrookdale. The Hague was originally a hunting-seat of the Counts of Holland. In Dutch "haag" is an enclosure; in old High German "hag" is a town; in German "hagen," to hedge; in French "haie," a hedge. The word park, which is of kindred meaning, seems to have been adopted by the Saxons from the Celtic "parwg," an enclosed field.[1]

Another possible derivation of Highgate has been found[2] from the supposed Saxon word "heah," high, and "gat," way, the "Highway," being in contrast to the "Holloway." The obvious objection to this etymology is, that the "way" as a public road did not exist in Saxon or even in Norman times, it being extremely unlikely that a high road would be allowed to run through the centre of the Bishop's hunting-ground! And as a matter of fact the north road was not cut through the wood until Queen Elizabeth's time, whilst the name Highgate is used in a paviage grant of 37 Edward III., Anno 1364, referring to the highway between "Highgat and Smithefelde"—so that the balance of probability is largely in favour of the previous suggestion.

An old writer[3] observes, with very obvious sagacity, that although the *position* of the hills and vales is the same, yet so many of them were covered with woods that the whole island was described as "horrida sylvis." This latter statement is confirmed by Cæsar's letters, which state that "the Romans had great difficulty in making their way through the woods and guarding themselves against the sallies of the Britons from the dense cover of the forest." This enforced the necessity of making their great military roads sufficiently broad to guard against such danger. The ground adjoining those clearances which would be kept free from buildings would doubtless, from the protection afforded by the constant

[1] Taylor's *Words and Places*.
[2] Nicholson's *Scraps of History*.
[3] Leyland.

passage of troops, soon be devoted to agricultural purposes. The width of this tract of land on either side of the road when cut through the forest was probably determined by the distance of the flight of an arrow; the line of building for obvious reasons being fixed beyond that area.[1] In these clearings we may *possibly* trace the origin of the "strays" or commons by the sides of the road, which in later days became of so much importance, affording as they did grazing ground for cattle travelling to the metropolis or the other great centres of population, and which have only lately disappeared under the provisions of the various Enclosure Acts.

These old "strays" were very numerous about Highgate, the northern entrance to the metropolis, and may yet be traced along the lines of some of the roads by rows of fine old trees, from twenty to sixty feet inside the modern hedge. There is a good example on the left-hand side of the road from Muswell Hill to Friern Barnet.

It is much to be regretted that these public lands have been so completely absorbed, as they would not only have provided open spaces for exercise and recreation, but would have prevented our modern roads becoming the painfully straight lines of "macadam," correctly kerbed and channelled, they now are; and if judiciously planted these old strays would have added breadth, beauty, and diversity to our suburbs, which might have rivalled the charming boulevards of Paris; but the opportunity has now gone for ever.

Of the period preceding that of the Norman appropriation of the land, we have scarcely anything that can be strictly called historic record; but a few facts, if placed side by side, afford fair room for conjecture, which, when supported by collateral evidence that may yet be gleaned, are full of interest.

This part of Middlesex appears to have been well known to, and appreciated by, the Romans during their long occupation of Britain. At Harrow, Cassevellan, the *protégé* of Cæsar, is said to have resided. At St. Pancras and White Conduit Fields were traces of Roman works. The latter is conjectured to have been the camp of Suetonius Paulinus, to which he retreated after his evacuation of London, and from which he sallied forth and defeated Boadicea at Battle Bridge. The capital town of the patriotic Queen of the Iceni was probably Norwich, known as Venta Icenorum; and as the Trinobantes took part in that terrible insurrection so justly provoked by the rapacity and insolence of the Roman legionaries, the war spread rapidly over Essex. Camulodunum (Colchester) was sacked and burnt, and the Ninth Legion[2] cut to

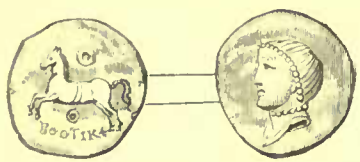
[1] Edward I. caused the underwood to be cut away for two hundred feet on each side of the road.—*Palgrave.*

[2] The helmet of a centurion of the Ninth Legion is to be seen at Colchester Castle.

pieces. In London, all who could not escape were annihilated; and the inhabitants of Verulamium suffered the same fate,[1] so that probably enough both Hampstead and Highgate saw something of that frightful outbreak, something of the slaughters, and gibbets, and flames, and crosses, for which, as we learn from Tacitus, the indignant Briton was then fiercely eager. For there are indications of Roman occupation in both places, Hampstead and Highgate, as well as Fortis Green and Muswell Hill, having yielded spoils to the antiquary.

The most important "find" at Highgate was made in the grounds of the Priory, Shepherd's Hill Road (Colonel Stedall's), at the time the house was being erected, by Dr. Wilmer. While the excavations were being made at some ten feet below the surface, a vase was discovered, containing many coins of Probus (A 276) and Caracalla (A 311), and amongst other articles a fine bronze sword-handle.

The spot where the defeat of Boadicea took place in A.D. 61 is very uncertain, and various sites have been assigned. It was certainly not far from London, and most probably on the northern side of the metropolis. The fact of the existence of the remains of an entrenched Roman camp at Barnsbury, in a field which was called the Reed Moat field, to the north-west of Islington workhouse, strengthens the general tradition that the fight took place near Battle Bridge.[2]



COIN OF BUDICCA (BOADICEA).

It is interesting to note that in excavating the site of the supposed camp for building, the skeleton of an elephant was discovered,[3] and there is a statement that Julius Cæsar, in forcing the passage of the Thames, placed one of these animals in his front, to the terror of the Britons, who fled precipitately;[4] although, from what we know of the Roman galleys, an elephant would have been somewhat dangerous freight!

The great difficulty in accepting the Battle Bridge site is, that it does not accord with the description of the field of battle given by Tacitus, "a spot of ground, narrow at the entrance, and sheltered in the rear by a thick forest, with an open plain before,"—which would suggest a couple of eminences protected by a wood.

As the site is so uncertain, why not suggest a more likely one, viz., the valley between the hills of Highgate and Hampstead, backed by the forest and almost on the lines of the great military roads? In support of this theory we have to the present day one, if not two, ancient British tumuli, which may either cover the remains of British chieftains

[1] Professor Hales.
[2] Nelson's *Islington*.
[3] Seymour's *Survey of London*.
[4] Polyænus.

or may have been raised as a national memorial of the eighty thousand Britons who are said by the Roman account to have fallen in that hideous slaughter.[1]

It is true that there is no trace of a Roman camp in the neighbourhood, but such works if thrown up on the sandy soil would soon disappear. The percolation of water alone if formed on the lower ground, as the account intimates, would soon have caused its destruction, leaving entirely out of account the vast quantity of sand that has been removed from the Heath and its neighbourhood in past years; for it has been stated that in 1811 some seven thousand loads of sand were taken off the Heath in the course of a single year![2]

There is little doubt that the neighbourhood of the Roman roads, and more especially the stations or small camps formed on commanding positions, became in course of time, from the protection afforded by the marching and countermarching of troops, what the auctioneers would call "highly desirable sites for building or occupation," and therefore it becomes a matter of great interest to trace the line of the great Roman roads cut through the forest at the points nearest Highgate.

The principal road was the famous Watheling or Watling Street, or "Royal Way."[3] Leyland calls it "Atheling" or Noble Street, running from London (if not from the coast through London) to the north of England; and whatever its exact line, which in many parts is extremely doubtful, there is not much question as to the point from which it emerged from the city of London.

As in the front of the Forum at Rome stood the famous Milliarium Aureum or golden milestone, the point to which every Roman road converged—whence the old proverb, "All roads lead to Rome"—so the London Stone is supposed to have been the spot from which the great roads made by the Romans in England radiated. A portion of this old relic may still be seen inserted in the south wall of St. Swithin's Church, Cannon Street (opposite the railway station), where it was placed in 1798.

Stow in his Survey says:—"On the south side of Candlewick Street (Cannon Street), near unto the channel, is pitched upright a great stone called the London Stone, fixed in the ground very deep, and fastened with iron bars, and otherwise so strongly set that, if carts do run against it, the wheels thereof may be broken, yet the stone itself is not shaken. The cause why this stone was set there, the time when, or other memory thereof, there is none,[4] but that the same has long continued it is manifest, for at the end of a gospel book given to Christ's Church at

[1] Tacitus.
[2] Unequal Assessments, etc., 1811.
[3] Newcomb's *St. Albans.*
[4] Stow wrote about A.D. 1560.

Canterbury, by Ethelane, King of the West Saxons, I find noted, land or rents in London belonging to the said church, whereof one parcel is described as to lie near to London Stone." And Stow alludes to "a fire which happened in the reign of King Stephen (1135) close to London Stone, beginning at the house of one Ailward, consuming all east to Aldgate and west to St. Erkenwald's shrine in Pawles Church." "These," says the worthy old chronicler, "be the eldest notes I have read thereof."

After this fire, Fitzaylwin, the first Lord Mayor of London, erected a house of stone which in consequence of its novelty, the erections hitherto being almost entirely of timber, or else from its proximity to this stone, was called "London Stone." In 1240 this house was standing, and its tenant took the name of John de London Stone. The stone is oolitic building stone, and it is suggested it may be a vestige of the house of Fitzaylwin; but if so it is somewhat remarkable that but one stone should be left *in situ*, protected with iron stanchions; it must surely have meant more to the citizens than a stone of an old house.

This stone, from being so well known a spot, became a place for tendering money, and in fact was to the merchants of those days what "Paul's Walk" and "the Royal Exchange" were to later generations.

But we gather the most valuable information as to the original importance of the stone from the records of the operations of clearing the ground surrounding it after the great fire, 1666. Sir Christopher Wren discovered the foundations of buildings on that spot undoubtedly Roman, so extensive that he came to the conclusion that they must have supported a very considerable monument or temple. Tesselated pavements were found to exist over a large area, and it is suggested that they might have formed portions of some eminent building, in the centre of which the stone, from which all measurements were taken, was placed, surrounded by statues of the Roman Emperors.

Mr. Loftie, a very good authority,[1] is of opinion that the whole site surrounding the stone was a Roman fortification on the high ground commanding the river, defended on the north and east by ditches full of water, on the south by the Thames, and on the west by the rivulet rising in the fens beyond Moorgate, draining the higher lands of Islington, and discharging into Dowgate Dock, afterwards confined into very narrow limits, and known as the "walled brook" (Walbrook); and states that "within the fort, close to the western wall, and therefore overlooking Dowgate" (almost the identical spot where the stone was fixed before the last removal) "was a large hall or basilica, with a tesselated pavement, perhaps the residence of the Governor;" or, according to another authority,

[1] Loftie, *History of London*, 1883, vol. i., page 33.

"the court where justice was administered."[1] "The Roman portion of the place was small, for up to the time the great wall was built London was a city of suburbs, as it is to-day. The long peace of Roman rule rendered it unnecessary for ordinary townsmen to live within fortifications. The whole of the ground round this Roman fort was covered with houses, some great, magnificent, artificially warmed, frescoed, and painted, and some no doubt mere hovels * * * such must have been Roman London during at least two-thirds of its existence. * * * We are accustomed to talk as if Roman London was always the same, and to forget that it underwent many changes, and only acquired its walls towards the end of the Roman occupation. * * * The building of the wall, which still in a sense defines the city boundaries, is an event in the history of London, not second in importance even to its foundation, since it made a mere village and fort with a *tête du pont* into a great city, the capital of provincial Britain."[2] Yet we have no records by which an exact date can be assigned to its erection; all we know is that in A.D. 350 London had *no* wall, and in A.D. 369 the wall existed.[3] The new wall must have taken in an immense tract of what was until then open country, especially towards Cheap and Newgate, and transformed London into "Augusta," the wall enclosing a space of three hundred and eighty acres, being three miles two hundred and five yards in length.[4]

The chief exit on the western side was by Newgate, almost on the site of the mediæval gate. Here the Watling Street emerged from the city, skirting the banks of the River Fleet,[5] called by Stow the "River of Wells." This river had its rise from the higher level of the Highgate Ponds, and descended swiftly into the lower country, passing in a south-easterly direction to St. Pancras,—where until 1766 it formed a large pond, inundating the country to Battle Bridge, and was known as "St. Pancras Wash,"[6] —and flowing onwards to Bagnigge-wells, where it was called the River Bagnigge, it formed the "Bagnigge Wash." It then ran through "Cold Bath" Fields and the valley between Leather Lane and Cow Lane, receiving the overflow of the wells, viz., "the Clarke's Well (Clerkenwell), Skinner's Well, Fag's Well, Tode Well, Loder's Well, and Rodwell, all which sayd wels having the fall of their overflowing in the foresaid River, much encreaseth the streame, and in that place gave it the name of Well"[7] (River of Wells[8]); from thence to the

[1] Harrison.
[2] Loftie.
[3] Sir William Tite arrives at this conclusion by the comparison of two passages in Ammianus.
[4] Harrison.
[5] "Fleot," a flood—Anglo-Saxon.
[6] *History of Kentish Town*, Anon.
[7] Munday's Stow.
[8] It is called the "River of the Welles," in a charter granted by William the Conqueror, A.D. 1068, to the College of St. Martin's-le-Grand.

foot of Holborn Hill, and so under the present New Bridge Street to the Thames.

The Fleet has now wholly disappeared in the sewers, but it was once a very prominent feature of London topography. Both it and the Tyburn took their rise in the dense clay of the region just below Hampstead, and whilst the Tyburn wound its course towards the west, the Fleet ran towards the east. Its early name, Hole-bourne, is easily understood, when we find it running between banks so steep that in places they might have been called cliffs. At Battle Bridge it entered a long valley, cutting its way through clay hills on either side[1] until it emerged in the open ground of the Farringdon Valley between Holborn and Snow Hills.

In 1199 King John permitted the Templars of the New Temple to use the waters of the Fleet for some mills they had erected near Baynard's Castle.

In 1290 (Edward I.) the White Friars complained to the king of the putrid exhalations arising from the Fleet, which were so powerful as to overcome all "the frankincense burnt at their altar during service," and even occasioned the death of many of the brethren. They petition that "the stench may be immediately removed, lest they should all perish." The Friar Preachers (Black Friars) also, and the Bishop of Salisbury, who resided then in Salisbury Court (Fleet Street), and whose gardens would doubtless abut on the river, united in the same complaint.[2]

In 1307 (Edward I.) Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, in a parliament holden at Carlisle, represented that "whereas in times past the course of the Fleete had been of such bredth and depth, that ten or twelve ships navies at once with merchandises were wont to come to the bridge of Fleet, and some of them to Oldbourne bridge: now the same course by filth of tanners and such others was sore decayed; also by raising of wharfs, but specially by a diversion of the water made by them of the New Temple for their mills, and by divers other impediments, so that ships could not enter as they were wont, and as they ought." He therefore desired that "the Mayor and Sheriffs might be appointed to make it as it was wont of old." In answer to this petition the river was cleaned and the mills removed, but it was never restored to its original breadth and depth.[3]

In 1502 it was again cleansed and "scowered down to the Thames."[4] In 1586 it became so clogged with filth as to be alluded to by Camden as "the little river Fleet, now of little value but formerly navigable," and the Corporation of London spent a thousand marks in improving

[1] J. G. Waller, *London and Middlesex Transactions.*
[2] *History of Kentish Town.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Stow.

the upper courses of the river, hoping by the increased force of the current to keep the channel clear. These works were in progress in 1589-90, but the plan does not seem to have been successful, as in 1606 twenty-eight thousand pounds were expended in cleansing it and erecting floodgates, notwithstanding which "the brooke by means of continual encroachments upon the banks getting over the water (*sic*), and casting the soylage into the stream," had in 1618 become worse than ever. In 1668 all the stony rubbish unfit for the building of St. Paul's was carted to its banks at the lower part of Fleet Street, where the proposed buildings required "hard and substantial matter."[1] And in 1670 it was enlarged and deepened so as to admit barges of considerable burden as far as Holborn Bridge, where the water was five feet deep at the lowest tides.[2]

But so convenient was this river as a receptacle of filth, that not being affected by the active scour of the tide, the expense of maintaining its navigation became very burdensome, and it at length became a great and dangerous nuisance.[3] It was therefore arched over in 1734. Thus becoming extinct as a river, its history merges into that of the general sewers of the metropolis.

The history of the Fleet has been dealt with somewhat fully for two reasons,—first, because it has its rise between the Highgate and Hampstead hills; and second, because the Watling Street seems practically to have followed its course to almost its very source.

This old road seems to have passed up the Farringdon Valley to Battle Bridge—probably by the line of Gray's Inn Road, its older name being "Portpool Lane;" from Battle Bridge across the site of the Great Northern and Midland Railway Stations to St. Pancras Church, about which spot there seem to have been traces of a military outpost; thence by Hampstead between Primrose Hill and the lower part of the Heath, and, from the fact of the discovery on this line of numerous Roman remains, not unlikely through Well Walk.[4] Some authorities carry the road in a rather more westerly direction, but all agree that it skirted the manor of Hampstead, as is set forth in a charter of King Edgar to his minister Mangoda, thus—

"These are the bounds of Hamstede, from Sandgate, along towards the south to Foxhangre, by the west to *Watling Street, along by the street* northwards to Coccinge Pool, and east to Sandgate."[5]

[1] Lewis, *History of Islington.*
[2] *History of Kentish Town.*
[3] "Fleet ditch, with disemboguing streams,
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
The king of dykes! than whom no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood."—POPE.
[4] Allen's *Middlesex.*
[5] Park's *Hampstead.*

If by Sandgate we may suppose is meant the spot now represented by the Spaniards; Foxhangre, St. John's Wood; and Coccinge Pool, one of the many ponds formed by the tributaries of the Brent this side of the "Welsh Harp" waters, the description is still intelligible, the more so when it is borne in mind that Hampstead was at one time included within the parish of Hendon.[1]

Camden states that on the northern edge of Middlesex the Roman road commonly called Watling Street enters this county, leading straight from old Verulam to London *over Hampstead Heath;* and in the archives of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster is preserved a document dealing with the lands of "Lotheresley," which appear to have been portions of land at "Hendon," which, with "Bleccenham and Codenhawe," Dunstan gave to the Church at Westminster, in which repeated mention is made of Watling Street."[2]

Norden himself resided at Hendon, and may therefore be the better trusted for his local knowledge. His words are these: "Another auncient high waie which did lead to Edgeworth, and so to St. Albans, was *over* Hampstead Heath, and thence to and through an old lane called Hendon Waste, neere Hendon, through which it passed to Edgeworth, whence over Brokeley hilles, by Radnet, Colne Street, St. Stephen's, and St. Mychael's, leaving St. Alban's half a mile to the East. This way of some is helde to be Watling Streete, one of the fower high waies which Bellinus caused to be made, and leadeth as some affirme through Watling Street in London."

At the summit of Brockley Hill was another Roman station, "Sulloniaca," where so many remains of their occupation have been found, that the country people have a couplet running thus—

> "No head can think, or tongue can tell,
> What lays 'tween Brockley Hill and Pennywell."[3]

On many of the fine sites along this line of road have been found Roman remains, of residence and of sepulchre, the law of the twelve tables wisely forbidding interments in walled cities. The Roman soldier was therefore usually buried on the line of the "via strata," or military way, for the twofold reason—protection of the tomb, which in the case of the officers was often a work of art imported from Italy, and to keep green, in the constant marching and countermarching, the memory of a comrade who had fallen in a foreign land. Propertius, remarks Horsley,[4] would not have needed to beg that "he might not be buried near a public road," if it had not been the prevailing custom to do it.

The old road is interesting to inhabitants of Highgate, as probably

[1] Park's *Hampstead*
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Lysons.
[4] *Brit Roman*, p. 391.

determining the line of the first road cut through the great forest, and from the fact that the village lay so near to its route. Its beautiful site must have been well known and appreciated by the Romans, as discoveries already quoted prove; and there is little doubt that as the ground is excavated for building purposes further remains will be found; for it should be remembered that after the lands were disafforested they became demesne lands of the manors, and therefore but few excavations in comparison with those in other neighbourhoods yielding such "finds" have yet been made, and it is most desirable that any discovery, however trifling, should not only be made public, but be submitted to the judgment of persons capable of estimating its relative value.

Both Maitland and Nelson are of opinion that a second great Roman road, the "Ermyn Street," passed through Highbury, Stroud Green, and Hornsey Wood, and so by the green lanes to Enfield. If so, it gives additional interest to the subject, as it is well known that these skilful soldiers always commanded the heights, and so dominated the adjacent country, and having reached the high lands above Hornsey Wood by the one road, it would be more than likely that they would keep a cross line of communication open through Highgate and Hampstead Heath to the other road, thus commanding the whole northern heights of the metropolis. The discoveries in Shepherd's Hill Road, Highgate, already alluded to, which would be the direct line of the cross-road, would strengthen this suggestion.[1]

When the Roman occupation of Britain ceased, these great roads seem very soon to have fallen into disuse and decay. Burton[2] says of the Watling Street, that "at the expiration of the Roman power in the island, and all being set on fire by the Saxons with war, an universal face of barbarism overran all (the road) that lay between the Chiltern and London; it was overgrown by trees and bushes, and not restored again or the way quitted till by Leofstan, Abbot of St. Albans, a little before the Norman entrance."

Matthew Paris, in his life of the twelfth abbot of St. Albans, has given a curious account of the means which were taken to restore the Watling Street between the Abbey Church of that place and the city of London; for Albanus had become a very popular saint, and travellers and merchants who were going beyond seas resorted to his shrine, "pro expiatione peccatorum suorum et corporum prosperitate;" but the way thither became so infested with outlaws, in consequence of the impenetrable woods which adjoined it, which were also full of beasts of prey, that the good pilgrims were in imminent danger of their lives or property. Abbot Leofstan, perceiving that the gifts which were offered to his church might be thereby diminished, resolved to restore the way to its

[1] See page 8. [2] Burton's *Itinerary*.

former state ; he therefore removed the obstructions, rebuilt the bridges, and levelled the rough places. Paris goes on to narrate the engagement which was entered into by the Abbot and a valiant knight named Thurnotho ; by which the latter and his followers were bound to defend the whole of the said highway and the country in the neighbourhood of the Abbey, and was to be answerable for any losses which might happen through his neglect. The historian adds that "Thurnotho was to have a goodly manor for his reward, but that the knight gave privately to the Abbot about five ounces of gold, a beautiful palfrey for his own riding, and a very choice greyhound." Leofstan's successor, Fritheric, the thirteenth Abbot of St. Albans, continued his care of the public way, though he vested its preservation in the hands of Theobald Abbot of Westminster, who seems to have deputed the office to some of his military dependants, for we read that "he gave all possible trouble and vexation to the Abbot and monks of St. Albans," being supported by his Norman friends and having good interest at court ;[1] the whole narrative seems to point to military tenure. The gold, palfrey, and greyhound were the consideration for the grant, and the protection of the public way, the received service by which the lands were held. Palgrave says, "The wise Romans made excellent roads extending through all parts of their empire, and some of them can yet be traced in England, running along as straight as an arrow. One of them is the Watling Street so often mentioned in history ; but after the fall of the Roman empire these roads were neglected and fell into decay, and a traveller could hardly proceed without danger * * * the bridges were broken down * * * and at the end of his day's journey, instead of putting up at a comfortable inn, he was compelled to stretch his cloak upon the damp earth, or lay it on the broken pavement of a haunted ruined temple."[2]

In the year 409 England by the withdrawal of the Romans was again an independent state. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the curious but meagre record of early events, which is supposed to have existed in the time of Alfred, and even to have been partly compiled by him, there is the following entry :—

"A.D. 400.—This year the Goths took the city of Rome by storm, and after this the Romans never ruled in Britain, and this was about 1110 years after it was built ; altogether they ruled in Britain 470 years since Caius Julius first sought the land." The Chronicler adds under the year 418 : "This year the Romans collected all the treasures that were in Britain, and some they hid in the earth, so that no one has since been able to find them, and some they carried with them into

[1] Newcomb's *History of St. Albans.*
[2] *History of the Anglo-Saxons.*

Gaul." Gibbon recognized the value of this authority, and observes, "Yet our modern historians and antiquarians extend the term of the dominion, and there are some who allow only the interval of a few months between the departure of the Romans and the arrival of the Saxons."

It has been suggested, that the theory of the date of the termination of the Roman dominion and the commencement of the Saxon has arisen from the too common practice of dividing our history into great epochs separated by imaginary lines from what has gone before, and what is to come after. In reality, all great revolutions depend upon that social condition in which there never is any sudden change, but in which, the most important changes take place by almost imperceptible degrees.

But it may be taken as an undoubted fact that out of the ruins of the Roman municipal institutions arose the establishment of separate sovereignties, which were so numerous that Jerome alludes to Britain as "a province fertile in tyrants." The Roman municipal government was kept compact and uniform under a great centralizing power. It fell to pieces here as elsewhere when that power was withdrawn, resolving itself into a number of local governments without any principle of cohesion.[1]

For a century and a half a thick darkness seems to overspread the history of our country. Its inhabitants were fighting for life and liberty. Sir Francis Palgrave is of opinion that "the tribes by whom Britain was invaded principally proceeded from the country now called Friesland, for of all the continental dialects the ancient Frisick is the one which approaches the most nearly to the Anglo-Saxon of our ancestors;" while Mr. Craik has pointed out that the modern kingdom of Denmark comprehends all the districts from which issued, according to the old chronicles, the several tribes who invaded Britain upon the fall of the Roman Empire.

For some two hundred and fifty years the record is one of battle and murder, and many a scene of violence was doubtless enacted under the cover of the dense woods of the north of London; which now being a walled city its possession was of the utmost importance to the contending factions; but it was not until the year A.D. 800 that King Egbert, the friend of Charlemagne, succeeded to the throne of Wessex, and during a reign of thirty-six years accomplished that consolidation of authority which justified him in assuming the title King of England.

The Danes, those bold and ruthless robbers, who had even dared to plunder and pillage the coasts of France during the reign of the great Charlemagne,—and this portion of English history must be read in parallel lines with that of France,[2]—now many times sailed up the

[1] Knight, *History of England.* [2] Sir F. Palgrave.

Thames, and entering the Lea, which then almost washed the eastern confines of Hornsey, under cover of the woods, would terrify and lay under contribution the whole surrounding country.[1]

It is an interesting fact to note that the low-lying land at the end of Stroud Green Lane, before the road rises towards Highbury, was called "Danebottom," and was probably the site of an encounter our Saxon ancestors had with the Danes. In a court roll of the Manor of Newenton Barwe, dated 3rd May, 1448, it was presented "that the Lord of this Manor and the Prior of Bartholomew were liable to repair the common way called 'Dainbuttum Lane,' which then lay unrepaired to a common nuisance," etc.[2]

In 849, King Alfred, the records of whose acts of bravery and wisdom have filled so large a space in the national imagination, was born, and according to the Saxon Chronicle, was sent to Rome when only five years of age to be educated. "When Pope Leo heard say Ethelwulf was dead, he consecrated Alfred king, and held him as his spiritual son at confirmation, even as his father Ethelwulf had requested on sending him thither." In 871, on the death of his brother Ethelred, he assumed the crown of Wessex. His whole life was a record of a struggle against the foreign foe, crowned with complete success, and the dreaded flag of the Danish raven was for a time driven from the English shores; it may be said that no English ruler ever more completely influenced the destinies of his country.

The Danish "scares" must have been very acute in the neighbourhood of our northern heights, the wily foe hovering under cover of the forest, waiting a fitting moment to swoop down upon the walled city, and stopping the carriage of supplies of food and merchandise; and especially so when King Alfred turned the course of the river Lea, near Ware, above the enemy's position by cutting new channels for the waters, and thus left the Danish ships high and dry. The invaders in their rage passed through the forest, and entrenched themselves inland, whilst the men of London seized and burnt the deserted ships. This masterly stroke of military genius broke the Danish spirit, and Alfred was acknowledged "the best man."

Camden says that by this operation the navigation of the Lea was obstructed *seven hundred years*, until restored by Lord Burleigh.

Alfred not only saved England from foreign domination, but he was the first king who clearly saw that there was a people to instruct and civilise; he presented to his own time, and to all coming time, a model

[1] One of the prayers of the old Litany ran—"From the fury of the Danes, Good Lord, deliver us."—*Camden.*

[2] Tomlins' *Perambulation of Islington.* Near Minchinghampton is a place called "Woful Dane Bottom," a tradition of a Danish defeat and slaughter not recorded in history. Brayley's *England and Wales.*

which to some extent reflects the national character, viz., the happy blending of the world of thought with the world of deed, which seems to lie nearer in English life than in that of many other nations.

Our great Saxon king put his mark upon the land,—a mark which remains with us to the present day. He divided the land into shires, hundreds, and tithings.[1] Unquestionably there were recognised divisions of land before his time, but not on so comprehensive a scale; by Alfred's law every resident was not only enrolled in the "hundred," but also in the "tithing," or association of families, probably, as the name indicates, being ten in number, so that, if any were accused of crime, he was obliged to produce some person from his tithing to become his surety or else take the consequences; hence the word neighbour, "neah borh," or nigh pledge. To each family was allotted a "hide" of land, probably with wood and waste, about 100 acres of which (one-third) might be fit for cultivation.[2] Although the tithing was sufficient for social ends, a more comprehensive arrangement was necessary for administrative purposes. A hundred families in those days would cover a very considerable area; even if placed as closely as the limits of the "hide" would allow, they would occupy ten thousand acres,—probably much more, as each tithing had its folk-land,—land in common,—wood, heath, marsh, etc. No doubt these divisions, or something similar, grew out of the very earliest conditions of settled society, and might partially have existed before Alfred's time; but the dreadful confusion and devastation of the Danish wars rendered not only a new regulation of the tithing necessary, but caused new territorial divisions to be made upon the older lines.[3] In later times the hundred became territorial and local, as we hear of "greater and smaller" hundreds, and the spoor of cattle being followed from one hundred into the other, but originally the division must have been that of the number of families; or there would have been greater equality in the size of the territorial

[1] Hume.

[2] A hyde was anciently said to consist of so much land as could be tilled with one plough, and is one and the same with carucate, the ploughland; *hyde* being the Anglo-Saxon, and *carucate* the Norman-French denomination. The hyde varied in various parts of England, and also at different periods of time. It seems to have been one hundred and sixty acres in very early times; then one hundred, which was computed at six score to the hundred, the ancient mode of computation in England, or *Anglicus numerus*. The oxgate, or yardland, was the fourth part of the hyde. The knight's fee was anciently said to consist of four hydes of one hundred and sixty acres, and in more modern times of eight hundred acres. When it is considered that there was a distinction between the ancient or Magnum or great knight's fee and the ordinary knight's fee, and that the acre itself was of uncertain admeasurement in early times, we cannot be surprised at Sir Edward Coke stating, in his *Commentary upon Lyttleton's Tenures*, that the hyde or plough-land, the yard-land or oxgang of land, and the knight's fee do not contain any certain number of acres.—*Co. Lytt.*, 69.

[3] Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*.

hundreds—a difference only intelligible now, by assuming that population and not space was the basis of the original arrangement. As population grew, therefore, the hundred seems to have been subdivided, although the whole district preserved its original designation. Hornsey is situated in the great hundred of Oussulston, which extended north and south from the Thames to Barnet, east and west from the Lea to the Brent. The great size of this hundred was doubtless caused by the vast quantity of woodland comprised within its boundary, and consequently the small proportion of land fit for cultivation. This theory is corroborated by the very small size of nearly all the older outlying churches of the hundred,[1] suggestive of a sparse population principally employed in tending herds of swine, feeding on the pannage of the forest; indeed, it was a usual method of stating the quantity of wood upon an estate by estimating the number of swine the acorns or beech-mast would feed; a wood that did not yield this food was in the Domesday survey called "Silva infructuosa."

The earlier inhabitants of England subsisted principally upon salted meat during the winter; therefore the rearing of swine was a most important item of rural economy, and pannage was considered as being of great profit to those who lived in the neighbourhood of a forest; and although the hog would in due time be shut up to fatten, he was in his general habits far more of a wild animal than he is now, feeding, as his snout imports, upon roots and mast, and very far from the filthy impounded glutton to which modern farming has degraded him.

The chief executive officer of the shire was the Eldorman, in later days sometimes styled Duke (*dux*), second in authority only to the king. His house was a sanctuary, and any wrong-doer who fled to it had three days' respite. He was required to hold a shire-mote twice a year, over which he presided in association with the bishop. The shire-mote was the highest judicial and executive court in the shire, probably without appeal, as although there are records of King Alfred reproving unjust and ignorant judges, there is none of a reversal of their decisions.

Next came the Shire-Reeve, "Gerefa," or Sheriff, the deputy of the Ealdorman, practically the county court judge and fiscal officer of the shire, appointed and removed by the king. In towns and fortified places this officer was called the "Borough-Reeve," and in London and Canterbury the "Port-Reeve." The principle upon which the administration of the law was enforced was thus laid down:—"The king commands all the reeves, that ye judge such dooms as ye know to be righteous, and as it in the doom book stands, fear not on any account to pronounce folk right, and that every suit have a term when

[1] The parish of Perivale, near Ealing, consists of but five houses at the present time, the adjoining parish of West Twyford of but eight, and the churches of both parishes are in proportion!

it shall be brought forward, that ye may then pronounce." Each reeve was enjoined to hold a gemot "always once in four weeks" if in the "hundred," but only three times a year if in a township, "so that every man may be worthy of folk right (right by law), and that every suit have an end when it be brought forward" (Oh happy times!) Each hundred, therefore, had its monthly gemot, which generally ended in those festivities without which municipal and parochial business is still held to be imperfectly performed.[1]

The meetings of the tithing were, from the limited numbers attending, probably held from house to house; those of the hundred at some well-recognised place or convenient landmark, probably in the churches, as the earlier churches were often the adaptation of secular buildings. Tradition asserts that the famous old yew tree in Totteridge churchyard, now a mere shell—which must have been the silent witness of the interment of some thirty generations of men, for its age is computed at over a thousand years!—was the gathering-place of the gemot for the northern division of the hundred of Goare; but it is far more likely that the meeting took place in the church, presided over by one of the local clergy,—the fittest person, from status and education, to guide and control a meeting which, being largely composed of small farmers and swineherds, would doubtless occasionally be of a somewhat turbulent character. Such a meeting could certainly not be held in the farm houses, they were but hovels; as late as the fifteenth century the rooms, even in the house of a person of considerable position, were not six feet high, for it is recorded they had to use cross-bows in defence of the premises, as the rooms from their size did not allow a six-feet bow to be bent for use.[2]

The Folkmote for the district in which Highgate is situated was by no means unlikely to have been held on Parliament Hill,[3] and it was probably the site of many political gatherings, from the local tithing upwards. These tithings seem to have sent representatives to the hundred, and these again to the shire, whilst the ealdorman, the ecclesiastics, and some of the principal landholders were summoned to the national gathering, the "Witena-gemot," or "assembly of wise men,"[4] the great council of England, presided over by the king, and guiding his policy and government.

The power of this assembly was very extensive; even the king's title was not considered complete without its recognition, and it possessed the power of deposing him, but he had no power to dismiss it. It made new laws and treaties, and with the king appointed prelates, regulated military

[1] The Shire-gemot met twice a year; the Burg-gemot thrice; the Gemot of the hundred monthly.

[2] *Paston Letters.* [3] Professor Hales.

[4] From the Anglo-Saxon words witan, "to know," gemot, "assembly."

and ecclesiastical affairs, and levied taxes. Without its consent the king had no power to raise forces by sea or land; and it was, besides all this, the supreme court of justice both civil and criminal.[1]

By this far-reaching machinery the business of the humble gemot of the hundred and its dependent tithings could be so regulated as to become a powerful factor in the national life; indeed, it is questionable if it has ever been so fully concentrated since, for when the Norman Conqueror abolished the witena-gemot, he only transferred a portion of its powers to his parliament.

These facts are interesting as indications of the local authority to which this district was subject in the Anglo-Saxon times.

As late as the tenth century in the city of London, where acres could not possibly enter into the calculation, its basis being necessarily one of population, we find the citizens distributing themselves into frithgylds or associations for the maintenance of the peace, each association consisting of *ten* men; whilst such gylds were again associated, to enable them to act together, in tens. This arrangement was called in York the Ten-man-tale (Tyn-manna-tal), simply the count of ten men.

The document which calls such associations into existence in London—known as "Judicia Civitatis Londinensis"—is (partly) as follows:—

"This is the ordinance which the bishops and the reeves belonging to London have ordained, and confirmed with pledges, among our frith-gylds, as well eorlish as ceorlish, in addition to the dooms which were fixed at Greatly, at Exeter, and at Thundersfield.

"Resolved: That we count every ten men together, and the chief one to direct the nine in each of those duties which we have all ordained, and afterwards the hyndens of them together, and one hynden-man who shall admonish the ten for our common benefit; and let these eleven hold the money of the hynden, and decide what they shall disburse, when aught is to pay, and what they shall receive, should money accrue to us at our common suit. . . . That we gather to us once in every month, if we can and have leisure, the hynden-men and those who direct the tythings, as well as with butt-filling, or as else may please us, and know what of our agreement has been executed. And let these twelve men have their refection together, and feed themselves as they themselves think right, and deal the remains of the meat for love of God."

Now this valuable record furnishes important confirmation for the conclusion that the gegyldan of Alfred, the members of the London tithings or frithgylds of ten, and the York tenmantale, are in truth identical. And it is further in favour of this view that the citizens called the members of such gildships "gegyldan."

"And we have also ordained, respecting every man who has given

[1] Kemble, *The Saxons in England.*

his pledge in our gyldships, that should he die, each gyld-holder (gegylda) shall give a gesufel-loaf for his soul, and sing a fifty (psalms), or cause the same to be sung within XXX days."

This record therefore clearly shows the adaptation of the Saxon gemote to the exigencies of city life, and out of it may be traced the guilds of later times.

In the reigns of King Edgar and of Canute, the shire-mote was convened twice a year,[1] in May and in October, at the instance of the sheriff, who also presided; the bishop and the ealdorman sat with him, the former to declare the spiritual, the latter the secular law. "The suitors were the same as those of the hundred court; all lords of lands, all public officers, and from every township the reeve and four men."[2] Its judicial powers extended to civil, to criminal, and ecclesiastical matters. Dr. Stubbs points out that some traces of legislative authority belonged to it originally. After the Norman Conquest its powers declined, "owing to the separation of the spiritual and temporal courts, when the bishop ceased to attend. The sheriff continued to preside with increased power, owing to the disappearance of the ancient ealdorman. . . . Under Henry II. the county court not only performed all the ordinary business of the shire, but was also called together to meet the itinerant justices."

Magna Carta contains some provisions as to the holdings of certain assizes in the county courts four times a year, and limits their jurisdiction by forbidding sheriffs, constables, and bailiffs to hold places (placites) of the crown.

The Charter of Henry III., 1217, provides that a county court shall be held monthly. The county business transacted in these courts was—1. Judicial. The justices sat there when on circuit; all matters relating to police organisation of the county were transacted; the coroners who kept the pleas of the crown were elected. 2. Financial. Taxes were assessed by knights chosen in the court. 3. Military. The sheriff summoned the smaller freeholders, and proclaimed his orders in the court.[3] At a later time the knights of the shire were elected at a shire-mote. But from the time of Edward I. these courts "gradually lost their power as they became less and less used for judicial purposes." It is possible that our own age, in which prolonged habits of centralisation threaten to bring on a paralysis of efficiency, may witness some revival of these old courts, and make them as serviceable in the future as in the past. Indeed, the revival has already begun. Some forty years ago were established the modern "county courts" for the recovery of small debts; in 1850 their jurisdiction was extended; and in 1865 they had limited equity powers conferred upon them.

[1] Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 71, 73. [2] Stubbs, *Const. History*, i. 128.
[3] *Short Constitutional History of England.*

Professor Hales has well said: "We are reminded, as in imagination we step into the midst of the old folk-mote, of the continuity of the political life of our England. These men we see from the townships, and the hundreds, and the shire at large, are, in some sense, the founders and bequeathers of the free government which it is our boast to enjoy. We are apt, perhaps, to think of the Anglo-Saxon times as times of anarchy and wildness. Let the sight of this well-ordered assembly assure us that even then, law made its voice heard—that even then, the turbulent spirit of an age in which the old ideals of Europe were rapidly perishing recognised the need of self-restraint and of submission to established political usages, lest riot should end in wreck and ruin; while at the same time it was restlessly bent upon more firmly securing and more widely extending the freedom it already possessed."

The clergy of Saxon times were amply provided for. Tithe, at first a free gift, became established by law, but only one-third of its proceeds became the property of the clergy. The law of Ethelred was as follows:—

"As concerning tithe, the king and his witan have chosen and said, as right it is, that the third part of the tithe which belongs to the Church shall go to the restoration of the Church, and a second part to the servants of God, and a third part to God's poor and needy men in thraldom."[1]

What is now known as the voluntary principle entered very largely into the means of the Saxon clergy, in addition to their tithes and their glebe. The monasteries and religious houses which were spread thickly over the land must, until they had become landholders, have depended entirely upon the gifts of the people. Fuller says:[2] "Indeed one may safely affirm that the multitude of monasteries invited the invasion and facilitated the conquest of the Danes over England, because England had at this time 'more fat than bones,' wherein the strength of the body consists—more monks than military men."

In the history of a suburban village these remarks upon Danish raids and Saxon and Norman customs may be considered somewhat wide of the mark, but they will probably assist the reader to form a general idea of the circumstances affecting the neighbourhood a thousand years ago.

Before leaving this portion of our subject, which is necessarily indistinct and involved, it will be interesting to allude to the old tumulus in Parliament Fields.

Professor Hales has dealt with the subject as fully as circumstances will allow,[3] and has offered some suggestions which, from so competent

[1] Kemble. [2] *Church History.*
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April and May, 1887.

an authority, are extremely valuable. He suggests that there are two barrows in these fields; the more northerly one planted round with fir-trees, which is generally recognised; and the second on the top of Parliament Hill. The latter seems doubtful, as the inverted bowl-shape of the earthwork, surrounded by a trench, is suggestive of the site of an old windmill. That a windmill did belong to the "Caen Wood estate" is certain, as it is mentioned by Sir H. Vane, in his remarks on the property, and the name of the adjoining road, Mill-field Lane, is a corroboration; but, of course, there would be nothing to have prevented

THE TUMULUS.

the erection of a windmill on the top of the barrow. But the ocular evidence of the other barrow is far more satisfactory. Professor Hales, whose remarks have given a new interest to the spot, goes on to say:—

"Of the date and associations of the barrows we must be content at present to speak indefinitely and conjecturally; for they have not yet, I believe, been scientifically examined. It is possible, indeed, that they have been rifled by some vulgar plunderer; for it has been, and perhaps is, a popular belief that these mounds contain great treasures,[1]—a belief

[1] Jewitt's *Grave Mounds*.

founded on the undoubted fact that personal ornaments of value were often interred along with their possessor. Thus in one case mentioned by Mr. Jewitt, the popular belief ran that a coach of gold was buried in a certain barrow. This notion often led to depredations, and has in some cases destroyed the only possible means of precise information. The stupid burglar has thrown away as worthless what would have been full of significance for the savant. The northern barrow looks as if it might have suffered in this way. The southern, which for many an age must have been less perceptible, may perhaps have escaped the depredator's spade. At all events, if anything has been found in it, the find has not been recorded. And it is possible nothing might be or could ever have been found with ever so careful an investigation. 'It is curious,' says Sir John Lubbock,[1] 'that in some barrows no trace of a burial has been found. Some archæologists suppose that in these cases the body was buried without any vase, ornament, or implement, and that it has wholly disappeared. I should, however,' he adds, 'rather be disposed to regard them as memorial barrows.' But such cenotaphs are so rare that the St. Pancras barrows are scarcely likely to belong to the class. In any case, an examination by experts would be sure to yield results of importance. But it is passing strange how little notice they have as yet attracted from the learning and science of the great city that lies so near. I doubt whether any mention of the northern one could be found in any book of earlier date than Howitt's *Northern Heights of London*, which was published so recently as 1869, and I do not think the southern one has yet been honoured with a mention in any book whatever. We must, therefore, I say, be satisfied with very general statements, and quite undogmatic conjectures. * * *

"Now, for many ages barrow-burying was in almost universal use, that is, for the great people;[2] the 'common people' had to lie without any such monument. 'All over Europe,' to quote again Sir John Lubbock,[3] 'we might indeed say all over the world, wherever they have not been destroyed by the plough or the hammer, we find relics of prehistoric times—camps, fortifications, dykes, tumuli, menhirs or standing stones, cromlechs or stone circles, dolmens or stone chambers, etc., many of which astonish us by their magnitude, while all of them excite our interest by the antiquity of their origin and the mystery with which they are surrounded. In our own island the smaller tumuli may be seen on almost every down; in the Orkneys alone it is estimated that more than two thousand still remain; they are found all over Europe, from the shores of the Atlantic to the Oural Mountains; in Asia they are scattered over the great steppes from the borders of Russia to the Pacific Ocean, and from the plains of Siberia to those of Hindostan. 'The entire

[1] *Prehistoric Times.* [2] Greenwell's *British Barrows.* [3] *Prehistoric Times.*

plain of Jelalabad,' says Masson, 'is literally covered with tumuli and mounds.' In America we are told they are to be numbered by thousands and tens of thousands; nor are they wanting in Africa, where the Pyramids themselves exhibit the most magnificent development of the same idea; indeed, the whole world is studded with the burial-places of the dead.[1] * * *

"So widespread was the custom of which two examples are yet extant near us at Highgate. It was a custom that would suggest itself obviously enough. The mound was possibly an enlargement of the 'mouldering heap,' in which the turf naturally heaved over the underlying corpse. We see such inartificial barrows in every churchyard, and by this consideration we may explain the fact that the oldest barrows are not round, but elliptical—*i.e.*, they follow the outline of the form beneath. * * *

"To realise more fully such olden days, it might be of use to note the different forms of sepulture, and the different rites that prevailed, or seem to have prevailed. It would appear that inhumation was the common practice in the earliest days, which the barrows chronicle for us. The body is found in various attitudes, more or less contracted, sometimes sitting as it sat when alive, more commonly lying, generally on the left side. Then cremation came in, and was widely prevalent, though inhumation did not altogether fall into desuetude. At a later time inhumation once more prevailed, and now the body lies extended as with us. Funeral feasts were held at the old British funerals; the corpse was 'waked,' as at the old Greek ones described by Homer. Think of those strange merriments, those wild, hysterical revelries by these barrows now so grimly silent! And sometimes, it is probable, there were yet more ghastly spectacles. Sometimes there were slaughters and sacrifices to soothe the dead. or the gods of the dead. 'The very frequent presence,' to quote Sir John Lubbock once more, 'of the bones of quadrupeds in tumuli appears to show that sepulchral feasts were generally held in honour of the dead, and the numerous cases in which interments were accompanied by burnt human bones, tend to prove the prevalence of still more dreadful customs, and that not only horses and dogs but slaves also were frequently sacrificed at their masters' graves; it is not improbable that wives often were burnt with their husbands, as in India and among many savage tribes. For instance, among the Feejees it is usual on the death of a chief to sacrifice a certain number of slaves, whose bodies "are called grass for bedding" the grave.' * * *

"As to the period to which the St. Pancras barrows belong, it is impossible to speak with precision. We can but try to point out the limits within which probably it must be assigned.

[1] Jewitt.

"Adopting what is now the accepted arrangement of prehistoric and early historic times into the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron ages, and dividing each of these ages into two parts, an earlier and a later, we have to report that, according to the leading authorities, no barrows of the Palæolithic or Old Stone or Cut Stone age have been found anywhere, though some Palæolithic skulls have been found, if not in England, certainly both in the river drifts and in caves on the Continent,[1] from which in the Palæolithic age our island, it is held, was not yet severed. 'As yet no bone belonging to any of the extinct mammalia has been found in a tumulus.'[2] 'On the whole, then, the tumuli of Northern Europe appear to range in point of time from the Neolithic (or Polished Stone) down to post-Roman times.' But the tumuli of the Neolithic age are long-shaped. The St. Pancras barrows are round, and, therefore, are post-Neolithic,—belong to the Bronze or a later age. It may just be mentioned that the Neolithic race was long-headed,—in the literal, not the secondary, sense of the term; and that the aphorism, suggested by Dr. Thurnam, 'Long barrows, long skulls; round barrows, round skulls,' seems to be now received as generally accurate,[3] though there are, or seem to be, exceptions. Thus we have a limit *a quo*—an initial limit for the date of the barrows that now concern us. A limit *ad quem*—or ultimate limit—is furnished by the fact that in England mound-burying was finally abandoned in the tenth century of the Christian era.[4] Possibly in other parts of the North the custom may have lingered later.

"'The grave-mounds or barrows of the Anglo-Saxon period,' says the late Mr. Jewitt, in his *Grave Mounds and their Contents*, 'are, as a rule, of much less altitude and of smaller dimensions, generally, than those of the preceding periods In some districts they are found in extensive groups, frequently occupying elevated sites; at other times they are solitary, and frequently the elevation above the surrounding surface is so slight as to be scarcely perceptible, except to the most practised eye.' Now, one of our barrows is of considerable size. The larger one is the northern one. This is about one hundred and thirty-five yards round, measured along the bottom of the fosse—*i.e.*, the diameter of the mound itself, inside the fosse, is some forty yards. The southern one, measured in the same way, is some ninety-five yards in circumference, *i.e.*, the diameter of the mound itself is some thirty yards.[5] These dimensions seem to point to a pre-Saxon origin. Moreover it

[1] See Beddoe's *Races of Britain*, p. 9.

[2] *Prehistoric Times*, p. 143.

[3] See Beddoe's *Races of Britain*, p. 12; and Laing's *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 68.

[4] *Prehistoric Times*, p. 121.

[5] Even among the British barrows such dimensions are not common.

would be difficult to believe that a site so ideal in the eyes of a barrow builder, would have lain unoccupied down to Anglo-Saxon times, for conspicuous hills and slopes were specially chosen for these graves * * * they stand out on the ridges like altars. * * * We may plausibly conclude that these barrows belong to a period between the Neolithic age and the Roman, that is, they are not Danish, not Anglo-Saxon, not Roman, but are of Celtic origin ; * * * but it is impossible to speak with any positiveness of the era of these barrows, at all events till they have been scientifically examined.

"Such, then, are the scenes that we may probably recall, as we stand and muse on Parliament Hill ; such the strange panorama that passes before the eyes of the imagination. We may catch the wild shouts of triumph, and the shrieks of woe—see the old Celt in the heat of his valour and in the chill of death. How little did those who reared these barrows dream that they would one day become but a dim memory, and that the very names of the mighty chieftains whose fall was to them as the dying of the sun in the heavens would be wholly forgotten—forgotten beyond all recovery !" [1]

The history of Highgate proper, seems to commence with the Norman settlement in England, and with a somewhat characteristic action of the Conqueror, during his triumphal progress through the country. A deputation of nobles and prelates, including Aldred, Archbishop of York, Wolstane, Bishop of Worcester, and Wilfred, Bishop of Hereford, waited upon him at the castle of Berkhampstead to tender their submission ; [2] but Fritheric, the Abbot of St. Albans, a powerful ecclesiastic of the Saxon blood royal, made a demonstration which led to important ulterior results.[3]

The abbot, who was the owner of extensive woodlands round Berkhampstead, caused the trees to be cut down and cast so thickly in the Conqueror's way, that he was compelled to make a considerable circuit to reach the castle. When the abbot attended him, under sureties, being asked why he alone dared to offer opposition, he replied with an assured air, "That he had done no more than in conscience and nature he was bound to do, and if the residue of the clergy had borne the same mind, he would never have pierced the land so far." "Well," answered the duke, "I know that you clergy are powerful ; but if I live and prosper in my affairs I shall govern their greatness well enough, for assuredly nothing sooner subverts a state than that one set of subjects shall grow so great as to be able to overrule all the rest." [4]

It was no part of the Conqueror's policy at that time to quarrel with the Church ; the insult was passed over, but it was not forgotten, for when he felt his power established in 1068 (prior to the compilation of Domes-

[1] Professor Hales. [2] Roscoe. [3] Daniels' *Hist.* [4] Hayward's *Lives*, etc.

day), the Chronicle states, "he seized upon all the lands belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans south of Barnet."[1] Fritheric, the stout abbot, seems to have given great provocation in stirring up several revolts, and he eventually fled to the English lords, in the Isle of Ely, where he died in 1077.

These lands were very extensive, and had been protected by armed men for the sake of the pilgrims bringing valuable offerings to the shrine of St. Alban, and practically extended from the abbey into the city of London—for there are records of lands belonging to the abbot situate near London Stone—and would include the lands of the present parishes of Finchley and Hornsey, though probably *not* the lands of Totteridge and Whetstone, as the "Barnet" there alluded to was the old village of Friern Barnet, where the abbot had erected a church, lying much more to the south than Chipping Barnet,[2] *i.e.*, High Barnet, which only dates from the time of the Wars of the Roses. And there are records in Domesday of lands near the present High Barnet belonging to the abbey,—Scenlai (Shenley), consisting of six hides, a common, and wood for four hundred hogs, value £12, whilst lands lying below, presumably between Shenley and Finchley, were registered as in the hands of other proprietors.[3]

These lands, belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans south of Friern Barnet, were seized by the Conqueror;[4] and there is a tradition that he bestowed them upon his half-brother Odo; but while no authority can be found for such a statement, such a gift would be by no means unlikely, as Odo, in common with all the Norman princes, was passionately fond of hunting, and when away from his own earldom of Kent, attending the many deliberations held in London, it is extremely likely he would possess a contiguous hunting seat, for a few estates more or less seem to have been a matter of but little consequence to these rapacious Normans, the Conqueror himself holding no less than sixty-eight forests, parks, and chases in England,[5] and it seems that nearly all Middlesex came into his possession, for King Harold had large estates in that county, from which many of his soldiers were drawn, so that the slaughter of Hastings cleared off whole families from the land which the Conqueror bestowed on his followers.[6]

But whether bestowed on Odo or not, the lands of Hornsey can

[1] Daniel's *History of England.*

[2] Cheaping or Market Barnet.

[3] There is a record of the abbot obtaining an increased rent of 8*s.* per annum from his tenant Wimund of Barnet, in 1110.

[4] Daniel's *History of England.*

[5] Lingard's *History.*

[6] Palgrave.

within a very few years afterwards be traced as connected with the Bishopric of London, to which bishopric they are still attached, although now managed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

The policy of the Conqueror was to weaken the Abbot of St. Albans, and strengthen the See of London; and by the decree of the Council of London, 1075, several bishops' seats were removed from small towns, where they dominated everything, into the cities, where they were more manageable, and thus, without weakening the Church, the Saxon party was crippled, and the Norman strengthened. This was one of a series of bold statesmanlike actions by which the great Conqueror created a policy, which has stamped its characteristics with startling distinctness upon both English and European history. Before his time European monarchs were esteemed rather as the liege-lords, the feudal chiefs, the elected leaders of the aristocracy from which they sprung, than the absolute rulers of submissive subjects; the beau ideal of sovereign rule was reserved for the great and daring Norman to develop. He was emphatically *the* European and British prototype of royalty, the great exemplar for the career of future kings. He bridled both prelate and baron, and held them in complete subjection to the yoke of the crown.

The patriarch of a long regal line, without him the future kings of England would, like those of the Anglo-Saxons, have reigned, or have ceased to reign, at the will of a powerful noble, or by the voice of a venal crowd. All great questions of prerogative or policy emanate from the time of the Conqueror, who raised his splendid structures of Norman feudality and laws upon the ruins of the simpler and more beneficent system, the foundations of which were laid by the Great Alfred.

Whether we can directly associate Bishop Odo with Hornsey or not, it is very certain the lands did pass into the hands of a Norman bishop, who probably erected the hunting seat on Lodge Hill, and formed the great park of Haringey (Hornsey) into a chase.

Several circumstances point to the Norman occupation of Highgate very distinctly. (a) *The Hunting Lodge* was not likely to have been erected by the Saxon Abbot of St. Albans, quite sixteen miles from his seat; nor was he likely to have allowed the Saxon Bishop of London, whose status was very inferior to the great Abbot of St. Albans, to build on his lands; neither was it likely to have been erected as a fortification to protect the road, as the old road ran some two miles to the east. (b) *The old Hermitage* was dedicated to St. Michael, the tutelary saint of Normandy, the first occupants being most probably servitors of the bishop—possibly gate-keepers. (c) *Caen Wood*, the woodlands surrounding the hunting seat being named after the Norman woods. What more likely? Odo was bishop of Bayeux and Dean of Caen, and in

virtue of his office was present at the consecration of the Abbey of St. Stephen at Caen in September 1077.

So that there is a slight link connecting Odo with Highgate, but there was too much fighting going on then for many records to be kept; anyhow, Odo is a representative Norman bishop, and in default of the knowledge of the name of any other, we accept the vague tradition, and propose to refer to a few facts of his life, as, if he did not actually erect the hunting lodge, he was doubtless a frequent guest at it, and hunted the neighbourhood in true Norman style.

Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, whose name is associated with both Dover and Rochester castles, either by their erection or enlargement, was possibly the first Norman proprietor of Highgate. He played a distinguished part in the great battle which changed the fortunes of England.

On the morning of Saturday, 14th October, 1066, Odo celebrated mass before the entire Norman army, and invited them "to join him in a vow, never more to eat flesh on the anniversary of that day;" a requisition with which, in the awful chances before them, men of all ranks were easily induced to comply.[1]

During that eventful day Odo rode by his brother's side, acting as his aide-de-camp, in full armour, using his heavy crosier as a rallying signal, if not for something more practical; and indeed so vigorous was his action, that he is said at a critical moment to have changed the fortunes of the day. It is related that "the rumour of defeat having reached the rear, where an immense number of Norman clergy were waiting the result, a general panic arose amongst the priests, clerks, and varlets, who were left with the women in charge of the baggage, when Odo opportunely arrived and stopped their retreat, and having refreshed himself with some cups of wine, he resumed his arms and was seen directing the officers and men at different points of the field."[2]

After the battle Odo again celebrated mass on the field, and with his clergy sang requiems for the dead.

On the famous Bayeux tapestry, which is believed to have been worked by Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, and the ladies of her court, from the designs of Turold, a dwarf artist, Odo is depicted on his war horse, armed cap-à-pie. This historical piece of needlework, some two hundred and twelve feet in length, and about two feet in depth, is exhibited annually in the Cathedral of Bayeux on St. John's Day and the seven succeeding days, and is still known by the name of "La Tapissière de la Reine Matilde." It is exceedingly curious, the figures of men, horses, etc., being worked in coloured worsted, in a style not unlike old Japan ware, without the least symmetry or attempt at proportion. In the same church

[1] William of Malmesbury. [2] W. Pict, *Hist. de Nor.*

were formerly preserved two massive silver unicorns of great value, presented by the Conqueror and Bishop Odo, but they disappeared in the religious broils of the sixteenth century.[1]

As may be assumed, Odo became largely benefited in the distribution of the English land, and holding both a temporal and spiritual dignity, was endowed with landed possessions in many different counties, and affected great state. Longchamps, the Norman Bishop of Ely, travelled, we are told, with a retinue of fifteen hundred horsemen, and the appointments of his house and table were on an equally magnificent scale.[2] Odo, as the king's brother, was not behindhand in his magnificence and luxurious excess.

It was the Conqueror's policy to rule by dividing, in every sense; thus on all his great barons were usually bestowed not large tracts of land, but estates in different counties, and at considerable distance from each other, thus weakening their power; and it has been further observed that the knight's fees of almost every barony were scattered over various counties.[3]

Indeed, William would have made a very admirable lawyer in any branch of the profession; and it was perhaps this sound and penetrating judgment which enabled him to preserve his throne, and to rule the English by dividing all, yet mortally offending none of the existing parties. If the great number of his charters were as pointed and condensed as that conferred upon his Norman hunter,—notwithstanding "he was rough and covetous towards the English in his taxes, laws, and in giving to his Normans their lands"[4]—it would follow that he gave much less employment to the gentlemen of the long robe than some of his successors:—

"I, William, king, the third year of my reign,
Give to thee, Norman Hunter—to me thou art
Both leefe and *deere*—
The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds
Up and down;
Under the earth to hell, above the earth to heaven;
From me and mine, to thee and thine,
As good and as fair, as ever they were.
To witness that this is sooth, I bite the white
Wax with my tooth
Before Jugge, Maude, and Margery, and
My youngest son Henry,
For a bow and a broad arrow, when I come
To hunt upon Yarrow."[5]

A *jeu d'esprit* of about the same date with this royal charter

[1] Ducarel.
[2] J. Brompton, Roscoe, etc.
[3] Madox, *History of Exchequer;* Hallam.
[4] Speed, *History of England.*
[5] Stow, *Ex Libro Richmond.*

in favour of the Norman hunter, is among the curious odds and ends of Thomas Hearne, under the head of a descent of the family of Cognisby, which, if the author could have been suspected of satire, it might be concluded was meant in ridicule of the Battle Abbey roll. It begins thus :—

"William of Cognisby
Came out of Brittany,
With his wife Tiffany,
And his maid Maufas,
And his dogge Hardigrass," etc.

Poetical charters were not unknown at a later period, to wit a grant from the Duke of Lancaster :—

"I, John of Gaunt,
Do give and do grant
To Sir John Burgoyne
And the heirs of his loin,
Sutton and Potton
Until the world's rotten."

Besides being a good lawyer, the Conqueror was a profound master of dissimulation; his policy seems to have been, to excite revolt by the rapacity and oppression of his governors, and so by a system of confiscation gradually to absorb the whole political power, and, by the aid of his barons and prelates, the entire property of his English subjects.[1]

With such an end in view, he selected as his principal agents two of the most rapacious and ruthless of his Norman followers, Odo and Fitz Osborne, whom in his numerous absences from England he made his vice-regents,—both equally cruel and overbearing; and there is some satisfaction in knowing that they in their turn, were under different pretexts both deprived of their liberty and their estates, and had to yield up to their employer the treasures of which they had despoiled the people. They obtained the nickname of the "Conqueror's sponges," and we are told that the deluded people attributed their punishment to the king's regard for justice, rather than to his tyranny and insatiable rapacity.[2]

Odo seems to have been a man of great reach and active spirit; by his severe government he forced the English to rebel, who in their extremity invited Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, to assist them. But the Norman grasp was too strong, and the rising was unsuccessful,[3] and again he defeated the Earl of Norfolk in a conspiracy against the king.[4]

Odo, like all his kinsmen, was a mighty hunter. Indeed it is hardly possible to form an adequate idea of the ardour with which the Conqueror

[1] See Littleton, Lingard, etc.
[2] Freeman.
[3] Daniel's *Hist. Engld.*
[4] William of Malmesbury.

and his family pursued the sports of the field. So great was their disregard of danger of every kind, that the only wonder is that no more than his two sons, Richard [1] and William Rufus, fell victims to their strange temerity. To those sports they devoted every moment when not engaged in council or in the battle-field; on them they lavished their revenues, sacrificing to them their interest, their honour, and humanity itself. If we are to believe John of Salisbury, "hunting was the only employment deemed worthy of the attention of kings and the sons of kings; in short, the supreme felicity of royal life. They pursued wild beasts with even greater fury than they did their subjects or their enemies themselves; and by degrees they became almost as great monsters and savages as the beasts which they hunted."

Odo, in his prelatic ambition, fixed his desire, like Wolsey in later times, on the chair of St. Peter, and to compass his views had, also like him, grasped and concealed immense wealth. With this in due time he proposed to repair to Rome; but he chose the wrong hour. His evil star was in the ascendant, and the rumour of his intention reached the ear of the king, who resolved not to lose a moment in securing so great a prize. He was well aware that the violence and extortion by which this wealth had been amassed, was exercised at the expense of his own popularity, and, therefore, in carrying out his own doctrine of prerogative, he considered he had a perfect right to its possession. Mistrusting the efficacy of his messengers in so important an affair, the king followed them in person, and confronted his good brother the bishop at Newport, Isle of Wight, where he was about taking ship. Odo had paid no attention to the royal missives, and started back in dismay when William and his officers entered his apartment. Upon the plea of ecclesiastical privilege he had hitherto escaped, no one having dared to lay hands on the "Lord's anointed," entrenched in his sacred ensigns and privileges. These he now vehemently urged, protesting it was out of the power of any temporal potentate to interfere with him. "God forbid," said William, "that I should invade your sacred office, or touch a hair on the head of the Bishop of Bayeux; far be such sacrilege from me! I came only to arrest the Earl of Kent." So leaving the bishop to take care of himself, the king arrested the earl; but still gratifying him as to an intended voyage, sent him over the sea to the Castle of Rouen, where the unlucky prelate was kept a close prisoner until the king's death; although one authority states that on William visiting Normandy the ensuing year, he called the imprisoned earl before him, carefully avoiding all allusion to the bishop, gave him a severe lecture on his temporal character, and restored him to liberty, at the same time pardoning the

[1] Richard, the second son of William, was either gored to death by a stag, or hung, like Absalom, by his head in a tree.

unfortunate Earl Morcar, who had long languished in prison.[1] Many of the Norman bishops, who came into vast possessions, employed them in raising magnificent buildings, upon which we still gaze with admiration. They stood between the Conqueror and the people, to mitigate their oppression and to save the property of the Church, which was essentially public property, the inheritance of the lowliest, from the grasp of private rapacity. Some were ambitious and luxurious, but others were humble and self-denying. One of the most learned of the Norman monks, Guitmond, was offered an English bishopric by William; he replied, "I look upon England as altogether a vast heap of booty, and I am as afraid to touch it and its treasures as if it were a burning fire."[2] They were not all as Ordericus has described, when he says, "Some Churchmen who to appearance were religious but constantly following the court, became abject flatterers," and whom in their elevation he compares to "wolves devouring their flocks." Of this latter class was Odo, who, we are told on the authority of this Norman monk, as the king's lieutenant "gave no heed to the reasonable complaints of English subjects, and disdained to weigh them in the balance of equity;" but like his brother, the Conqueror, one end he never lost sight of, whether he worked by clemency or by terror,—the plunder of the land; he plundered by direct confiscation and exaction, or through his subordinate plunderers. "He had fallen into avarice, and greediness he loved withal."[3]

There is a record that Odo as Earl of Kent encroached on the lands of Archbishop Lanfranc, upon which a gemot was called before the Bishop of Coutances, which resulted in Odo and some of his followers having to surrender their plunder. This decision the king was politic enough to approve, and solemnly to confirm by a general council of the whole realm.[4]

There is no record of the date of the erection of the Hunting Lodge at Highgate, but it was probably between A.D. 1068 and 1080. Some idea of its character may be gathered from what we know of contemporaneous erections. It was doubtless a square embattled building of shaped stones, strongly cemented by fluid mortar (some of these stones may still be recognised in the tower of Hornsey Church), surrounded by a moat, the entrance being by a drawbridge; its size may be determined by the measurement of the moat, which was easily traced a few years since.

For some time, antiquarians appear to have been at a loss to fix

[1] *Hist. de Nor. Chron. Nor. Saxon Chron.* Lingard. Hume.

[2] *Saxon Chron.* William, the Norman Bishop of London, obtained great privileges for the city, in gratitude for which the citizens went yearly, even in the memory of our fathers, in solemn procession round his tomb.—*Newcourt.*

[3] Ordericus Vitalis.

[4] Freeman.

upon the precise situation of the Bishop's Lodge, and some allowance may be made when it is considered that the building was probably taken down in the fourteenth century.

Norden, in his *Speculum Britannica*, published in 1593, states that "a hill or fort in Hornesey Park, and so called Lodge Hill, for that thereon for some time stood a lodge, when the park was replenished with deare; but it seemeth, by the foundation, it was rather a castle than a lodge, for the hill is at this time trenched with two deep ditches, now olde and ouergrown with bushes; the rubble thereof, as brick, tile, and Cornish slate, are in heaps yet to be seene, which ruins are of great antiquity, as may appear by the okes at this day standing, above one hundred years' growth, upon the very foundation of the building; it did belong to the Bishop of London, at which place have been dated diuers euidences, some of which yet remain in the Bishop's registrie."

Richard Bearvis or de Beauvois, Bishop of London and Warden of the marches of Wales (died January, A.D. 1127), who in 1112, granted the chapel at Muswell Hill to the priory of Clerkenwell, doubtless resided at Lodge Hill.

There is no reasonable doubt but that other bishops, prior and subsequent to that period, made Lodge Hill their occasional habitation; but the following extract shows the latest period at which episcopal matters transacted at that palace were registered. "The Manor of Hornsey belongs to the see of London from time immemorial; the bishops had a residence, but there does not occur in the episcopal register any act dated later than the year 1306."[1]

It may thus fairly be inferred that the castle at Lodge Hill, which was pulled down by reason of its age in the fourteenth century, was the occasional residence of the Bishops of London.

Although Norden, with great particularity, described the moat as overrun with bushes, and oak trees a century old growing on the foundation; and Newcourt, in his *Repertorium*, and other writers of later date, have noticed the same circumstance; still the former, although he was in possession of the means, omitted to identify the precise spot; and the latter seem not to have been possessed of sufficient curiosity to search for the proofs of their statements.

In the award plan of the parish of Hornsey the field numbered 631 is called Lodge Hill; it is bounded on the west by a wood, which reaches from thence up to Hampstead Lane, near the entrance lodges of Caen Wood Estate. This wood is of considerable extent, and goes still by the name of the Bishop's Wood. Lodge Hill is the fourth field south-westward of the Manor farm-house, on the north road between Highgate and Finchley, and is intersected by the boundary line

[1] Lysons.

between the parishes of Hornsey and Finchley ; it is prominent as the highest spot of ground in the centre of the demesne lands of the Bishop of London. The view must therefore have commanded the approaches from all sides.

The trenches spoken of by Norden unquestionably formed a moat. This sort of protection was usual to buildings of that class in the eleventh century. The form of the moat is still visible, and is seventy yards square ; the site of the building is very uneven, and bears the traces of foundation walls, and is somewhat higher than the ground outside the trenches.

The spring that filled the moat is still running, but it now finds its way down the sewer of the new road, which almost touches the old site, and which is most appropriately called " Bishop's Avenue."

The Norman bishop was no mean judge of a beautiful site, for his hunting lodge, situated as it was,—overlooking the forest glades as far as the eye could reach to the east, surrounded by the gentle uplands of Hampstead and Highgate to the west and south, whilst to the north the forest extended in its gloomy grandeur right away to the Chiltern Hills a lovely diversity of hill and dale watered by the many tributaries of the Brent and the Lea,—must have been one of the most picturesque spots in England, and from its proximity to the metropolis a most convenient and fitting country residence.

From the fact that the bishops and barons of those times hunted in great state, a large train of retainers would be in attendance, and the old lodge must have been the centre of many a stirring and jovial meeting ; and it is most likely that the Conqueror himself was not an unfrequent participant in the sports of the great park of Hornsey, lying, as it did, so near to the seat of his government.

If we may draw an analogy from circumstances which occurred elsewhere, we may be pretty certain that no one was allowed to erect any residence within a pretty wide circle of the hunting lodge ; for in Hampshire and other places whole villages were depopulated, and churches overthrown, not the least regard being paid to the sufferings of the inhabitants or to the cause of religion, in order to give more cover to the beasts of the chase.[1] A glimpse of the "good old times" is presented in a passage by John of Salisbury, a writer of the twelfth century. He says :—

" Husbandmen with their harmless herds and flocks are driven from their cultivated fields, their meadows, and their pastures, that wild beasts may range in them without interruption;" then, addressing his unfortunate countrymen, he adds, " If one of these great and merciless hunters pass by your habitation, bring forth hastily all the refreshment you have in

[1] Strutt.

your house, or that you can readily buy or borrow from your neighbours, that you may not be involved in ruin or even accused of treason."

From this extract it may be gathered that the Norman game laws were very oppressive, and contrasted unfavourably with those of the Danes or the Saxons. Some of the temporal lords complained of the bishops to King Stephen, "and told him that their building castles was an expensive ambition foreign to their character, and from which their retainers sallied upon the neighbourhood, ruined the country people, rifled the churches, and produced slaughter, beggary, and desolation."[1]

Old Fuller says :—"The (Norman) Bishops were the most powerful nobles in the land, each one having a cathedral for his devotion, many manors for his profit, parks for his pleasure, and castles for his protection. If any one ask how these castles belong to Church history, know that the bishops were the greatest castle-mongers of the age."[2]

This propensity of the clergy to follow secular pastime, especially hunting and hawking, is frequently reprobated by the earlier poets and moralists.

Chaucer makes the monk "much better skilled in riding and hunting than in divinity." In the Ploughman's Tale he accuses the monks of pride, because they rode on coursers like knights, having their hawks and hounds with them, and severely reproaches the priests for their dissolute manners, saying that "many of them thought more upon hunting with their dogs and blowing the horn than of the service they owed to God."

But that this state of things did not meet universal approbation is proved by a MS. of Homilies in the Cotton Library, written about 1430, containing instructions to priests in general, and requiring them amongst other things not to engage in "hawkynge, huntynge, or dawnsynge."

"The manner of hunting at large, needs no description ; but as the method of killing game within the enclosures is now totally laid aside, it may not be amiss to give some idea how it was performed, and particularly when the king and nobility were present. All the preparations and ceremonies necessary upon the occasion are set down at large in the manuscript made for the use of Prince Henry (son of Henry IV.), the substance of which is as follows. When the king should think proper to hunt the hart in the parks or forests, either with bows or greyhounds, the master of the game, and the park-keeper, or forester, being made acquainted with his pleasure, was to see that everything was provided necessary for the purpose. It was the duty of the sheriff of the county wherein the hunting was to be performed to furnish fit stabling for the king's horses, and carts to take away the dead game. The hunters and officers under the forester with their assistants were commanded to erect

[1] Collier's *Ecclesiastical History.* [2] Fuller's *Church History.*

a sufficient number of temporary buildings for the reception of the royal family and their train; and these buildings were directed to be covered with green boughs, to answer the double purpose of shading the company and the hounds from the heat of the sun, and to protect them from any inconvenience in case of foul weather. Early in the morning, upon the day appointed for the sport, the master of the game, with the officers deputed by him, were to see that the greyhounds were properly placed, and the person nominated to blow the horn, whose office was to watch what kind of game was turned out, and, by the manner of winding his horn, signify the same to the company, that they might be prepared for its reception upon its quitting the cover. Proper persons were then to be appointed at different parts of the enclosure to keep the populace at due distance. The yeomen of the king's bow, and the grooms of his tutored greyhounds, had in charge to secure the king's standing, and prevent any noise being made to disturb the game before the arrival of his majesty. When the royal family and nobility were conducted to the places appointed for their reception, the master of the game, or his lieutenant, sounded three long mootes, or blasts with the horn, for the uncoupling of the hart-hounds. The game was then driven from the cover, and turned by the huntsmen or hounds so as to pass by the stand belonging to the king and queen and such of the nobility as were permitted to have a share in the pastime; who might either shoot at them with their bows, or pursue them with their greyhounds, at their pleasure. We are informed that the game which the king or queen, or the prince or princesses, slew with their own bows, or particularly commanded to be let run, was not liable to any claim by the huntsmen or their attendants; but of all the rest that was killed they had certain parts assigned to them by the master of the game, according to the ancient custom. This arrangement was made for royal hunting, but similar preparations were made upon like occasions for the sport of great barons or dignified clergy. The tenants sometimes held land of them, by service of finding men to enclose the grounds, and drive the deer to the stands, whenever it pleased their lords to hunt them."[1]

The privileges of hunting in the royal forests were confined to the king and his favourites; and to render these receptacles for the beasts of the chase more capacious, and to make new ones, whole districts were laid waste, as evidenced by the New Forest in Hampshire, made by the elder William; the park at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, seven miles in circumference, and walled round with stone by Henry his son. This park, Stow tells us, was the first made in England; but the park of Hornsey must have been laid out prior to this date. The royal example was first followed by Henry Earl of Warwick, who made a

[1] Strutt.

park at Wedgenoke, near Warwick, "to preserve his deer and other animals for hunting;" after this the practice of park-making became general among persons of opulence.[1]

The bishops and abbots of the middle ages must have expended vast sums on their hunting establishments; and some of them were noted for their skill in this fashionable pursuit.

Walter, Bishop of Rochester, who lived in the thirteenth century, was an excellent hunter, and so fond of the sport that at the age of fourscore he made hunting his only employment, to the total neglect of the duties of his office. In the succeeding century an abbot of Leicester surpassed all the sportsmen of the time in the art of hare-hunting; and even when those dignitaries were travelling from place to place upon affairs of business, they usually had both hounds and hawks in their trains. Thomas à Becket, being sent as ambassador from Henry II. to the court of France, assumed the state of a secular potentate, and took with him dogs and hawks of various sorts, such as were used by kings and princes.[2] The clergy of rank at all times had the privilege of hunting in their own parks and enclosures, and therefore, that they might not be prevented from following this favourite pastime, they took care to have such receptacles for game belonging to their own establishments. At the time of the Reformation the see of Norwich alone was in the possession of no less than thirteen parks well stocked with deer and other animals of the chase![3]

Nothing is known of any recorded visit of Bishop Odo to Highgate, but it is only a reasonable surmise that, after erecting a hunting-lodge and enclosing a magnificent tract of land, the work of either himself or his contemporaries, he would make frequent use of it; indeed the presumption is, that hunting and hawking were so common and so continuous a pastime of the early princes of the Church that it was not a matter calling for special chronicle. It was hardly likely that the bishops of London, to whom the property seems to have descended, made use of the solitary Lodge except for hunting purposes; and doubtless by degrees it fell into decay and was pulled down for its materials, which were carted away for church-building. It was not the policy of the early kings to encourage the erection of fortified places near the metropolis. There is not a castle (other than the Tower) in Middlesex!

There is no recorded date of the destruction of the building, but itwa s probably between A.D. 1441 and 1500,[4] for Thomas Southwell, a priest, said mass in the Lodge at Hornsey Park upon the necromantic instruments which were to be used for the purpose of consuming the person

[1] Strutt.
[2] Fitzstephen
[3] Strutt.
[4] Norden.

of Henry VI. in 1441;[1] and Hornsey Church was built in the year A.D. 1500, with the materials of the ruins of the bishop's palace.[2]

These dates tally with Norden's statement, that "trees of a hundred years' growth were flourishing upon the foundations of the old building in 1593."

In the course of time the bishops admitted customary tenants to the manor and granted leases upon "certain conditions." The substance of these feudal land laws is of considerable interest. The leading conditions of the bishops' leases were—

"That they (the tenants) shall perform all the duties that belong to horsemen.

"That they shall pay all things that are due unto the Church, and perform all other rights that belong to it.

"That they shall swear to be in humble subjection at the command of the bishop as long as they shall hold their lands of him.

"That as often as the occasion of the bishop shall so require they shall present themselves to be ready for it, and shall both furnish him with horses and ride themselves.

"That of their *own accord* they shall be ready to perform all the work about the steeple of the church (*i.e.*, cart the materials to build the tower of Hornsey Church), and for the building of castles and bridges.

"That they shall readily help to fence in the bishop's parks, and to furnish him with hunting weapons when he goeth a-hunting.

"That in many other cases, when the occasion of the bishop shall require, whether it be for his own service or the king's service, they shall in all humbleness and subjection be obedient to the chief captain or leader of the bishoprick, for the benefit done unto them, and the quantity of land every one of them possesseth.

"That after the expiration of three lives, the land shall return again to the bishoprick.

"That if there be any defect in the performing the premises by reason of some shall vary or break the agreement, the delinquent shall make satisfaction according to the justice of the bishop, or shall forfeit the land which he had of his gift."[3]

Such were the conditions forced on the tenants of bishops' manors, a part of the feudal chain which held the whole kingdom in vassalage.

Before leaving the old Lodge it is necessary to chronicle the historical records connected with it, or the adjoining park; for doubtless, as long as the building was habitable, the gatherings mentioned centred round it.

Curiously enough its traditions are associated with the names of both the Scottish patriots Wallace[4] and Bruce. The incidents are

[1] Stow.
[2] Lysons.
[3] Sir Henry Spelman.
[4] Spelt "Waleys" in the old records.

narrated by Miss Porter in a tu gid historical romance called the *Scottish Chiefs*, a work very popular with our grandmothers. It is too dreary to reproduce. The outline of the story is that after Wallace was executed in Smithfield on 23rd August, 1305, his remains were secretly removed to the chapel of the Lodge at Highgate, then occupied by Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, the son-in-law of Edward I., and remained there until a fitting opportunity occurred to remove them to Scotland. Soon after the execution of Wallace, the fidelity of Robert Bruce was questioned. He had hitherto been faithful to Edward, as in 1299 he was appointed one of the four Regents of Scotland who ruled the kingdom under Baliol. In 1305 he was certainly in London, as he was consulted by the king concerning the settlement of the government; but falling under suspicion, withdrew to the solitude of the Lodge at Highgate disguised as a Carmelite friar.

An act of treachery well-nigh betrayed Bruce, for a letter giving some information was read aloud by the king in the accidental presence of his son-in-law the Duke of Gloucester, a warm friend of both the Scottish patriots, whom the king addressed with a suspicious smile, saying, in a low voice, "In case you should know this new rebel's lurking-place, presume not to leave this room till he is brought before me. See to your obedience, or your head shall follow Wallace's."

The king withdrew; and the earl, aware that search would be made through all his houses, sought in his own mind for some expedient to apprise Bruce of his danger. To write in the presence-chamber was impossible; to deliver a message in a whisper would be hazardous, for most of the surrounding courtiers, seeing the frown with which the king had left the apartment, marked the commands he gave the Marshal: "Be sure that the Earl of Gloucester quits not this room till I return."

In the confusion of his thoughts the earl turned his eye on Lord Montgomery, who had only arrived that morning from an embassy to Spain. He had heard with unutterable horror the fate of Wallace, and had arranged with Gloucester to accompany him that very evening to pledge his friendship to Bruce. To Montgomery, then, as the only man acquainted with his secret, he turned, and taking his spur off tied a feather to it, the generally accepted symbol of haste, and pulling out a purse of gold, he said aloud, and with as easy an air as he could assume, "Here, my Lord Montgomery, as you are going directly to Highgate, I will thank you to call at my lodge; put these spurs and this purse into the hands of the groom we spoke of; he will know what use to make of them." He then turned negligently on his heel, and Montgomery quitted the apartment.

The apprehension of this young lord was not less quick than the invention of his friend. He guessed that the Scottish chief was

betrayed; and to render his escape the less likely to be traced—the ground being wet, and liable to retain impressions—before he reached the Lodge he dismounted in the adjoining wood, and with his own hands, it is said, reversed the shoes on the feet of the horse he had provided for Bruce. He then proceeded to the house, and found the object of his mission, disguised as a Carmelite friar. Montgomery, handing him the spur and purse, urged his immediate escape; and it is said that Bruce had hardly gained the cover of the woods before a military detachment was seen crossing the park.

No episcopal act seems to have been dated from the Lodge later than 1306,[1] and Camden records that the Earl of Gloucester was a resident there in that very year,[2] and, therefore, it is not altogether unlikely that the remains of Wallace found a temporary resting-place under a friendly roof until a fitting opportunity occurred of sending them to Scotland. Miss Porter states[3] that Buchanan names "Montgomery" as the friend who apprised Bruce of his danger. Holinshed[4] attributes it to "Gloucester," but a Scotch tradition credits one of the "gentle Johnstones" as the quick-witted messenger. This family is now represented by Sir F. W. J. Johnstone of Westerhall, of which family Sir Harcourt Johnstone, now Lord Derwent, is of the younger branch. Their crest is the flying spur, with the motto, "Nunquam non paratus" (Never unready), which crest, it is stated, was bestowed on the family by Robert Bruce after he had obtained the Scottish crown. This is a very interesting tradition, to present residents in Highgate, from the fact that when Mr. J. G. Johnson erected his charming house in Southwood Lane (Southwood Court), without being aware of the tradition, the family crest, "the flying spur," was carved on the corbels.[5] And thus, after a lapse of nearly *six hundred* years, the achievement of the "ready messenger" is chronicled in stone, singularly enough within a few hundred yards of the place with which the tradition was first associated.

An event in which our village was doubtless interested was the visit of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and the Barons of Snowdon to London in A.D. 1277 to do homage to Edward I.

They were accompanied by large retinues, who were quartered in Islington and the neighbouring villages.

"They liked neither the wine nor the ale of London, and though plentifully entertained, were much displeased at a new manner of living, which did not suit their tastes, or perhaps their constitutions; they were still

[1] Lysons.

[2] Gilbert Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hereford, went with other English barons to the Pope, respecting the canonisation of Thomas de Cantilope or Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford about 1305.—Ormsby-Gore MSS.

[3] *Scottish Chiefs.*

[4] *Chronicles.*

[5] See p. 84.

more offended at the crowds of people that flocked about them when they stirred abroad, staring at them as if they had been monsters, and laughing at their uncouth garb and appearance. They were so enraged upon this occasion that they engaged privately to rebel on the first opportunity, and resolved to die in their own country, rather than ever to come again to London, as subjects to be held in such derision."[1]

In A.D. 1386-7, in the tempestuous reign of Richard II., "the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, and Nottingham, etc., etc., repaired to arms for the purpose of opposing Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, whom the king in the excess of his partiality had created Duke of Ireland. They assembled their troops in *Harringay Park*, and so overawed the king that he requested a conference at Westminster."[2]

Another version states, with respect to this rising[3]:—

"The Duke of Glocester and the Lords of his party finding the designs of the courtiers against them, first endeavoured to vindicate and then to defend their artifices. And the duke offered to purge himself by oath before the Bishop of *London*, that he had no design against the King's person or dignity; with which the Bishop acquainted the King, and was like to have obtained credit, till the Earl of Suffolk violently incensed his Majesty against the Duke. For which the Duke took the liberty to tell him openly, *That it became him to be wholly silent, since he lived condemned in Parliament, and lived only by the King's grace and favor.* But finding the King so much at the Earl's disposal, as to command him out of his presence, he informed the Duke how much the King was influenced by his wicked counsellors, and advised him to obviate the destruction prepared for him; whereupon the Duke immediately sent for the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, and *Derby*, eldest son to the Duke of *Lancaster*, who all resolved to raise an army and stand upon their guard, and to treat with the King concerning the Public affairs, and *that immoderate favor shewn to them who were traitors both to him and the Public.* But the King endeavoured to surprise them singly, before they had joined their forces; but failing in the design, the confederate Lords marched towards London to *Harringay Park*, near Highgate, where at their rendezvous they mustered above 40,000 men. This broke all the King's measures, and prevented a voyage he had designed for France, when, as Walsingham assures us, he was to have delivered up Calais and other important places to the French King, which, by the fatal counsel of his flatterers, he was to have sold to that Prince, on condition he was to

[1] Carte, *History of England.*
[2] Camden, *History of England.*
[3] Eachard, *History of England.*

assist him to subdue his rebellious nobility. The King was now in great confusion, and held several consultations with his favourites; and being one time willing to divert himself by the rambling discourse of a crack-brained Knight, called Sir Hugh de Lynn, kept by the charity of the courtiers, he jocularly asked him what he should do with the Lords at Harringay Park. To which Sir Hugh answered very gravely, 'Let us march out, Sir, and kill every man of them, and then, by * * * * eyes, you will have bravely destroyed the most faithful subjects in your Kingdom.'"

A.D. 1397.—"On St. Matthew's day, Edward, Earl of Rutland, the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerset, and Salisbury, with the Lords Spencer and Scrope, in a suite of red gownes of silke, garded and bordered with white silke, embroidered with letters of golde, propounded the appeal by them to the King, at Nottingham, in the which they accused Thomas, Duke of Glocester, Richard, Earl of Arundell, Thomas, Earl of Warwick, and Thomas de Mortimer, knight, of the premised treasons, and of an armed insurrection of *Harringay Park*, traitorously attempted against the King."[1]

A.D. 1399.—"When King Richard the Second was taken prisoner by the Earl of Northumberland, and conveyed to the Duke of Lancaster, he was removed by Nantwich to Newcastle in Staffordshire, where the old Earl of Warwick, recalled from banishment in the Isle of Man, met him to upbraid his severity; from whence he was brought from Stafford to Lichfield, and being lodged in the castle had like to have escaped out of a window, but was discovered and put under greater security. From hence he was carried in a few days through Coventry, Daventry, Northampton, Dunstable, and St. Albans to London. When the Duke was come to *Harringay Park*, the Mayor and companies in their liveries, with trumpets sounding, met him and paid him much more respect than the king himself."[2]

Rymer and Holinshed state that the nobles were attended in the above turbulent periods by such prodigious retinues that they not only filled all the vacant apartments in London and its vicinity, but in all the towns and villages round the metropolis.

A.D. 1441.—"Roger Bolingbroke, a great astrologer, with Thomas Southwell, a canon of St. Stephen's Chapel at Westminster, were taken as conspirators of the king's death, for it was said that the same Roger should labour to consume the King's person by way of Negromancie, and the said Thomas should say masses in the Lodge of *Harnsey Parke* beside London, upon certain instruments with which the said Roger should use his craft of Negromancie against the faith, and was assenting to the said Roger in all his works. And the five and twentieth day of July, being Sunday, Roger Bolingbroke with all his instruments of

[1] Stow. [2] Daniel, *History of England*.

Negromancie, that is to say, a chayre paynted wherin he was wont to sit, upon the 4 corners of which chayre stood 4 swords, and upon every sword an image of copper hanging with many other instruments: he stoode on a high scaffolde in Paul's Churchyard, before the crosse, holding a sword in his right hand and a scepter in his left, arrayed in a meruellous attire, and after the sermon was ended by Maister Low, Bishop of Rochester, he abiured all articles longinge to the crafte of Negromancie or missowaing to the faith, in presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Cardinal of Winchester, the Bishops of London, Salisbury, and many other.

"On the Tuesday next followinge dame Eleanor Cobham, daughter to Reginald Cobham, Lord of Stirborough, Duchesse of Glocester, fledde by night into the sanctuary at Westminster, which caused her to be suspected of treason."[1]

"In the meantime Roger Bolenbrooke was examined before the King's Counsaile, when he confessed that he wrought Negromancie at the stirring and procurement of the said Dame Eleanor to know what should befall of her, and to what estate she should come, whereupon shee was cited to appear in St. Stephens Chapel in Westminster, there to answer certain articles in number 28, of Negromancie, witchcraft, sorcerie, heresie, where when shee appeared the foresaide Roger was brought forthe to witnesse against her, and said that shee was cause and first stirred him to labour in the said Art.

"That these four persons should at the request of the said Duchess, devise an image of wax, like unto the king, the which image they dealt so with, that by their devilish incantations and sorcery, they intended to bring out of life little and little the king's person, as they little and little consumed the image, for the which reason and others, finally they were convicted and adjudged to die, but Master Thomas Southwell died in the Tower of London."[2]

"The Devil teacheth how to make pictures of wax or clay, that by the roasting thereof, the persons that they bear the name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness,"—is the dictum of the wise King James, and in Grafton's *Chronicle* it is laid to the charge (among others) of Roger Bolingbroke, a cunning necromancer, and Margery Jordane, the cunning Witch of Eye, "that they at the request of Eleanor Duchess of Gloucester had devised an image of wax representing the king (Henry VI.), which by their sorcery gradually consumed; intending thereby finally to waste and destroy the king's person."

Shakespeare alludes to this circumstance in Part II. *Henry VI.*, Act I., Scene iv.

[1] Stow. [2] Fabyan.

A.D. 1461.—"The Earl of March routed the king's army at Northampton, when Henry was again taken prisoner, brought to London, and lodged once more in the bishop's palace. The success of the confederate lords had so elated the citizens of London, who were well affected to the cause, that they committed several outrages against many persons of the Lancastrian party.

"The Lord Scales, who had refused to deliver up the Tower to the Earl of Marche before the battle of Northampton, now, finding the king in the hands of his adversaries, and despairing of relief, surrendered upon terms.

"Imagining, however, that the articles were not sufficient to secure him from the fury of the citizens, whom he had highly injured, he endeavoured to escape by water; but being unfortunately discovered by some of the Earl of Warwick's watermen, he was barbarously murdered and his body thrown into the river. No enquiry being made after the perpetrators of this deed, it gave encouragement to carry on a kind of proscription, and among others who suffered death by the violence of the mob was Thorp, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons, but at this time a Baron of the Exchequer."[1]

"Baron Thorp was a man of many good parts, and ever faithful to his Soveraigne Lord King Henry the Sixt, by whom he was specially employed bothe in peace and warre, against the violence of his headstrong Lords, but in the end it was the hard happe of this v'right Exchequer man to be beheaded at *Highgate*, by the Commons of Kent, the 17th day of February, 1461."[2]

A.D. 1471.—Highgate was enlivened by a scene of great martial display, upon the return of Queen Margaret, consort of King Henry VI., at the head of the Lancastrian troops from the battle of St. Albans, where she had defeated the army of Yorkists, commanded by the Earl of Warwick. What number of troops entered *Highgate* is unknown, but Camden states 2,300 of the vanquished perished in the pursuit, and if so our fields must have been covered with the dead and the dying.

A.D. 1483.—That youthful, unfortunate, and short-lived Prince Edward V. succeeded to the throne. "As the king and Duke of Gloucester drew near the City of London, Edmund Shaw, Goldsmith, then Mayor, and William White and John Mathews, Sherriffs, with all their brethren the Aldermen in scarlet, and 500 commoners on horseback in purple-coloured gowns, met at *Harnsey Park*, and with great honour and reverence conducted him through their City to the Bishop of London's Palace near St. Paul's, on the 4th of May."[3]

[1] Harrison's *History of London*.
[2] Weever's *Funeral Monuments*.
[3] Sir Thomas More.

In this solemn cavalcade the Duke of Gloucester's deportment was very remarkable, for riding uncovered before the king, he frequently called to the citizens with an audible voice to "behold their prince and sovereign."[1]

A.D. 1485.—After the battle of Bosworth put an end to the short usurpation of Richard III., and placed the crown on the head of Henry Earl of Richmond, the king was received by the magistrates of London with due formalities at *Highgate*, and conducted to St. Paul's Cathedral, where he offered the standards taken in the battle.

A.D. 1487.—Henry VII., on his return to London after his defeat of Simnel and his adherents, "was met in *Harnsey Park* by the Maior, Aldermen, and Sherriffs and principal Commoners of the City of London, all on horseback and in one livery to attend upon him, when he dubbed Sir William Horne, Maior of London, Knight, and betwixt Isledon and London he dubbed Sir J. Percival, Alderman, Knight."[2]

There are records of Royal visits to Highgate at later dates, but these were associated with Arundel House rather than with the Lodge and Hornsey Park.

THE MANOR OF HORNSEY.

The antiquity of the manor of Hornsey is established by the fact that the lands therein descend according to the ancient custom of gavelkind. Sir William Blackstone observes that "from Cæsar's account of the tenets and discipline of the Druids a few points may be collected which bear a great affinity and resemblance to some of the modern doctrines of English law, and it may be observed that the very notion of an oral unwritten law, handed down from age to age, by custom and tradition, may have been derived from Druidical sources, and the partible quality also of lands by the custom of gavelkind which still obtains in many parts of England, and did obtain universally in Wales till the reign of Henry VIII., is undoubtedly of British origin." And after enumerating the most remarkable among the Saxon laws of King Alfred's code—the original of that system of maxims and customs known as the Common Law—he instances "the descent of their lands to all the males equally without any right of primogeniture—a custom which obtained among the Britons, was agreeable to the Roman law, and continued among the Saxons till the Norman Conquest."[3]

Lands descend in the manor of "Hornsey," as well as in the adjoining Manor of "Cantlowes," according to this ancient custom.

This tenure or custom is very common in the county of Kent.

The word is said by Lambard to be compounded of three Saxon

[1] Allen's *History of London.* [2] Stow. [3] Blackstone's *Commentaries.*

words, *gyfe*, *eal*, *kyn*, or *omnibus cognatione proximis data*. Verstegan calls it *gavel kind*, or "give all kind," that is, to each child his part; but Taylor, in his history of *Gavel kind*, derives it from the British *Gavel*, that is, a hold, or tenure, and *cenned generatio*, or *familia*; and so *gavel cenned* might signify *tenura generationis*. It is generally known what struggles the Kentish men made to preserve their ancient liberties, and with how much success those struggles were attended; and as it is principally here we meet with the custom of gavelkind, though it was, and is, to be found in other parts of the kingdom, we may fairly conclude that this was a part of their liberties. According to Selden, before the Norman Conquest gavelkind was the general custom of the realm. The principal and distinguishing properties of this kind of tenure are these: 1st. The tenant is of age sufficient to alienate his estate by feoffment at the age of fifteen; 2nd. The estate does not escheat in case of an attainder and execution of the tenant for felony, the maxim being, "the father to the bough, the son to the plough;" 3rd. In most places the tenant had the power of devising lands by will, before the statute for that purpose was made; 4th. The lands descend not to the eldest, youngest, or any one son only, but to all the sons together, which was indeed anciently the most usual course of descent all over England; although, in particular cases, particular customs prevailed.[1]

In the adjoining manors of Islington and Edmonton, the customs of "Borough English" prevailed, by which the younger son inherited the lands in preference to his elder brothers, the probable reason being that the youngest son on account of his tender age was not so capable as his elder brothers of maintaining himself; or this custom may possibly have had an eastern origin—the elder sons having taken their portion and left the younger son with his father. But there are other reasons assigned.

It is of singular interest to note the preservation of these ancient customs, and, remembering the violent changes which passed over early English society, it is remarkable that these landmarks should have made a successful defence against the tide of time, which has swept away nearly all other local associations.

If the statement is correct, that the Conqueror seized the lands belonging to the abbey of St. Albans south of Barnet, and added them to the see of London in A.D. 1068,[2] which lands would without doubt be on the line of the great north road, then the Manor of Hornsey has belonged to the Church from time immemorial.

In the history of the diocese of London[3] it is stated that "this parish, Hornsey, or Harnsey, in old records Haringeye, Haryngaye, Harringhay, or Heringhay, for so many ways is it written, is in all matters of eccle-

[1] *Cyclopædia Britannica.* [2] Daniel's *History of England.* [3] Newcourt.

siastical cognizance *exempt* from the archdeacon of Middlesex, and entirely subject to the Bishop and his Commissary of London and Middlesex, both the manor and the advowson of the Church having been beyond all record in the Bishop of London."

This fact seems to favour the idea that if the lands were bestowed by the Conqueror on Odo, or any other Norman prelate, they were rather a personal than an official gift; and it is further remarkable that the manor is not mentioned in the *Domesday Survey*, in which record Fulham and Stepney are the only manors set forth as belonging to the see of London; but there are reasons which would fully account for this omission, which will be presently referred to.

Sir Richard Baker, a resident of Highgate,[1] asserts that "William I., by the advice of Roger, Earl of Hertford, caused the whole realm to be described in a censual roll (whereof he took a precedent from King Alfred, so as there was not one hyde of land but both the yearly rent and the owner thereof was therein set down),—how many plough lands, what pastures, fens, or marshes, what woods, farms, and tenements, were in every shire, and what every one was worth. Also how many villains every man had; what beasts, what cattle, what fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his possessions did yield. This book was called *The Roll of Winton*, because it was kept in the city of Winchester. By the English it was called Doomsday Book, either by reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly instead of *Domus Dei* book, for that it was laid in the church of Winchester in a place called Domus Dei.[2] According to this roll, taxations were imposed, sometimes 2*s.*, and at this time 6*s.*, upon every hyde of land (a hyde containing, as Master Lambert proveth, one hundred acres). In all those lands which he gave to any man he reserved dominion in chief to himself, as also a yearly rent, and likewise a fine whensoever the tenant did alien or die. These were bound to him by oath of fealty or homage, and if any died his son being within age, the king received the profits of his lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heir's body until his age of one-and-twenty years!"

The list of the public records states "there are two volumes of *Domesday*, containing a general survey of England, made in the time of William the Conqueror, which are the most ancient books of record in the realm. One volume contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, the other contains the rest of the counties in England, except Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Northumberland." This important work, invaluable to the student of history, was begun by order of the far-seeing

[1] *Chronicles of the Kings of England.*

[2] The survey was called *Domesday*, the popular idea being that it was a book of judgment.

Conqueror in A.D. 1080, and finished in 1086, as appears by an entry at the end of the second volume, in what seems to be contemporary writing. "ANNO MILLESIMO OCTOGESIMO SEXTO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI VIGESIMO VERO REGNI WILLI FACTA EST ISTA DESCRIPTIO, NON SOLUM PER HOS TRES COMITATUS SED ETIAM PER ALIOS."

All the country between the Tees and the Tyne was held by the Bishop of Durham, and he was reputed a count palatine, having a separate government; the other three northern counties had just been laid waste by fire and sword. *There was nothing to chronicle!*[1]

A few notes may be acceptable, showing by what manner of men the land was then occupied.

There were the barons, who were the Norman nobles,[2] and the Thanes, the Saxon; there were the freemen, the freeholders of a manor—many of these were tenants of the king "in capite," *i.e.*, they held their possessions direct from the crown; others placed themselves under the protection of some powerful noble, paying some stipend or performing some service.

Next to the freemen came the "socmen" or dependent landholders, with a permanent tenure; then the "villani," who were allowed to occupy land upon performing services of the meanest nature—they could acquire no property in lands or goods, and were subject to many exactions and oppressions, not altogether bondmen, but representing the Saxon "churl;" and lastly, the slaves, or the Saxon "theow."[3] Leaving the nobility and the dwellers in towns, the rural population, which would then represent Hornsey, were divided into bee-keepers, ploughmen, shepherds, neat-herds, goat-herds, swine-herds, and vine dressers.

Domesday affords indubitable proof of the cultivation of the vine in England. There are thirty-eight entries of vineyards in the southern and eastern counties.[4]

The primary object of the Survey was for the purpose of taxation, which, levied under the name of "danegeld," was first collected by King Ethelred about A.D. 990 to pay the Danes, either as friends for protection, or as foes whose room was more appreciated than their company; and although this reason had passed away in the Conqueror's time, yet the tax was continued under its old name, although it was appropriated to entirely different purposes.

The number of hides of land in England dealt with by this Survey is

[1] Sir H. Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*.

[2] Ten Norman chiefs, who held under the crown, are enumerated in the *Survey* as possessing 2,820 manors!

[3] Sir H. Ellis.

[4] There was a vineyard in East Smithfield belonging to the Nunnery of Aldgate. The Isle of Ely was called La Ile des Vignes, and notes of tithes for wine appear in the accounts of many of the parishes of Kent, Surrey, etc.—Holinshed's *Chronicle*. See *Forest Charters*, p. 70.

estimated at 243,600,[1] and rated at 6*s.* a hide, which was the sum exacted yearly by the Conqueror, would amount to about £73,000. In the succeeding reign, William Rufus, it was reduced to 4*s.*; by Henry I. to 3*s.*; and by Stephen to 2*s.* a hide.

The following are a few extracts from the *Domesday Survey*, being records of the nearest adjoining lands to Hornsey, which may be of interest as showing the items reported:—

In Osolvestane (Ossulton) Hundred,[2] *Bishop of London's lands.*

"Ralf a canon holds Rugmere, it answered for two hides; there is land to one plough and a half; there is one plough in the demesne, and half a plough may be made. Wood (nemus) for the hedges four shillings; this land is worth thirty-five shillings; the same when received in King Edward's, forty shillings; it was in King Edward's time and now is in the demesne of the Canons.

"*Manor.*—The Canons of St. Paul's hold Tothell (Tothill). It always answered for five hides. There is land to four ploughs. There are three ploughs and a half there, yet a half may be made. There are four villanes and four borders. Pannage for one hundred and fifty hogs; and twenty shillings for herbage. Its whole value is four pounds; the same when received in King Edward's time, one hundred shillings. This Manor belonged and belongs to the demesne of St. Paul's.

"*Manor.*—The Canons of St. Paul's hold four hides in San Pancratium (St. Pancras). There is land to two ploughs. The villanes have one plough, and another plough may be made. Wood for the hedges, pasture for the cattle, and twenty pence. There are four villanes who hold this land under the canons, and seven cottages. Its whole value is forty shillings; the same when received in King Edward's time, sixty shillings. This land laid and lies in the demesne of St. Paul's.

"Walter, a canon, holds one hide to San Pancratium (St. Pancras). Land to one plough; there are twenty-four vassals, who pay thirty shillings a year. This land laid and lies in the demesne of the church of St. Paul's.

"In Isendone (Islington), the canons of St. Paul's have two hides of land to one plough and a half. There is one plough there, and a half may be made. There are three villanes of one virgate. Pasture for the cattle of the village. This land is and was worth forty shillings. This land laid and lies in the demesne of the church of St. Paul's.

"In the same village the canons themselves have two hides of land. There is land there to two ploughs and a half, and they are there now. There are four villanes who hold this land under the canons; and four borders and thirteen cottagers. This land is worth thirty shillings; the

[1] Camden's *Britannia.*

[2] Rev. W. Bawdwen's *Translation of Domesday.*

same when received in King Edward's time, forty shillings; this laid and lies in the demesne of the church of St. Paul's."

Land of Geoffry De Mandevile in Osulvestane (Ossulton) Hundred.

"Gulbert holds of Geoffry half a hide in Isendone (Islington); there is land to half a plough, and it is there, and one villane and one border. This land is worth twelve shillings; the same when received in King Edward's time, twenty shillings. Grim, a vassal of King Edward, held this land and might sell it."

Land of Derman Londonensis.

"Derman holds of the king half a hide in Isendone (Islington). There is land to half a plough. There is one villane there; this land is, and was, worth ten shillings. Algar, a vassal of King Edward's, held this land, and he might sell and give it.

"The suburb (hoc suburbium) of Hertford pays twenty pounds weighed and burnt,[1] and three mills ten pounds by tale; when Peter the Sherriff received it, it paid fifteen pounds by tale. In King Edward's time, seven pounds and ten shillings by tale."[2]

Several causes may be assigned for the fact that no mention is made in the *Survey* of the lands of Hornsey. In the first place the lands of the bishops and the religious houses were, although partly scheduled, exempt from the tax, in consequence of their holding them by direct grants from the crown.

Secondly, the forest land was not liable, as the crown had *overriding* jurisdiction, if not in actual possession.

Thirdly, it is set forth that in some few estates the number of hides was not known, and that they never paid the tax is probable, owing to their never having been turned into tillage, and it is certain the forest of Middlesex was not in tillage when the Survey was taken.

Fourthly, the bounds of the manors of St. Pancras and Islington were not accurately set out, and, therefore, the small portion of arable land then existing in the parish of Hornsey may have been included within their limits. And fifthly, the lands formerly belonging to the Abbot of St. Albans, south of Barnet, had been seized by the Conqueror, and they are supposed to have included Hornsey, and may at that time have been in his actual possession. There is yet another inference which may be suggested by the immense number of acres covered by the expression "the suburb of Hertford," which may have included these lands, for the

[1] When *Domesday* was compiled there was always a fire in the Exchequer, and if they liked not the alloy of the money they burnt it and then weighed it.

[2] Bawdwen.

payment (as a compounded sum) was £20, *in lieu of the tax*, and taking the hide, say of a hundred acres at six shillings, this would bring the acreage up to nearly seven thousand! Therefore, there seems little doubt but that this was one of the estates of "unknown quantity," and as it included the forest lands it may have embraced the whole parish of Hornsey.[1] (See page 64.)

It should be borne in mind that the "hide" of land was of somewhat uncertain quantity; there was certainly a larger hide of one hundred and twenty acres, and a smaller hide of some thirty acres, as Ælfgar, a king's thane, left by his will, A.D. 958, a legacy of "a hide of one hundred and twenty acres." On the other hand, it is stated with authority[2] that it is impossible to assign, on the basis of a general calculation of the area of the kingdom, more than "forty statute acres" to the Saxon hide, on the lines of which, as the recognized measurement of the country, the Normans doubtless acted.

Of the old demesne lands of the Manor of Hornsey there are but few records, and, therefore, we must be content with such limited information as we may be able to gather from them, supplemented by any gleanings that are available from less direct sources.

A great and deeply lamented cause is assigned for the absence of numerous valuable documents, which might have been rescued from oblivion but for the destroying hands of ignorant marauders. Ancient records collected by the monks whose monasteries were suppressed, and libraries pillaged, were destroyed in great quantities, with merciless barbarity.

Collier says:—"Another misfortune consequent upon the suppression of the abbeys was an ignorant destruction of a great many valuable books; most of the learned records of that age were placed in monasteries. Printing was then but a late invention, and had saved but a few books in comparison with the rest. The mass of learning lay in manuscripts, and the most considerable of these, both for number and quality, were in the monks' possession. But the abbeys at their dissolution, falling oftentimes into hands who understood no further than the estates, the libraries were miserably disposed of. The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to the cathedrals or the universities, were frequently 'thrown in' to the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Now these men oftentimes proved a very ill protection for learning and antiquity. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them

[1] Part of the suburb of Hertford is still bounded by the brook at Whetstone, not very far from the extreme northerly point of the parish of Hornsey, which, not many years since, extended further in that direction than at present.

[2] Kemble's *Anglo-Saxons*.

to waste paper. Thus many noble manuscripts were destroyed, to a public scandal and an irreparable loss of learning." [1]

John Bale, a man remarkably averse to popery and the monastic institution, remonstrates against this barbarity in pretty strong language to King Edward VI. "Covetousness was at that time so busie about private commodity, that public wealth, in that most necessary respect, was not anywhere regarded. A number of them which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books, some to serve their jokes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots, and some they sold to the grocers and soapsellers, and some they sent over the sea to the bookbinders, not in small numbers, but at times whole shipsful. Yea, the universities of this realm were not at all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is the belly which seeketh to be fed upon so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country. I know a merchantman (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price ; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of grey paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he has store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men which love their nation as they should do. Yea, what may bring our nation to more shame and rebuke, than to have it noised about that we are dispersers of learning ? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness : that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage to their learned monuments as we have seen in our times. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities." [2]

The Arts and Sciences fell under this common calamity. "How many admirable manuscripts of the Fathers, Schoolmen, and Commentators were destroyed by this means ! What numbers of historians of all ages and countries ! The Holy Scriptures themselves, as much as these gospellers pretended to regard them, underwent the fate of the rest. If a book had a 'cross' on't it was condemned for popery, and those with lines and circles were interpreted the black art, and destroyed for conjuring. And thus divinity was profaned, mathematics suffered for correspondence with evil spirits, physic was maimed, and a riot committed on the law itself." [3]

The author of a work entitled *Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* states :—"The splendid and magnificent Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the

[1] Collier's *Ecclesiastical History*.
[2] Bale's declaration upon *Leland's Journal*, 1549.
[3] Fuller's *Church History*.

finest manuscripts in the kingdom, was ransacked, and its treasures either sold or burnt to serve the common purposes in life. An antiquary who travelled through that town many years after the dissolution relates that he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable manuscripts on vellum, and that the bakers had not even *then* consumed the stores they had accumulated for heating their stoves."

"As brokers in Long Lane when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outsides, so it was conceived that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should in the same grant have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed to them; and these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a *Lieger book* or *Terrier* by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged to them, they cared not to purchase any other ornaments.' [1]

"They were sold to grocers and chandlers, and whole ship loads were sent abroad to the bookbinders, that the vellum or parchment might be cut up in their trade; covers were torn off from their brass bosses and clasps, and their contents served the ignorant and careless for waste paper. In this manner English history sustained irreparable losses, and it is more than probable that some of the works of the ancients perished in the indiscriminate destruction."[2]

From causes such as these, the reason is evident why documents relating to the lands of Hornsey in common with those of other Church lands are faulty and meagre; but still a few valuable facts can be gathered by which the thin line of history may be followed. The See of London, although its muniment room may not have suffered pillage, has been particularly unfortunate, fire having more than once destroyed its cathedral, and presumably many of its more ancient documents. But a few have fortunately been saved, thanks to conscientious official care, in spite of barbarism, fire, and damp.

The most ancient documents known relating to Hornsey are :—

	A.D.
(A) Court Roll of the Manor	1284
(B) The Record of Pope Nicholas's Taxation	1291
(C) Record of an Escheat of the Bishop's Lands	1303
(D) Election of a Bailiff	1313
(E) Patent Rolls; Record of Conveyance of Lands in Mortmain to the Archbishop	1344
(F) Court Roll	1375
(G) Court Roll	1460

[1] Fuller's *Church History.*
[2] Southey's *History of the Church.*

The Court Rolls are of peculiar interest, throwing light, as they do, upon old customs, and recording the names of old residents; the only regret is, that more have not been preserved.

By the courtesy of the Librarian of the Chapter House Library, St. Paul's Cathedral, we have the satisfaction of printing *extracts* from the only three that exist, which we do with the greater pleasure, that not only have they never been before printed, but beyond occasional shifting and dusting, it is probable they have hardly seen the light since they were deposited with the archives of the See of London in St. Paul's five to six hundred years since, excepting when they were removed during the burning of the Cathedral. Translation :—

A.D. 1284. Court Rolls, etc., of Haringay Manor, in the Custody of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Roll 1.—Roll of Accounts of William de Kent, Steward of Haringay, dated from Friday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew [24th August] 12 Edward I. [1284], to Saturday after the Feast of Exaltation of Holy Cross next following [14th September], namely, for three weeks. [N.B.—The roll consists of two membranes.]

Membrane I.

Amongst the items are :—

(*a*) Plough, etc., account. For iron; and shoes for the horses, etc., 13*d.*

(*b*) A bushel of meal for "potmell," $\frac{3}{4}d.$; for salt, 1*d.*

Membrane II.

Account of John Saward from Saturday after Feast of Exaltation of Holy Cross [14th September] to Monday after Feast of St. Martin [11th November] 12 Edward I. [1284], namely, for eight weeks.

Among the items are :—

(*a*) Rent from Haringay for Michaelmas Term, £1 12*s.* 10$\frac{1}{2}d.$
Rent from Finchley for same term, 6*s.* 5$\frac{1}{2}d.$
Received for Romscot,[1] 20*d.*

(*b*) Pannage account. For pannage [*i.e.*, pasturage, etc., for pigs] for pigs of Her [ingay] and Fynch [ley], 33*s.* 10*d.*

(*c*) For lease of Haringayelond for 5 weeks, 10*s.* 3$\frac{3}{4}d.$
And for 10 foals going into the lords park, 2*s.* 6*d.*

(*d*) Expenses of 10 men with 5 ploughs, ploughing "ad parcariam" [*i.e.*, enclosure] of the lord, and for 2 "scatterers" [spargentes], and 1 sower, 19$\frac{1}{2}d.$ with two meals a day.

(*e*) Salt for the family pottage, 2*d.*; for making two bushels of oats into "potmell," 1$\frac{1}{2}d.$

(*f*) Payment to the Chapter, by hands of J. de Temserhall, for taxes, 72*s.* 10*d.*

[1] Rome's scot, or due, *i.e.*, Peter's pence.

A.D. 1291. The Taxation of Pope Nicholas.

Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai.

Temporalia Archidiac. Midd. Bona Prioris de Warewick.
In Haringeye de terris. *v.s.*
Taxatio spiritualitatis Archidiac. Lond. & Middl.
Ecclesia de Haringeye, £5 6*s.* 8*d.*

A.D. 1303. Haryngeye. An escheat of the year 32 Ed. I. [1303] of some lands on the death of Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London.

Haryngeye—tenet xl acras terræ et ij acras bosci ibidem.

A.D. 1313. Memoranda of proceedings for the choice of Bailiff in the Manor of Haryngeye.

Court Rolls of the Manor 12th Ed. III. in Queen Ann's Bounty Office.

Calendar of Patent Rolls.

A.D. 1344. 2nd Patent 18 Edward III. [1344].

Quod Archidiaconus Richmund possit amortizare Archiepiscopo Cantuar, unum messuagium, tres carucatas terræ, viginti acras prati, quinque acras bosci, et viginti solidos redditus in Harnghe.

Translation—That the Archdeacon of Richmond may alien in mortmain to the Archbishop of Canterbury one messuage, three ploughlands of land, twenty acres of meadow, five acres of wood, and twenty shillings' rent in Harnghe.

Curiously enough, this entry is confirmed by one of the same year in the "Post-mortem inquisitions."

Inquisitiones Post Mortem.

Robertus de Wodehous, Archdeacon of Richmond, for John, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Co. Middl. Haringham, 3 ploughlands of land, etc., remain to the same Robert.

18 Edward III. [1344].

Court Roll (Translation).

A.D. 1375. Court Roll of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's [the See being vacant] of court held on Wednesday after the Feast of St. Denis [9 October] 49 Edward III. [1375].

Amongst the proceedings of this court are:—

(*a*) John Denes came to the court, and was admitted Tenant on the death of his father John Denes.

(*b*) Also came Margery Mayheu and paid a fine of 6*d.* for an enquiry to be made concerning her right to an acre of land lately belonging to Richard Mayheu, her uncle. Claim allowed, and she does fealty for the same.[1]

[1] The act of fealty in some of the old manorial courts was touching the steward's wand, which was extended for that purpose. See p. 66.

(*c*) Names of the jury: Benedict Herberd, William Kent, John Ailbern, Nicholas Patfot, Walter Sandre, William atte Fryth, Robert Ponte, Geoffrey Heyborne, John Parkyn, John Kent, Stephen Hugh, jun., and Thomas atte Cherche, who made presentment that Richard Rook, Benedict Smyth, John Philips, and John Shepperde were two pence in arrear with their rent, and had submitted themselves to the Court.

(*d*) The said jury also presented, that Stephen Hugh, who held from the lord 2 messuages, 28 acres of land, etc., was dead; that the lord had received, as a heriot, an ox, of the value of 15*s.*; and that the sons of the said Stephen had been admitted tenants.

(*e*) That John London, who held a messuage and 12 acres of land [excepting part of a house called "Le Insetehous"] was dead, that the lord had received, as a heriot,[1] an ox, of the value of 11*s.* 8*d.*, and that Juliana, the widow, had been admitted tenant to the lands during the infancy of John and Geoffrey, the sons.

(*f*) That Benedict Hugh, who held half a messuage and 2 acres of land, was dead, that the lord had received nothing as a heriot, because the deceased had no beast [quia non habeat animal], and that Thomas Hugh his next heir had been admitted tenant on payment of 2*s.* 6*d.*

(*g*) To this court also came Roger Rede and surrendered to the lord one cottage and 6 acres of land to the use of John Rede, to be held by the latter for the support of the said Roger, and Christina his daughter, to the end of their lives in food and sufficient clothing; and if the said John should fail to do this, in part or whole, the said Roger may obtain the help of the neighbours to re-enter and re-take possession of the said premises. The said John does fealty and pays 6*d.*

(*h*) Also came John Deenes of Eynesmolle and surrenders a messuage, with garden and curtilage, and one acre of land called "Causcroft," in Haryngeye, and receives a re-grant of the same to himself, Matilda his wife, and their children. He does fealty and pays 3*s.* 4*d.*

(*i*) John Osbern, who has been frequently admonished for refusing to take oath as juryman and take his share in the transactions of the Court, who is therefore a rebel to the steward, throws himself on the mercy of the Court.

[1] A "heriot" was a fine payable to the lord on the death of a tenant before his heir could enter into possession. It seems to have arisen from the circumstance that by the feudal land laws every tenant had to follow his lord into the battle-field, but the lord had to find horse and armour—which were not always returned—of which his heir had a very practical reminder in the heriot.

(*k*) Walter atte Cherche, John atte Cherche, Stephen atte Cherche, are fined 1*d.* each for refusing to proceed against Thomas atte Cherche[1] concerning certain land in the Manor.

(*l*) John Heyborne, Geoffrey Heyborne, John Robyn, Robert Godfrey, John Parkyn, and John Kent, are fined 3*d.* each for trespassing in the lord's woods, Richard Cornewalle 2*d.*, William Shepherde 6*d.*, William Lynd 3*d.*, Alice Holewell 3*d.*, and John Bakere 3*d.*, for the same offence.

(*m*) The jury find that William Maynard came to Haringeye and unlawfully took a horse of the value of 10*s.* from Thomas Hugh, Stephen Hugh, and Thomas Hugh, serfs [nativi] of the lord. Fined 3*d.*[2]

On the back of this roll are the transactions of the next court held on the morrow of Feast of St. Martin [11th November] in the same year.

(*a*) The same jury sworn.

(*b*) Stephen Patfot pays 3*d.* for enquiry into an alleged trespass of John Denes, damages laid at 1*s.*, also 2*d.* for enquiry into an alleged detention of a mare and foal by Nicholas Patfot, damages laid at 40*d.*; and also 1*d.* for enquiry into an alleged detention of a chest [cista], damages laid at 6*d.*; also 1*d.* for lead detained, damages laid at 12*d.*; and 3*d.* for an alleged trespass by the said Nicholas Patfot's pigs on the said Stephen's oats, damages estimated at 2 bushels of oats.

(*c*) The following were fined:—Stephen Patfot 6*d.*, Thomas Gussel 3*d.*, William Harald 3*d.*, for trespassing on the lord's woods; John Cox 3*d.*, Roger Smyth 3*d.*, John Jaket 3*d.*, Edward Hymmot 3*d.*, John Tromer 3*d.*, John Sanny 3*d.*, William Bykemor 3*d.*, John Bykemor 3*d.*, John Hunt 3d., William Blakewelle 3*d.*, John Child 3*d.*, Ralph Fyncheslee 3*d.*, Thomas Cok 2*d.*, John Bakere 2*d.*, John Smyth 2*d.*, Alice Holeway 2*d.*, Henry Smyth 2*d.*, Isabel Holeway 2*d.*, and Juliana Keylemers 2*d.*, "because they did not come to the cross, the accustomed place for satisfying the lord concerning pannage for pigs, on St. Martin's Day."[3]

There is an Edmund de Haryngeie named in a deed of above date *temp.* Edward III.[4]

Court Roll (Translation).

A.D. 1406. General Court of the Dean and Chapter [the See being vacant after the death of Roger Walden, late Bishop of London] held on Monday after the Feast of St. Barnabas [11 June] of Henry IV. [1406].

[1] The evident origin of the family name.

[2] By this and other entries it appears that the Manorial Courts were really Courts of Petty Session.

[3] This was probably the "Cross" at Crouch End, and, like the Old London Stone, was a place for the legal tender of money, being a well-known spot.

[4] St. Paul's MSS.

(*a*) Names of the jury: John atte Frith,[1] Thomas Howe, John Saundre, Thomas Herbard, John Elbarn, Alan Goodyer, Thomas Kent, John Herbard, John Ponde, John atte Hylle,[1] Richard Colberd, and Geoffrey London, who say on their oath that 32 "logges" called "sparres" had been taken for the use of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, namely for the "Bellefrey." Also, that 1000 faggots [focalia] had been made for the use of the Dean and Chapter.

(*b*) Also that Drugo Barantyn, Allan Goodyer, William Shepherde, Thomas Janyn, John Sange, Ralph Heyne, Walter Sanny, John Abbot, Alice "the Wyse," and Agnes Knyton, all of Finchley, are tenants by suit of court.

(*c*) A day is appointed for John Abbot and Alice "the Wyse"[2] to shew why they became tenants.

(*d*) The following are tenants of Harengeye, viz., Robert Wolrey, Geoffrey Patfot, Nicholas Patfot, Geoffrey London, John London, John atte Hille, Thomas Hawe, Walter Wheler, Thomas Maynard, Simon atte Fryth, Hugh Wyse, John Ponde, Thomas Bryan, John Stapylford, Richard Mayhewe, Thomas Cosyn, William Kent, Benedict Holeweye, William Tolyngdon, Richard Colberd, Richard Hawkyn, Peter Balwe, Thomas Lyonel, Henry Heybourne, Richard Busshe, Richard Gaynesburgh, Matthew Barbour, John Barnecastell, John Deyster, Richard Leylond, John Inglond, Thomas Somenour, John Strounge, Sibil Lovell, William Benet, John Wassyndon, Walter Sanny, William Kymmote, John Serle, Isabella Wyrales, John Iremonger.[3]

(*e*) John Heybourn makes complaint against Isabella Wyrhales that she has let to waste [fecit vastum] the hall, barn, etc., of a tenement which she holds, and of which complainant has the reversion on her death. A day is appointed for 12 jurymen to try the case.

(*f*) Benedict Holweye makes complaint against William Tolyndon concerning the right of way from his house to his land in the Hamefeld. A day is named for the jury to try the case.

(*g*) To this court came Peter Balwe and surrendered an acre of land in a field called "Cheldewatere" to the use of Richard Chaundeler, the clerk, on condition that the said Peter pays 20*s*. to Richard next Michaelmas Day. The latter paid 2*s*. and did fealty.

(N.B.—This was apparently a mortgage from Peter to Richard.)

(*h*) Also came Richard Saundre and surrendered to the use of John

[1] Origin of the family name.

[2] A wise woman or "witch," who was evidently an unwelcome neighbour.

[3] This seems to be intended for a full list of the tenants of the mnaor; forty-one tenements in the whole parish! but it can hardly be a correct one, as names of tenants appearing at same court are absent.

Saundre (who paid 5*s.* and did fealty) 2 acres of land and 2 cottages, of which the 2 cottages and 1 acre lie in "Berengcouresfeld," being "parcels of the tenement of Berengeours," and the other acre lies in "Dourefeld," being parcel of the tenement of Thomas atte Cherche.

(*i*) Also came Thomas Holmes and surrendered 3 acres of land in a field called "Denesfeld," near Thomas Maynard's tenement on the east, and the king's highway on the west, in Herengeye,[1] to the use of John atte Frythe,[2] who paid 4*s.* and did fealty.

There is another interesting document, which, although it refers but incidentally to Hornsey, throws very considerable light upon the claims of the bishops of those days.

Extract from "Placita de Quo Warranto," p. 475, 22 Edw. I. [1294].

Richard de Gravesend (Archdeacon of Northampton), Bishop of London 1280-1306.—Richard, Bishop of London, was summoned to answer to the lord the king in a plea under what warrant he claimed to have amends of the "broken assize" of bread and beer,[3] frankpledge,[4] infangenthef,[5] utfangenthef,[6] chattels of fugitives and condemned persons, a year's rents of their tenants and waste of the lands of the same, pillory, cucking-stool, gallows, and amercements of their men in Stebenhethe [Stepney], Hakeneye [Hackney], Heringeye [Haringay], Fulham Gillyng [? Ealing], Acton and Fynchesleye [Finchley], etc.

Haringaye al. Hornsy, member of the Manor of Stebenheath al. Stepney.—And the Bishop comes and says that Hackney and Haringay are members of Stepney, and that Gillyng, Acton, and Finchley are members of Fulham. And he says that he and all his predecessors from time immemorial have held in the said vills and their members, the chattels of fugitives and condemned persons, a year's rents of their tenants, and waste of the lands of the same and amercements of their men, without interruption, except when the see was vacant. And on this he places himself in the hands of his country.

The Dean and Chapter seem to have been summoned in the first instance, as will be seen by the following record, but they fall back on the Bishop, and the verdict seems to uphold his claim.

COM' MIDD'. "*Pleas of our Lord the King of Quo warranto before the Justices in eyre at the Stone Cross (the Strand Cross) in the County of Middlesex, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Edward, the son of King Henry.*"

The dean and chapter of the church of St. Paul London were summoned to

[1] Park Road was originally "Maynard Street."

[2] This name seems suggestive of some waters affected by the tide. Probably the waters of the River Lea ran up some of the valleys on the east side of Hornsey; they certainly once covered a great part of Tottenham, which closely adjoined.

[3] Fixing the price of provisions.

[4] Fees for taking sureties.

[5] The privilege of trying a thief caught within the manor.

[6] The right of taking any man of his manor out of any other jurisdiction, and trying him at his own court.

answer to our Lord the King of a plea by what warrant they claim to have view of frankpledge and fines for breach of the assise of bread and ale, pillory, tumbril, infangentheft, outfangentheft, gallows, the chattels of their tenants fugitive and condemned, the year and waste of lands of the same, and the amerciaments of their men in CHESEWYK, SUTTON, WILLESDON, ISELDEN, SCHORDYCH', STOKENE NEUTON, KENTYSHTON', DRAYTON, PURTEPOL SOKNE, and FYNSBURY SOKNE, &c. And the dean and chapter came. And the dean saith that he found the aforesaid church seised of the aforesaid Liberties, and that he ought not to answer thereof without the Bishop of London. And the bishop is present and freely joins himself with the aforesaid dean and chapter in answering.——

* * * * * * *

The jurors hereunto chosen upon their oath say, that the aforesaid bishop, dean, and chapter had the aforesaid Liberties in their Manors aforesaid, and the same had fully used from time out of mind, without any interruption, except that they have not gallows unless in the aforesaid vill of FYNESBURY. And they say, that when any one of their men of the aforesaid vills were taken, they caused to be summoned their twenty-two hides to proceed to judgment concerning him. Therefore let the aforesaid bishop, dean, and chapter go thereto without delay—saving the right of our Lord the King, &c.—*Roll* 36.

Hornsey is included in Finsbury Sokne, or Soke,[1] in which the bishops had the right of "hanging." The limits of the ancient jurisdiction of Finsbury and Wenlocksbarn extended from Finsbury to the extremest point of the possessions of the bishop, dean, and chapter, and are delineated in ancient maps of Middlesex as "Fynesbury and Wenlaxbarne Liberties," which seem almost co-extensive with the old hundred of Ossulston.[2] In more modern maps "Ossulston Hundred" appears, as now, divided into three districts, viz., Holborn, Finsbury, and Kensington; but Finsbury division not only comprehended what until lately formed the metropolitan borough of that name, but extended further northward to Whetstone.

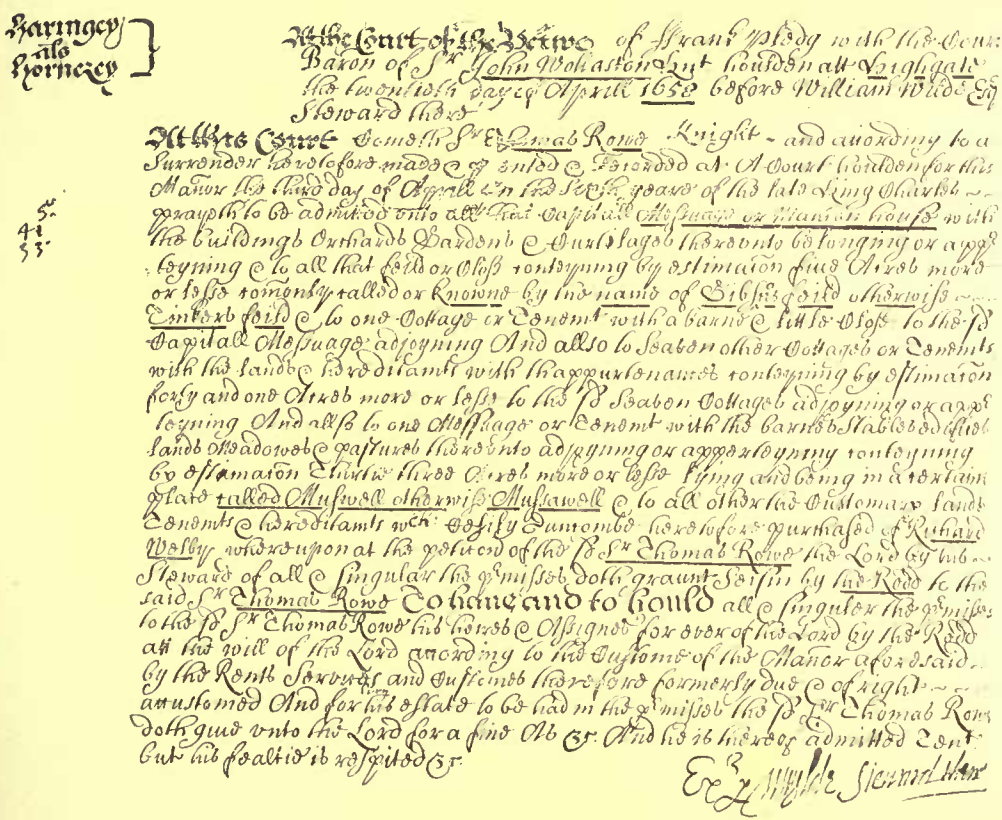
A point of great interest is, that the bishop's *Lordship of Stepney*, which included Hornsey, was claimed as a "Barony," which is proved by the record called *Testa de Neville*, or Book of Knights' Fees, *Com' Midd'*, where occurs the following passage: "*Item de Episcopatu, London. . . . Et de* iiij^{ta} *parte unius feodi de Veer in Stebenheth de baronia Episcopi, de Lond'*"; and the fact that Hornsey was a member of the bishop's Barony of Stepney may be yet another reason why it is not *set out* in the Domesday Survey. It may have been included in Stepney, which was a very extensive and valuable manor, probably of uncertain size, as it included so much marsh land, but a "mill" at *Hornsey* is referred to in the survey.

There is yet another document relating to a court baron of Sir John

[1] The liberty of holding a court in a certain jurisdiction.
[2] See Norden's Map in Camden 1610, Seller's Map 1633, Milward 1742.

Wollaston, of a much later date, but of considerable interest, as it relates to the dealings of two old residents, Sir John Wollaston of Highgate, who purchased the manor at the sale of the bishop's lands by the parliament, and Sir Thomas Rowe of Muswell Hill, concerning both of whom further particulars will be found under the heading of "The Houses and their Residents."

The following is a facsimile of the document and its transcript.



Haringey al. Hornezey.—At the Court of the View of Frank Pledge with the Court Baron of Sir *John Wollaston*, Knt., holden at *Highgate* the twentieth day of April, 1658, before William Wilde, Esquire, Steward there.

At this Court cometh Sir *Thomas Rowe*, Knight, and according to a surrender heretofore made and presented and recorded at a court holden for this Manor the third day of April, in the sixth year of the late King Charles, prayeth to be admitted unto all that capital *Messuage* or *Mansion House* with the Buildings, Orchards, Gardens and Curtilages thereunto belonging or appertaining, and to all that field or close containing by estimation five acres more or less, commonly called or *known*

by the *name* of *Gibson's field otherwise Tinker's field*, and to one cottage or Tenement with a Barn and Little close to the said capital messuage adjoining, And also to seven other cottages or tenements with the lands and hereditaments with the appurtenances containing by estimation forty and one acres more or less to the said seven cottages adjoining or appertaining, And also to one Messuage or Tenement with the barns, stables, edifices, lands, meadows, and pastures thereunto adjoining or appertaining, containing by estimation Thirty-three acres more or less lying and being in a certain place called *Muswell otherwise Mussawell*, and to all other the customary lands, tenements, and hereditaments which Cicely Duncombe heretofore purchased of *Richard Welby* whereupon at the petition of the said *Sir Thomas Rowe*, the Lord by his Steward of all and singular the premises doth grant *seisin by the Rod* to the said Sir Thomas Rowe, to have and to hold all and singular the premises to the said Sir Thomas Rowe his heirs and assigns for ever of the Lord, by *the Rod*, at the will of the Lord, according to the custom of the Manor aforesaid by the rents, services, and customs therefore formerly due and of right accustomed. And for his estate to be had in the premises the said Sir Thomas Rowe doth give unto the Lord for a fine, as, etc. And he is thereof admitted Tenant but his fealty is respited, etc.

Examined by W. Wylde, Steward there.

The glimpses of life in Hornsey alluded to in these old documents enable us better to understand the conditions of habitation in a district which then very largely consisted of woodlands. An old chronicler says:—

"On the north side are pastures and plain meadows, with brooks running through them, turning water wheels with a pleasant noise. Not far off is a great forest, a well-wooded chase having good covert for harts, bucks, does, boars and wild bulls; the cornfields are not of a hungry sandy mould, but as the fruitful fields of Asia, yielding plentiful increase and filling the barns with corn. There are many wells sweet, wholesome, and clear, of which Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement's Well are the most famous, and most frequented by scholars and youths of the city in summer evenings, when they walk forth to take the air."[1]

The great forest of Middlesex is represented as having been to so great a degree infested not only with thieves and robbers, outlaws and fugitives, but also with wolves, wild boars, stags, and wild bulls, that passengers on the high road which led through it were in imminent danger. We are told that in the time of Edward the Confessor (1041) the woods extended from the Chiltern country in the south-east of Bucks, to the neighbourhood of London.

"The great forest of Middlesex extended as far as Dunstable, and was infested by robbers in Henry I.'s reign, who commanded them to be hanged; of whom a famous one at that time was one Dunne, and of him the place where he most used, by reason of the great woods thereabouts, is to this day called Dunstable."[2] The game, however, after

[1] Fitzstephen of Canterbury.

[2] Lord Lyttelton.

William the Conqueror came to the throne of England, as also the privilege of hunting, was preserved with the most jealous care, for one of the heaviest grievances complained of in his reign was the inhuman severities of the forest laws, and they were rather increased than abated under the governance of the four first Norman monarchs. Henry II. is said to have relaxed their efficacy, rather by not commanding them to be enforced, than by causing them to be abrogated; for they seem to have virtually existed till the reign of King John, and occasioned the clause in the Charter, providing "that no man should forfeit his life, or his limbs, for killing the king's deer." [1]

Matthew Paris states that "an original Charter under seal (Henry II.) was sent to every county in England, and to those which had forests in them, a charter of the forest also"; but few of these originals are now extant. That historian himself had never seen one, and Selden, notwithstanding his extensive researches, appears to have been ignorant that any originals of King Henry's charter were in existence.

The Conqueror seized all the forests and chases in the kingdom, and exempted them from all laws but his own pleasure, making them retreats for the recreation of himself and his successors, and inflicting the most severe punishment on any who should presume to destroy his game; and that his command might be the greater, he increased the number of them in all parts.[2]

This was the king's right to "vert and venison," as it is called, and his action is defended by many old writers on the plea that "the forests are for the profit and strength of the kingdom—being the ship's nurseries of timber," and one end to be gained by the stringency of the forest laws was to keep weapons out of the hands of the people.

The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare,[3] was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes, and that, at a time when the killing of a man could be atoned for by the payment of a moderate fee.[4]

Henry I., A.D. 1100, gave liberty to the nobility and gentry to "enclose parks for deer, and warrens for coneys and such like." And to gratify the citizens of London, whose favour was very serviceable to him in obtaining the crown, he granted them a charter, still preserved in the archives of Guildhall,[5] and confirmed by the charters of several succeeding kings, particularly in that of Charles II.—to them and their heirs, the Farm of Middlesex at £300 per annum, and the power of choosing out of their own body whom they pleased, as well for Sheriff as for their

[1] Charta de Foresta (Art. 10).

[2] Daniel's *History of England.*

[3] The hare was unclean to the ancient Britons, although the island abounded with them (Cæsar, *Bel. Gal.*)

[4] Hume.

[5] Carte's *History of England.*

Justiciary, to hold pleas of the Crown within the walls of the city, and their ancient right of hunting was confirmed in Middlesex and the woodlands.[1]

The citizens were not slow to avail themselves of these privileges, for they took delight in fowling with merlins, hawks, etc., and likewise in hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and all the Chiltern country,[2] *which they had a right to do.*[3]

"Stephen, to establish himself in his kingdom, pleased the clergy by forbearing to keep bishopricks and abbeys vacant; he pleased the nobility by allowing them to build castles upon their own lands; he pleased the gentry by giving them liberty to hunt the king's deer in their own woods, but afterwards caused them to be impleaded for using that liberty,—a trick which perhaps he learnt from hunting, first to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it; but this is the privilege of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it." [4]

In the reign of Henry II., Hornsey, Tottenham, Edmonton, Enfield, and the adjoining parishes were for the great part a forest, which extended from that part of the city called Houndsditch, about twelve miles north, and was the joint property of the whole corporation of London.[5]

The first formal Act relating to the royal forests was an Act of Henry II., made at Woodstock [1154], and called "The Assize of Woodstock," or "The Assize of the Forest." The subject was also dealt with in the 44th, 47th, and 48th clauses of King John's charter [Magna Charta]; but the *Charta de Foresta* was the Act of King Henry III., wherein he remedies certain abuses which had sprung up since the accession of Henry II., and deals with the offensive afforestations which had been made under Richard I. and John. The 9th and following articles of the "Charta de Foresta" repeal the most obnoxious clauses of the Assize of Woodstock. This charter is dated A.D. 1217. The following are a few of the subjects touched upon.

Article 3.—All woods afforested by Kings Richard and John are to be forthwith disafforested, except the king's own demesne woods.

Article 5.—The king's Regarders are to make visitations of the forests, as used to be done at the time of the first coronation of Henry II.

Article 6.—For the preservation of the king's game, all dogs are to be *lawed* [expeditati, *i.e.*, the balls of their feet cut out] every third year, but the "lawing" need not consist of having the balls of their feet cut out, but three claws of the forefoot (without the ball) must be cut off, under a penalty of three shillings.

Article 7.—No forester or beadle is to have "Scotale."[6] That

[1] Sir R. Twysden.
[2] Fitzstephen.
[3] Maitland's *History*.
[4] Sir R. Baker's *Chronicle*.
[5] Thornton's *History of London*.
[6] The English equivalent is "Ale shot."

is, no forester or beadle shall keep an ale house in the forest, causing people to come thereto by colour of his office, and to spend their money, under pain of displeasure.

Article 9.—Every free man may turn his cattle into his own wood in the forest, and may have pasture for his pigs (*i.e.*, pannagium=mast, acorns, etc.), and may also drive his cattle or pigs through the demesne wood, without let or hindrance.

Article 10.—No man shall lose life or limb for killing the king's deer, but shall be fined, and if he have nothing to pay the fine with, he shall be imprisoned for a year and a day, and then set free if he can find surety not to offend again; if not, he shall abjure the realm.

Article 11.—Every Archbishop, Bishop, Earl, or Baron may kill a deer or two in the king's forest or chase through which he is passing, but it must be done in view of the forester, but if the latter be absent, a horn must be blown, lest he appear to be taking the deer by stealth.

Article 13.—Every freeman may have eyries of hawks, sparrow hawks, falcons, eagles, and herons in his own wood, and may also keep the honey found in the same.

Article 14.—No forester, except he be a forester paying farm to the king, may take toll for carts, etc., but if he be a forester paying farm to the king he may exact the following tolls, viz., for a cart, twopence every half year, and for a sumpter horse, one halfpenny every half year; but no toll is to be exacted in places other than where it used to be exacted.

The following are extracts from the Charters of Edward I.,[1] (which confirm the several articles of the *Charta de Foresta*,) Henry III., and Richard II., the latter referring especially to the forest of Middlesex.

Charter of Edward I.

Edward by y^e^ grace of God Kȳg of Englād, Lord of Irland and Duke of Guyan, to alle to whō this present letters shal com, greting, we have beholden the charter of Henry by y^e^ grace of God Kyng of Englād, Lord of Irlād, Duke of Normāde and of Guya, &c. As in the preceedent charter, furst we graunte y^t^ alle y^e^ forestis y^e^ whiche Kynge Herry our graund fadir a forestid be viewed by good and lawful men and yf any wood other than y^e^ lords wood his owne be aforested to y^e^ hurte of hȳ of whō y^e^ wood were, it shall be disafforested and yf he afforested his owne p'par wood rewayne it forest, sauf the comon of herbage and odur in y^e^ same forest to thē ye whiche were first to have it.

Of Woodes to be aforested.

Also the wode which were aforestid by Kyng Richard our vncle or Kyng John our fadir vnto our furst coronacion anon shall be disaforestid but as yf they were our wodes.

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[1] From an old translation in Prickett's possession.

Of Wastes and P'presturis.

Archbishops bishops priours erles barōs knyght freeholders y^e^ whiche were wont to haue ther wodes the tyme of y^e^ furst coronacion of Kyng Herry our Grandser, so that they be guyte p'petually of all prepresturs wast and all made in the woode after that tyme vnto the begynnyng of y^e^ second yeare of our coronacion. And we frō hēsforthe made waste prepresture or Kyttigis of in thē, wythout our licence off ther same wastis p'prestures and any Kyttings or carieng to vs shal thei answer.

For Inquisiō and Regardi.

Our raungers shal goo by our forest to make regarde as they were wont to doo the tyme of the furst coronacion of the foresaid Kyng Henry our Grandsir and noon odur wyse. Inquisiō or vyew of chasing of hundis beyng in the forest frō hensforthe shal be made whan it ought so to be made regarde ȳ^t^ is to say frō thredde yere to thredde yere, and thā be it made by sight and witnesse of sad and trewe men, and non otherwise; and he of whom the hounde were not expeditate so he shall pay for his mercy iij^s^ and frō hensforthe be thei noo oxe taken for expeditacion of houndis.

Expeditacion of houndis is such be assice comōly vsed that iij toes of an hound be cut away of y^e^ foremost feete wythout foothe, nor be not hounde expeditate soo frō hensforthe but in thoo places in the whiche they were wont to be expeditate in the tyme of the furst coronacion of Kȳg Hery our Graundsir.

Lybarte for Lordis in the Forestis.

Whosoeuer Archbishop bishop[1] erle or baron comyng vnto vs at our maundement goyng by our forest, be it leful to hym to take von beste or tweyne be the sight of our foresters yf they were present or ellis lete them doo make blowe an horn that thei be not seid to do that stelyngli.

Itm be it leful to them i thir comyng ayen to do as it is aforesaid.

The Liberte of Freemen in their owne Woodis.

Eayche freeman[2] from hensforthe wythout ocasion make in his lande whiche he hathe i the forest a mille, and vyne yard, a pond, a diche, a marle pit, or other erable lande, wythout covert in erable land. So that it be not to the nogment of any neybar, eayche freemā may haue in his woodis medues of goshawkis sparakis faucons egles, and haue also the honey that is found in his woodis.

The Confirmatiō of this Chartur.

Theis libarties of the forest we have granted to all archbishops, bishops, abbotis, priours, erles, barons, knights, and other freeholders, as well as parsones of the chirche, as to secular teplais thei libarties and free vsages in the forest and wythout wareyuship also in alle other places forsothe all the libarties and voages aforesaid the whiche we haue graunted to be holdē in our reame as muych as to us parteyneth and ayenst theirs forsothe for this donacion and concession of thes lybartis and of other conteyned in the more charter of lybarties of England.

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[1] The Bishop of London is next in authority to the Archbishop of York, and had liberty to hunt in the king's forest.—*Gibbon.*

[2] The freemen here mentioned were such as had portions of the forest assigned to them. The Bishop of London, by his representative, for instance, still retains possession of a considerable tract of land; the other parts have long since been subdivided.

28TH KING EDWARD III., AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT RELATING TO THE TYTHING OF TREES.

Also at y^e^ Parlemet of y^e^ gret and comons shewynge be their peticion that how thei shuld selle their gret woede of age XX yere or XL yere or of gretter age to marchant to theyr profyte in helpe of the Kynge in his warre, persons vycars of holy chirche y^e^ said marchant enplede and travell ī Cryste court for ye dymes of said woede in name of this worde silvre cedue wherefore thei may not selle thei woode to v'ri value to gret harme to hī and of y^e^ reame, it is ordeygned y^t^ phibicio ī this case granted and vppō attachmē, as hath be vsed afor this tyme. Wherbi it apperethe be this statute y^t^ no more shulde have no tithe for noo trees past XX yere of age, yf any persons or vicars of holy chirche trouble any man for suche tythes, he to have a good occion ayens thē ī the Kyngs benche or in ye como place.

EXTRACT FROM THE CHARTER OF LONDON GRANTED BY KYNG RICHARD II.

The xx artycle. Richard by the grace of God Kynge of England, Lord of Irland, Duke of Normandy and of Aquitagne, &c. &c., unto Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priours, Erlys, Barons, Justicis, Sherreffs, Styrwardis, Mynystyrs, Foresters, and to alle Bayliffs and to alle his true men gretynge, welith wel that we have grauntyd and by our chartour confermyd for vs and for our eyers, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbotys, Priours, Erles, Barons, Knightes and Frecholders, and to alle of the Comite of Mydelsex—That all the wareyn wyth the apertenaunce be unwareyned and unforested for evermore so that all the forsayd citezens of London hir eyers and hir successours have all the frauncheses of the wareyn and forest unblemysshed in the same wareyns wythin which they shulde enowe taken hir landis, and hewe hir wodes, and ordeyne therefore right for hir owne well, wythott sight, or with sayeng of wareyn, or forester, or of any odmynster, and wythin which wareyn nether wareyner ne forester nor justice of our forest of hir landis and wodes ne huntynge ue of repyage of hir cornes entermet hem anythinge nor hem eyers or successours, by any somoning or distresse befor our justie of forest or wareyns, do come by eucheson of hir landis and tenementis that they have wythin the same porties when furst ther was one to be wardeyne. But beuthey and ther eyers and successours landis and tenementis wythin thoo parties conteined free and guyt of alle maner axiōs axing and attenemet and of alle maner thigis that to wareyn or to forest or waryner or forester longen. Wherefore we wylle and stedfastly bydde that al the landis and tenementis holdyng wythin the foresayd parties hir eyers and hir successours have the forsayd libertees and guytaunce and hir landis and tenements aforsayd unwarened, been they and vnforested evermore and guyt fro all thing y^t^ to wareyn or forest or to wareyns or forests lōge, as it is above said by these Wytnesses, Hubert of Borough, Erle of Kent, Justice of England, Gilbert Clare, Erle of Gloucester and of Hertford, Will^m^ Marshall Erle of Pembroke, Phelpy of Albrmak, Walter Euermere, Osbiyght Gyfford, Richard of Argentyne, John Phelpyson, Richard Fitzhugh and others, yeuven by the handis of the worshipfull fad, Rauf Bishop of Chichester, our Chancellor at Woodstock y^e^ XVIII^th^ day of August, ye yere of our reign XI.

In these ancient woodlands were two kinds of timber-trees which are now exceedingly scarce, viz., the yew and the sweet chestnut. The former is a tree capable of magnificent development, running upwards some forty feet, with a trunk of great thickness, branching a few feet from the ground.

and flourishing from four to five hundred years. The older forests contained many of these trees, as they were carefully cultivated for the sake of making bows, for which they were preferred to every other kind of wood; and still the roots of the yew, frequently of great proportions, are grubbed up when clearing the woodlands of Hornsey. They were often planted in churchyards as the emblems of immortality—*ever*green and *ever*lasting.

"Cheerless, unsocial plant, that loves to dwell
'Midst skulls and coffins, epitaphs and worms."

As sweet chestnut trees are now rarely to be found growing in the woods and forests of England, some doubt has been expressed whether the sweet chestnut ever was an indigenous tree of this island, but a little research will show that it was so, and is to this day, to be found in many parts of England. The older houses of the city of London were built with this timber.[1] Certainly it did not grow far off, and most probably it came from some forests near the town; for FitzStephen in his *Description of London*, written in the reign of King Henry II., speaks of a large and very noble forest which grew on the north side of it. Rudhall, near Ross in Herefordshire, is built with chestnut, which probably grew on that estate; for, although no tree of the kind is now to be found growing wild in that part of the country, yet there can be no doubt but that formerly chestnut-trees were the natural growth of the neighbouring woodlands, since we find that Roger Earl of Hereford, founder of the Abbey of Flaxley in Gloucestershire, by his charter[2] gave to the monks there, the tithe of the chestnuts in the forest of Dean, which is not above seven or eight miles from Rudhall. In the court before the house at Hagley Hall in Worcestershire, the seat of Lord Lyttelton, are two vast sweet chestnut trees, which seem to be at least three hundred years old. There is one of an enormous size at Tortsworth in Gloucestershire, which has continued a boundary to that manor from King Stephen's time, as it stands upon record; and which tree is still living, and surrounded by many young ones, that have sprung up from the nuts dropped by the parent tree.[3] And there are in the north-east part of Kent several large woods, consisting principally of chestnut trees and stubs. In the parish of Milton, near Sittingbourne, is a manor called Norwood Casteney, otherwise Chesteney, from its situation among chestnut woods, fronting to the highway from London to Dover, and a hill between Newington and Sittingbourne, called Chestnut Hill;

[1] The old "Black Swan" in Holborn, and the old houses in Palace Yard, Westminster, were built of chestnut timber (*Ducarel*).

[2] Dugdale's *Monasticon*.

[3] Evelyn's *Sylva*.

the chestnut trees growing plentifully on each side of it, and in woods round it for many miles.

Much of the fine timber-work in old English houses, in Hertfordshire especially, was constructed of chestnut, and this has been remarked of a similar style of house in Normandy, where the chestnut does *not* grow, and the inhabitants have a tradition that the wood was imported from England.[1]

The great forest of Middlesex was partially disafforested A.D. 1218 by Henry III.; the portions dealt with being those immediately adjacent to London, which necessity required should be converted into tillage and grazing lands, for there was no considerable erection of buildings till the time of Queen Elizabeth. Year by year the old woodlands have been encroached upon, until they are now only represented by some three hundred and sixty acres, principally lying in the parish of Hornsey; but their effacement has been very gradual, for so lately as the middle of the last century the woods afforded cover for game in considerable quantities, and Henry VIII. so highly valued the near proximity of a royal chase to his palace of Westminster—doubtless as a relief from his little domestic difficulties—that he issued the following proclamation :—

"*A proclamation yt noe p'son interrupt the king's game of partridge or pheasant.*

"Rex majori et vicecomitibus London. Vobis mandamus, etc.

"Forasmuch as the king's most royall ma^tie is much desirous to have the games of hare, partridge, pheasaunt, and heron, p'served in and about his honor, att his palace of West^m for his owne disport and pastime; that is to saye, from his said palace of West^m to *St. Gyles in the Fields*, and from thence to *Islington*, to o^r *Lady of the Oke*, to *Highgate*, to *Hornsey Parke*, to *Hamstead Heath*, and from thence to his said palace of West^m, to be preserved and kept for his owne disport, pleasure, and recreac'on; his highnes therefore straightlie ehargeth and commaundeth all and singuler his subjects, of what estate, degree, or codicon soev' they be, that they, ne any of them, doe p'sume or attempt to hunt or to hawke, or in any meanes to take or kill any of the said games within the precintes aforesaid, as they tender his favor, and will estehue the ymprisonment of their bodies, and *further punishm^t at his ma^ts will and pleasure.*

"Et hoc sub p'ecula incumbenti nullatenus omittat.

"Teste meipso apud West^m vij° die Julij, anno tricesimo septimo Henrici. Octavi, 1546."

It is well known that Henry's passionate attachment to hawking once nearly cost him his life, for falling into a muddy ditch he was almost suffocated.[2] His love for sport is shown by a proclamation

[1] Ducarel's *Normandy*. The galleries round many of the old inn yards were constructed of chestnut timber.

[2] Hall's *Chronicle*.

"against destroying of hawkes egges and young hawkes," and "against bringing up of hawkes by hand in mewe or otherwise."[1]

There is a record of James I. sleeping at Highgate,[2] and hunting in St. John's Wood the next day.

The Act 17 Charles I. enacts "that no forest where the courts had not been held for sixty years past shall be hereafter deemed a forest."

That the citizens took full advantage of their hunting privileges is certain, but the beautiful forest of Epping seems to have been their favourite ground. One of the members of the Lord Mayor's household was the "city huntsman," and a pack of hounds was kept in the City Road near the toll house, which was called the "Dog House Bar." Doubtless when hawking was the fashion many a party of citizens rode through the Highgate woods in pursuit of their quarry, and the royal hawks were, it is said, kept in a cottage in Jackson's Lane—then a common surrounded by woodlands.

Whilst on the subject of the woods of this interesting manor it will not be out of place to state that John Aylmer, Bishop of London, had a house at Hornsey, which was burnt down. Strype, in his Life of that prelate, says:—"But now let me proceed to a matter that created the Bishop some passion and disturbance. He made a good fall of his woods, and that in so large a proportion and (as it was pretended) so unlawfully, that information was brought to the Lord Treasurer and Council against him for it, as though he had made a great spoil of the woods and timber, and wasted the revenues of the bishoprick. It was informed that he had felled and sold three hundred timber trees at one time, and an hundred at another; also that a great number of acres of wood were sold at divers times, allowing to every acre certain timber trees. Though this information was partly true, yet it had more of malice than truth in it. But the Bishop upon this was brought before the Council in 1579, when the said Treasurer openly blamed him, holding himself bound, as he said, to do so, as he was a Public Minister, and with all plainness and freedom telling him there was a Bishop once displaced for such a deed. These words gave the Bishop some uneasiness, and provoked him to some anger, holding himself unblameable for what he had done. Whereupon coming home he took up his pen, and in that heat that was upon him, vented his grieved mind to the same noble lord, telling him these were but indigested surmises, of his wasting the wood, giving (in a writing enclosed) to the particular articles of accusation, particular answers; wherewith, as he shortly told him, if his lordship should be satisfied he should be glad, but if not, he would stand to the justification of his doings both in that and in all other things. He added that if he (the Lord Treasurer) thought his answers were either untrue or not sufficient to

[1] 33 Henry VIII.

[2] See *Arundel House.*

satisfy him, he prayed him to call to him a gentleman, well acquainted with the Bishop's doings, and one whom his lordship judged both upright and wise, and of great experience, and to inform himself by him ; and if it fell out that he (the Bishop) was not too careful a man of his woods, and that they were much the better for him, then let him lose his credit with Her Majesty and all their Honours of the Council. But, in fine, all these surmises against him he counted but light, in comparison of his grief, as he expressed himself, that my Lord Treasurer should have a discontented mind towards the Bishop of London, whose friendship he valued above all, and therefore the seeming estrangement thereof could not but be very affecting to him."

The sum of the paper above mentioned wherein the Bishop endeavoured to clear himself by distinct answers to each charge was this:— "That those trees which he had given order for falling were not timber trees, but pollards doated and decayed at the top, nor was the number of them so many as informed. He acknowledged that in the years 1577, 1578, and 1579, he sold fifteen acres by the arbitrament of the Lord Dyer, and consent of the tenants, and allowed two lopped and doated trees to each acre ; which he would justify to be an increase of wood ; for that for which he had received £300, at the next fall (the spring being kept) would be worth £500, and that whereas it was informed that the sale of these woods amounted to £1,000, he showed that they came to but £600. And in the whole he desired that it might be considered, that in these three years he had paid as much to the Queen as £1,800 besides his housekeeping, where he had three score persons young and old ; that he bought his fuel at Fulham wholly ; and that at London and Hornsey he used coals, sparing wood which came to six score pounds annually, in the whole in fuel eighteen score pounds. Moreover that the burning of his house at Hornsey put him to two hundred marks charges ; and lastly he was able to prove that whereas four hundred acres were destroyed by his late predecessor, and three score more in his time, the estate was the better by £100 a year."

But in short this business still depended ; for half a year after, the Queen sent her letters to the Bishop and some others to enquire into the felling of those woods; to which the Bishop with the others prepared their answer : and for direction therein the Bishop craved the said Treasurer's advice. This ended at length with a restraint from Her Majesty "that the Bishop hereafter should take down no more of his woods."

Strype also states :—"It was mentioned that our Bishop had a business depending at Court, concerning some complaint made against him for embezzling his woods ; he was again informed against in 1585, by one Litchfield, a court musician."

The Rev. James Granger, in his *Topographical History of England,*

states that Aylmer, Bishop of London, was a learned prelate, who had the felicity, and, it may be added, the glory, of being preceptor to Lady Jane Grey.[1] And Sir William Musgrave states in his MS. notes to the above work, "He taught so gently, so pleasantly, and with such fair allurements to learning, that she thought all the time nothing, while she was with him. And when she was called from him, she would fall a-weeping, because whatever else she did but learning, was to her full of trouble, grief, fear, and altogether misliking to her."

Towers, in his biography of Bishop Aylmer, states that the cause of his being neglected was his declaiming, in his answer to Knox, against the splendour and wealth of the Church in these words :—"Come off, ye bishops; away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands; be content with hundreds, as they do in other Reformed Churches where be as great men as you are. Let your portion be Priestlike, not Princelike. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these wars which you procured, and your mistress left her embroiled in; and with the rest to build and found schools throughout the realm. That every parish church may have its preacher, every city its superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously; which will never be unless your lands are dispersed upon many which now feed and fat but one."

Aylmer, when he was afterwards promoted to a bishopric himself, being reminded of this passage, replied in the words of St. Paul, "When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I thought as a child. But when I became a man, I put away childish things."

In confirmation of the fact that Bishop Aylmer had a house in this manor here is the copy of a licence granted by him to one Manering, which was to keep good order at funerals of the nobility, dated from Hornsey:—

"John, by the permission of God, Bishop of London, to all and singular to whom these presents shall appertain, greeting. Whereas about the hearses of honourable and worshipful men there groweth sundry discourse by embezzling and stealing away escutcheons of arms and other ornaments to funerals belonging; with such other rudeness and misdemeanor; we have good consideration hereunto moved, permitted and licensed Nicholas Manering, servant to the Right Honourable the Countess of Darby, to the keeping of the said hearses within our diocese of London, for the avoiding the said inconveniences and disorders; and this his license to endure the natural life of the said Nicholas Manering, not abridging but aiding the Heralds in their office. Yeoven under our hand and seal at Hornsey September 25th, 1579, the 20th of the Queen.

"JOHN LONDON."

The Rev. Daniel Lysons, speaking of Fulham Palace, states that "Bishop Aylmer, or Elmer, a worthy prelate, died there in 1594." The zeal

[1] It would be an interesting fact if it were known whether this unfortunate lady visited the Bishop at Hornsey.

with which he supported the interests of the Established Church exposed him to the resentment of the Puritans, who among other methods which they took to injure the Bishop, attempted to prejudice the Queen against him, alleging that he had committed great waste at Fulham by cutting down the elms ; and, punning upon his name, they gave him the appellation of Bishop *Mar Elm.* "But it is a shameful untruth," says Strype, "and how false it was all the Court knew, and the Queen herself could witness, for she had lately lodged in the Palace, where she misliked nothing, but that her lodgings were kept from all good prospect by the thickness of the trees, as she told her Vice-Chamberlain, and he reported so to the Bishop."

Aylmer was one of the exiles for religion in the reign of Queen Mary. During his residence in Switzerland he assisted John Fox in translating his *Martyrology* into Latin, and wrote a spirited answer to Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment and Empire of Women* (written against the Queens of England and Scotland), a pamphlet not only remarkable for its insolence in respect of the subject, but also for the acrimony of style which distinguished the works of that turbulent reformer. The zeal and assiduity of the Bishop in maintaining the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England recommended him to the particular favour of Queen Elizabeth. It was usual with him, when he saw occasion to rouse the attention of his audience to his sermons, to take a Hebrew Bible out of his pocket and read them a few verses, and then resume his discourse. Strype tells us, among other instances of his courage, that "he had a tooth drawn, to encourage the Queen to submit to the like operation."

There are still extant some prayers he composed on the occasion of the great earthquake in London on April 6th, 1580,[1] and it is recorded that he usually played at bowls on Sundays in the afternoons.[2]

The demesne lands of the manor are still very considerable, but large portions are now the property of private individuals, separated many years since from the original domain. Other manors connected with the locality it may be interesting shortly to allude to.

The Manor of Brownswood (or Frogwood),[3]

Lysons states, is the corps of a prebend of St. Paul's Cathedral. By a survey taken in 1649, it appears that this manor had been devised to John Harrington in 1569 for ninety-nine years ; it had passed into the possession of Lady Kemp, the reserved rent being £19 per annum, and was sold together with the manor of Friern Barnet to Richard Utbur for £3,228 4*s.* 10*d.* In 1621 Sir Thomas Draper was lessee ; John Baker, his son-in-

[1] Strype. [2] Neal's *History of Puritans.*

[3] There is Brownswell or Frogwell on the Finchley Road, near the Turpin Oak.

law, who enjoyed the lease under Dame Mary Draper's will, assigned it in 1750 to John Jennings, gentleman; in 1758 Richard Saunders Jennings, sole executor, became lessee; his only surviving son, Thomas, in 1789, sold the lease to John Willan, Esq., the present lessee. It is scarcely necessary to observe that the leases have been renewed from time to time since the expiration of Harrington's term, which was granted before the restraining Act of Queen Elizabeth. The lessee is Lord of the Manor, and holds a Court-Leet and a Court-Baron. The manor extends over a considerable part of the south-eastern side of the parish (Finsbury Park), and consisted of about 400 acres.

In the Harleian manuscripts in the Library of the British Museum, No. 6955—56, is an account of the prebends of this ancient manor from the year 1327 to the year 1637; they are two volumes bound in one, and appear to have formed part of the bishop's register, for the names are not collected together, but interspersed.

PREBENDS OF BROWNSWOOD, WITH DATES OF APPOINTMENT.

Register of Stephen of Gravesend.

Rob de Dounebrugge.
1325.—Galfr de Eyton.
1327.—Geraldus de Cantalanta.

Register of Simon of Sudbury.

1363.—Michaeli de Northbury.

Register of Robert Braybrok.

William Wenlock.
1392.—Reginaldus Braybrok.
1394.—Hugh Cotyngham.

Register of Richard Clifford.

1409.—Rob Manfeld.

Register of Robert Fitzhugh.

Thos. de la Pole.
1433.—Joh Burdet.

Register of Robert Gilbert.

1448.—Rob Kyrkham.

Register of Thomas Kemp.

1468.—Joh Alkok, LL.D.
1471.—Will Duddeley.
1473.—Joh Davyson.
1485.—Ric Fox, LL.B.
1487.—Tho. Jan, D.D.

Register of Thomas Savage.

1449.—Joh Perot, B.D.

Register of Richard Fitzjames.

Tho. Hulse.

1515.—Will Wareham.

Register of John Stokesley.

Will Halsey.

1530.—Tho. Whithed, B.D.

Register Edmund Bon(n)er.

1548.—Gill Bourn.

1554.—Hen Wootton, A.M.

Register Ed. Grindall.

1561.—Rob Harrington.

Register Ricard Bancroft.

1610.—John Bareham, S.T.P.

Tho. Westfield.

1637.—Tho. Lant.

The following names and dates are from Le Neve's *Fasti*:—

1642.—Robert Barkham.
1652.—Joseph Crowther.
1689.—Thomas Turner.
1714.—George Cartes.
1733.—Thomas Cartwright.
1749.—Sherlock Willis.
1783.—John Sturges.
1807.—George Secker.
1843.—Richard Harvey.

Several of the above will be found to have been also rectors of Hornsey.

The Manor of Duckets (or Dovetts).

In the year 1388 Joan, relict of William de Brighte, of the county of Devon, cousin and heir of John de Stanford, re-leased all rights in a messuage, 300 acres of arable land, 15 of meadow, 14 of wood, and 4*d.* rents in Hornsey and Tottenham to John Dovet and Alice his wife.[1] It was afterwards given by Thomas Burgoyne to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and in the 38 Henry VIII. it was granted to Robert Cecil—"being a parcel of the possessions of the late monastery of St. Bartholomew,"[2] and passed into the possession of Edward Lord North, who conveyed it to William Parker; it then passed successively to Lady Ann Compton, Thomas Sutton, and Sir Robert Popham, who sold it in 1638 to Sir Edward Scott, of whose heirs it was purchased by Dr. Edmund Trench (1673), who in his diary expresses "the scruples he had of holding lands alienated from the Church, and how he got the better of them." At his death the estate was divided; the Hornsey

[1] Augmentation Office. [2] Inquisition 38 Henry VIII.

portion, comprising house, garden, and outbuilding, and about 138 acres of land, was put up for sale in 1821 and bought in for £15,000. It was situate on the north side of Lordship Lane, and was called "Graingers,"[1] and seems ultimately to have been absorbed in the Haringey House estate. The Tottenham portion of the manor was directly opposite the old Turnpike Lane, between West Green and the New River.[2]

There was a small manor in Hornsey called Haliwic, all records of which seem to be lost save that the name appears on the books of the Ecclesiastical Commission; it was situate at the north end of the parish adjoining Friern Barnet.

The Manor of Topsfield.

The manor of Topsfield, or Bradgates, at Crouch End, appears to have been in 1467 the property of John Gayton, to whom it had been conveyed by Thomas Bryan, serjeant-at-law. "I find nothing further relating to it" (says Lysons) "till the year 1659, when it was alienated by John George and others, who had married the co-heirs of Richard Ive, Esq., of Hornsey,[3] to Nicholas Colquitt, who by his will, bearing date 1660, devised it to his mother, Margaret Fairclough."

Mrs. Fairclough in 1662 gave it to her granddaughter, Hester Tyther, afterwards the wife of Sir Edward Graves, Bart. Sir Edward had issue by her one daughter, Margaret; who having married one Edward Mattison without her parents' consent, before she had attained her sixteenth year, this estate, by the statute of the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, became forfeited to the next heir, Anthony Tyther, Esq., who was some time in possession, but it reverted afterwards to Mrs. Mattison, who jointly with her husband alienated it in the year 1717 to Charles Eyre, citizen and haberdasher of London; it was purchased of his executors in 1749 by John Areskine, Esq., who devised it after the death of his wife to Elizabeth and Eleanor Bastow. The first of whom married Frederick Herzelman and the other John Worgan; it was alienated by these parties in 1773 to Samuel Ellis, and was purchased from him in 1792 by the late Thomas Smith of Gray's Inn, and descended to George Smith of Colney Hatch, his son. The manor (or a portion of it) is now in the possession of the heirs of the late W. H. Elder.

The Manor of Farne (or Fernefields).

This Manor was given by Sir William Cavendish to King Edward VI. in 1552 in exchange for other lands,[4] and continued in the Crown

[1] Lysons.
[2] Robinson's *Tottenham.*
[3] The Ive or Eve family were very old residents of St. Pancras (*Lysons*).
[4] Record in Augmentation Office.

till 1603, when King James granted it to John Earl of Mar.[1] It was valued at £10 per annum. "I have not," says Lysons, "been able to find any other account of this estate or to trace its site" It was situate at Stroud Green, adjoining Hornsey Wood. It was surveyed in 1726 by Thomas Brown for James Colebrook, Esq., and consisted of 121 acres, but it is not known whether it was originally of larger extent. The Ferne Park Road represents the site of the manor. A sketch of what was said to be the old Manor House will be found amongst the illustrations.

These last three manors were entirely subsidiary to the Manor of Hornsey, and seem, politically speaking, to have been but little more than names.

The Manor of St. John of Jerusalem.

At the dissolution of the monasteries at least four-fifths of the parish of Islington was in possession of the clergy, and the tract of land comprised in the Manor of St. John of Jerusalem was the most considerable of these estates; the name is derived from its having formed part of the possessions of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, a religious order instituted about the beginning of the twelfth century.[2]

In a record of the numerous possessions of this order about A.D. 1373 are the names of the following estates :—

Prior Sancti Joh'is Jer'l'm in Anglia.

West Smethefelde.	Kentisheton.
Finchesley.	Canonburie Maner, Middl^s.
Iseldon.	

The lands of which the order remained in possession till the time of the dissolution included nearly the whole parishes of St. John and St. James, Clerkenwell, and the greater part of Islington, from its south-western extremity at Battle Bridge to Highgate on the north, and by Hornsey Lane and Duval's Lane to Ring Cross and Canonbury on the south.

The so-called Finchley lands are some sixty-four acres lying on the east side of Colney Hatch Lane, Muswell Hill, which by a strange anomaly are claimed as a portion of the parish of Clerkenwell, because the lands belonged to the Priory of Clerkenwell. By the same process of reasoning Clerkenwell might just as well claim the larger proportion of the parish of Islington.

The grand house belonging to the order stood on the site of St. John's Square, Clerkenwell, of which the ancient gateway still remains. Such was the humility of these knights, that they at first styled themselves "*Servants to the poor servants of the hospital at Jerusalem*"; and, to

[1] Pat. Rolls, 1 James, part 5.

[2] Nelson's *History of Islington.*

express their poverty, took for their seal the representation of two men riding on one horse; but by the munificence of some of the kings and nobles, together with the accession of lands and possessions which they received on the suppression of the Knights Templars (*temp.* Edward II.), the order was found, at the dissolution of religious houses, to be endowed with land in England alone, to the yearly value of £2,385 12*s.* 8*d.*; and about the year 1240, it is said to have possessed 19,000 lordships or manors in different parts of Christendom." [1]

Bishop Latimer complains in one of his sermons that the revenues of the Church were seized by the rich laity, and that the incumbent was only a proprietor in title; that many benefices were let out to farm to secular men, or given to their servants as a consideration for keeping their hounds, hawks, and horses, and that the poor clergy were reduced to such short allowance that they were forced to go to service, and turn clerks of the kitchen, surveyors, receivers, etc.; and Camden complains that "avarice and sacrilege had strangely the ascendant at this time; that estates formerly settled for the support of religion and the poor, were ridiculed as superstitious endowments, first miscalled and then plundered."

The bishops were too easy in parting with the lands and manors belonging to their bishoprics, and the courtiers too eager in grasping everything they could lay their hands upon. For instance, letters patent dated December 17th, 1540, were issued by King Henry constituting Westminster Abbey a Cathedral, and Thomas Thirlby was appointed bishop, with a diocese including all Middlesex except Fulham; but in the reign of Edward VI., March 29th, 1550, "the new bishop resigned his office in consequence of the king's letters patent, together with his new diocese, to the Bishop of London, from whom it had been taken, but in the meanwhile *he had alienated much of the land.*" [2]

On October 21st, 1647, "An ordinance was read in the House of Commons, for paying the arrears of the army and the soldiery of the kingdom that have served the Parliament, and the question remitted to a Committee chosen for that purpose. The House then further declared, that the arrears of the soldiery of the kingdom that have served the Parliament in this war shall be satisfied and paid out of the sale of bishops' lands belonging to bishopricks, after the present engagements shall be satisfied." [3]

The manor of Hornsey was accordingly surveyed by order of the Parliament, but that portion which had always been kept in demesne had been leased in 1645 to — Smith, Esq., for £120 per annum, and there were belonging to it 650 acres of wood and waste. [4] The lease was scrupu-

[1] Camden's *Britannia.*
[2] Malcolm, *Londinium Redivivum.*
[3] Rushworth's *Hist. Collection.*
[4] Lysons.

lously respected,—indeed the Commonwealth invariably recognised private rights,—and as it did not expire until the period of the restoration, the lands in question became the nucleus of the present ecclesiastical estate in Hornsey, purchasers of the surrounding property finding it *desirable* that they should either present, or sell at a nominal figure, lands the very holding of which was an offence to the dominant party in the State. When the bishop's lands were sold, the manor of Hornsey came into the hands of Sir John Wollaston, who held it till his death in 1658, after which his widow enjoyed it till the restoration.

Sir John (who resided in the mansion which formerly stood on the site of Cholmeley Park) was a trustee for the sale of these lands, and under the heading of "The Houses," etc., will be found some particulars of the prices Sir John paid for some of them. In the Library of the British Museum is a scarce little work in which Sir John Wollaston's name is mentioned; it is entitled

"Mystery of the Good Old Cause briefly unfolded, in a catalogue of such members of the late Long Parliament that held offices both civil and military, contrary to the self-denying ordinances hereunto annexed. Together with the sums of money and land they divided among themselves during their sitting. Also a list of such Aldermen and Common Councilmen and others as made profit by the continuance of the war, excise taxes, and oppressive proceedings of that Parliament.

"Quo non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacri fames.
London 1660.

"Printed in the first year of England's liberty after about twenty years' slavery."

The parish of Hornsey contains 2,930 ac. 1 r. 30 p., of which its woodlands are now but 312 ac. 2 r. 21 p., divided as follows :—

	A.	R.	P.
Coal Fall Wood	116	0	19
Dirt House Wood	13	2	29
Brewhouse or Gravel Pit Wood	68	1	6
Church Yard Bottom Wood	51	2	17
Wood (557)	0	2	19
Do. (558)	12	0	22
Do. (671)	32	2	35
Do. (403)	17	1	34
	312	2	21

Note.—Enfield Chase, part of the old woodlands north of London, was also cut down by order of Parliament (*Harrison*).

In the times referred to, in the earlier history of the parish, the probability is that these figures would be reversed, and the woodlands, instead of being 300 acres, would have been nearer 2,500 acres!

After the constant record of alienation the history of the manor affords, it is quite refreshing to chronicle a recent graceful and generous act of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in whom the lands of the Bishop of London are vested, in restoring for public use a portion of the old forest of Middlesex as represented by "The Gravel Pit Wood," Highgate.

The inception of the idea which led to this interesting concession is due to Mr. H. R. Williams, of the Priory, Hornsey, the Chairman of the Hornsey Local Board, who urged the subject upon public attention in a letter to *The Times* on 10th September, 1884; it was warmly seconded by a leading article in that paper on the next day, followed by similar articles in the daily and weekly press. Mr. Williams followed up his suggestion in other letters under date 13th September, 17th September, the 8th and 20th October, 1884, which *The Times* again followed by a leader on the latter date. The outcome was, that this beautiful wood consisting of about 70 acres was conveyed by the Commissioners to the Corporation of the City of London, as a free gift for the use and recreation of the public for ever; and it was dedicated to that purpose by the Lord Mayor (Sir John Staples) on the 30th October, 1886. Fuller reference to this interesting matter will be found under the chapter "Highgate of To-day."

Important as this gift is in itself, and still more important as the recognition of public claims on property held for public uses, it hardly goes far enough. To make the gift complete, it should include the "Churchyard Bottom Wood," from which the Gravel Pit Wood is divided only by a narrow road running almost its entire length, and thus secure about one hundred and twenty acres of beautiful and diversified woodland within five miles of the City. If the second wood unhappily falls into the hands of the builder, it will entirely mar the intention of the original gift, as it will then without doubt be surrounded by houses; whereas the two plots of woodland combined, would command an isolation which would greatly enhance the charm of their sylvan beauty.

THE FLYING SPUR.

CHAPTER II.

THE PARISH, THE CHURCHES, AND THE SCHOOL.

Origin of the parish—The parish churches of Hornsey—The rectors from 1321—Monuments in the church—Notes referring to some of the rectors—The Rev. William Cole and the Bishop—Extracts from the parish register and the vestry minutes—Bishop Aylmer—Hornsey items—Hornsey charities—The Hermitage of St. Michael's, Highgate—The Hermits—Paviage grants—The Hermitage conveyed to Sir Roger Cholmeley as a suppressed religious foundation—The old chapel, its monuments, gifts—The Highgate charities—Extracts from the registers—The preachers or readers of the old chapel—The Cholmeley school—Sir Roger Cholmeley—The original statutes of the school, its income—The great law suit, Dr. Dyne and its resuscitation—The school and the school buildings—The consolidated chapelry and church of St. Michael—Order in council—The vicars—The parsonage—The ecclesiastical district of All Saints.

"PARISHES were first ordained in England by Honorius V., Archbishop of Canterbury, about 636; prior to which period the clergy lived in common, every clerk receiving his proportion out of the common stock for his maintenance. These parishes appear, however, to have been bishoprics, or at least comprehended a greater portion of territory or district than is consistent with the ordinary extent of a parish or parochial cure of souls; when the distribution into smaller districts took place, it seems difficult to ascertain. The boundaries of parishes were first ascertained by those of a manor or manors, because it very seldom happens that a manor extends itself over more than one parish, though there are often many manors in one parish. As Christianity spread, the lords began to build churches upon their own demesnes or wastes, in order to accommodate their tenants in one or two adjoining lordships; and that they might have divine service regularly performed therein, obliged all their tenants to appropriate their tithes to the maintenance of the one officiating minister, instead of leaving them at liberty to distribute them among the clergy of the diocese in general; which accounts for the frequent intermixture of parishes one with another. For if a lord had a parcel of land detached from the main of his estate, but not sufficient to form a parish of itself, it was natural for him to endow his newly-erected church with the tithes of such lands. Hence the parochial division of England in the Taxatio Ecclesiastica, compiled

in the time of Edward I., A.D. 1288-92, appears to have been nearly the same as now established."[1]

It is an interesting subject for enquiry, under what circumstances the earlier churches were built; it is suggested, with considerable force, that it was a matter that pertained to the honour and dignity of the landed proprietor that a church should be built in his village.

Staveley says that "if the churl thrived by his calling or industry so as to arrive at the character and reputation of a Thein, then we must suppose him to have gained some considerable quantity of land and

HORNSEY PARISH CHURCH (THE SECOND BUILDING).

acres where he seated himself and there designed to fix his posterity. And there, in the first place, he would be sure to have a church or oratory, and a priest for celebration of divers service for the honour of God, and prosperity of himself and family; in the next place a kitchen for provisions, a bell house and all other accommodations, and then he became a 'right compleat Thein;' and from this usage we may observe that there is scarce any village, town, or hamlet but it still retains, or anciently had some church or chapel there anciently built by some chief proprietor or lord in that place or circuit. And for tythes to be paid

[1] Blackstone's *Comm.*, i. 112.

to this Thein's church there was a special provision made in the laws of King Edgar, as also in those of King Canutus as they are exhibited by Brompton."[1]

The parish church of Hornsey is dedicated to St. Mary, and in the older records is styled "The Church of St. Mary of Haringey." It is a rectory in the collation of the Bishop of London; and it is a significant fact that it is exempt from the Archdeacon of Middlesex, and entirely subject to the Bishop and his Commissary.[2] This is very suggestive of the personal character of its gift by the Conqueror. The church seems to have been rebuilt at least twice since the original erection.

Of the first church, the only record extant is a list of its rectors dating from 1321. The second church was erected about 1500, the third (the one now standing) in A.D. 1832, with the exception of the tower, which formed a part of the second building, and seems substantial enough to become a portion of even a fourth church, should it be erected on the same spot.

The church being situated in the midst of woodlands, the tower was possibly used for a beacon light, as in the case of Hadley Church. It was heightened considerably when the church was rebuilt in 1832. In the records of Pope Nicholas's taxation, A.D. 1291, the Ecclesia de Haringey is entered at viij marks. In 1535 the rectory was rated in the king's books at £22; A.D. 1659 it was valued at £92, in 1749 at £135, and in 1880 at £730.

The following are records relating to the time of the second church[3]:—

Computus Ministrorum Domini Regis temp. Henrici VIII.

(Abstract of Roll, 33rd Henry VIII., Augmentation Office, Monasterium Sancti Petri Westmonast.

Hornsey . . . Redd. Terr. . . . . £1 10*s.* 0*d.*

Valor Ecclesiasticus Henrici VIII.

Redditus assisæ cum aliis redditibus, etc., in Heringay lviii. *l.* viii. *s.* xi. q. *d.* (£58 8*s.* 11¼).
Woods existing there, viz. in Haringey, c. *s.*
Perquisites of the courts there, viz. Haringey, xxxii. *s.* xi. *d.*
Annual value of benefices in Co. Midd.:—
Haringay Rectory—
Clear annual value . . . . xxii. *l.* (£22).
Tithes here . . . . . xliiij. *s.* (£2 4*s.*).

The rectory is thus described *temp.* James I.:—

Midd—Terrier A.D. 1610. One dwelling-house, one barn, one cow-house, one stable, thirty-seven acres and one rod of land, besides a ground belonging to the barn, but how many acres it contains is not said.[4]

[1] Staveley's *History of Churches.*
[2] Newcourt.
[3] Dugdale's *Monasticon.*
[4] Lysons.

Terrier A.D. 1663. Besides the Homestall fields, the old orchard and other small parcels of land containing in all five or six acres, there are about forty acres and a small angle of glebe belonging to this rectory.

		£	s.	d.
Primitiæ		22	0	0
Decimæ		2	4	0
Onera hujus Ecclesiæ.	Proc Episc . .	0	4	0
	Proc Arched . .	0	0	0

Rectors of Hornsey for Five Hundred Years.

Rad. de Olney.
Joh. de Ishelham 18 kal. Jan. 1321 per resig. Olney.
Will. Tolre, cl[ericus] 5 kal. Nov. 1334.
Thomas de Besewick.
Rad. Harper.
Thomas Chandeler, 22 Nov. 1401, per resig. Harper.
Rob. Child, 25 Aug. 1405, per resig. Chandeler.
Edw. Towlsbury.
Thomas Clement, 28 Jan. 1441, per resig. Towlsbury.
Ric. Baumford.
Joh. Smith, cap[ellanus] 28 Nov. 1469, per mort. Baumford.
Joh. Lichfield, pr. 21 Dec. 1472, per resig. Smith.
Will. Moor, A.M., 20 Mar. 1482, per resig. Lichfield.
Joh. Wippyll, A.M., 26 Aug. 1487, per mort. Moor.
Joh. Bunoult, cap. 21 Sept. 1504, per mort. Wyppyll.
— Bingham.
Chr. Chauncey, A.M., 11 Feb. 1516, per mort. Bingham.
Walt. Preston, S.T.P., 20 Mar. 1525, per mort. Chauncey.
Joh. Symond, pr. 9 Aug. 1530, per resig. Preston.
Ric. Ewer, S.T.B., 19 Maij 1536, per resig. Symond.
Rob. Willarton, A.M., 25 Jan. 1556, per resig. Ewer.
Rob. Harrington, cl. 29 Apr. 1560, per depriv. Willarton.
Pet. Lilly, S.T.P., 1 Nov. 1610, per mort. Harrington.
Thomas Westfield, S.T.P. [afterwards Bishop of Bristol].[1]

Thomas Lant, D.D.	Instituted	1637[2]
— Collier	,,	1644*
John Dalton	,,	1654*
Samuel Bendy	,,	1659*
Thomas Lant, D.D.	reinstated at Restoration; died 1682.	
Wright Burdett, M.A	Instituted	1688
Richard Sear	,,	1695
John Adams	,,	1711
Lewis Atterbury, D.D.[3]	,,	1719
Lawrence Cook, LL.B.	,,	1731
Thomas Cartwright, D.D.[4]	,,	1733; died 1749.
William Cole, M.A., F.A.S.	,,	1749; died 1782.

[1] Newcourt.

[2] From the Bishop's registry, with the exception of the names marked *, which were appointments under the Commonwealth.

[3] Also Preacher at Highgate Chapel.

[4] Archdeacon of Colchester.

John Territt, B.D.	Instituted	1751
Thomas Lloyd	,,	1758
Francis Haultain, M.A.	,,	1775 ; died 1780.
Charles Sheppard, M.A.	,,	1780 ; ,, 1829.
Richard Harvey, M.A.[1]	,,	1829 ; res. 1879.
James Jeakes, M.A.	,,	1880.

It is a remarkable fact that the two rectors immediately preceding the present incumbent held the office between them exactly one hundred years! During Mr. Harvey's term of office, six distinct ecclesiastical districts were formed in the parish, and churches erected, viz., St. James, Muswell Hill; Christ Church, Crouch End; St. Matthias, South Hornsey; Holy Innocents, Tottenham Lane; Holy Trinity Church, Stroud Green; and All Saints, Highgate: and one church removed out of the parish, viz., St. Michael's, Highgate.

Mr. Cole in his account of the church of his time says:—"It is a very neat one, and not very large, consisting of a square tower at the west end, much too big for the rest of the church; in which hang six tunable bells, and a clock, which was given to the church the year preceding; nave and south aisle, both of which are tiled. The chancel seems to be part of the nave, and only distinguished from it by a step into it, and a difference of the arch of the pillars which divides the rest of the nave from the south aisle. The altar is neatly railed round, and adorned with paintings above it of Moses and Aaron, the Decalogue, Creed, and Lord's Prayer.

"The living is a rectory in the patronage of the Bishop of London, who is also Lord of the Manor; it is seated in the liberties of Finsbury and Wedlakesbarn, and in ecclesiastical matters subject to the Bishop and his Commissary of London and Middlesex, but *exempt* from the Archdeacon of Middlesex.

"The church is dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, and has a neat vestry on the south side of the tower, in which is a chimney, and other conveniences for the rector and officers of the parish. The living, one year with another,—as I was informed by my curate, the Rev. Mathew Mapletoft, late of St. John's College, and son of the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft, Rector of Barlow in Cambridgeshire; as also by the Rev. Mr. Towers of Hornsey, late curate to my predecessor the Rev. Thomas Cartwright, D.D., Archdeacon of Colchester,—is between £130 and £140 a year; but the duty of it is hard in point of burials. The large hamlet of Highgate being in my parish, from whence all the poor people who are not able to pay the accustomed dues at Highgate Chapel are brought down to the mother church at Hornsey for interment, makes it necessary, except I should do more than I care for, and I can do

[1] Canon of Gloucester and Prebendary of Brownswood.

safely, to keep a constant curate and assistant. The reason of the smallness of the profit of the living arises from a modus which has fixed the tythe at four pence an acre throughout the parish, and I was told that one of my predecessors had began a suit at law to recover his right, whose name was Cook, but did not live long enough to see the event."[1]

Staveley says:—"Other churches have towers more like castles than steeples, built of flint and pebbles incrusted together. Of this sort we may see about London. But the most monstrous I ever saw of this kind are at Hornsey in Middlesex, and Hitchin in Hertfordshire."[2] The tower was evidently much too large in proportion for the other parts of the old church; this confirms Mr. Cole's statement.

In 1832 the body of this venerable church was pulled down, leaving the tower to form a part of the new building, in which is placed a beautiful stained-glass window by Evans, of which the following account was published:—

"The window of stained glass by Evans at Hornsey Church consists of two tiers of lights containing eighteen full-length figures, drawn in an easy and natural attitude. St. Matthew is clothed in blue, St. Mark bears an open Gospel, St. Luke in a gold vest appears attentively writing on a tablet, St. John holds a golden chalice in his left hand, and in his right a closed book. In the lower tier, St. Peter holds his symbol, the keys in one hand and a book in the other; St. James has a club in one hand and the Holy Scriptures in the other; St. Jude bears his Epistle; St. Paul sustains his emblem, a sword in his left hand, his right being uplifted in the act of exhortation pointing towards heaven. The figures stand on rich Gothic pedestals surrounded by a canopy of the most delicate work.

"The three principal compartments within the pointed arches of the window are filled with designs of The Adoration of the Shepherds, by Guido; The Wise Men's Offering, by Rubens, the colouring of which is very rich; and in the apex is the Annunciation from Carlo Maratti. These subjects well harmonize with the figures below.

"The total cost of building this church was £7,484 5*s.* 1*d.*, out of which £2,670 10*s.* were voluntary subscriptions. Ditto for Catacombs, £504; Loan, £2,000; Church Building Society, £700."[3]

There are sketches of some of the tracery of the windows of the older church in "Kerrick's MS. Collections of Architecture" in the British Museum.

The church pulled down in 1832, appears to have been built about the year 1500. The architecture was that of the period, and the arms

[1] Coles, *Church Notes.*
[2] Staveley, *History of Churches.*
[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. iv.

of Savage and Warham (two succeeding Bishops of London) on the tower fix the date.[1]

The following monuments are recorded to have been placed on the walls:—Francis, only son of Sir John Musters, Knight (1680); The Reverend Dr. Cartwright, seventeen years rector (1749); Samuel Towers, A.M. (1757). Upon a pillar on the south side were those of Robert Harrington, fifty years rector: he was son of Sir John Harrington, of Exton (1610); and Thomas Lant, B.D. (1682). On the floor were the tombs of Lady Basset, wife of Sir Francis Basset, and daughter of Sir John Trelawny, Bart. (*ob.* 1682); and Dame Jane, wife of Sir John Musters, and daughter of Sir Francis Basset (16—).

On the north wall of the nave was a monument in memory of Colonel Edward James, who was shipwrecked in the *Grosvenor*, East Indiaman, on the Caffre coast in 1782; and his sister Elizabeth Chambers, who died in 1756; and that of Samuel Buckley (the editor of *Thaunus*), with the following inscription:—

> "To the memory of Samuel Buckley, who having not only discharged all the duties of life with ability, industry, and tenderness to each relation, but offices likewise of state and trust, with prudence, fidelity, and gratitude to his benefactors, concluded his days in the study of letters, and the enjoyment of honest and honourable friendships, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, 1741."

Against the wall of the south aisle was fixed a small obelisk to the memory of "Master Richard Candish, of Suffolk, Esq.:—

> "Candish, deriv'd from noble parentage,
> Adornde with vertuous and heroicke partes,
> Most learned, bountiful, devout, and sage,
> Graced with the graces, muses, and the artes.
> Deer to his prince, in English court admired,
> Beloved of great and honourable peeres,
> Of all esteem'd, embraced, and desired,
> Till death cut off his well-employed yeeres.
> Within this earth, his earth entombed lies,
> Whose heavenly part surmounted hath the skies.
>
> "Promised and made by Margaret, Countess of Cōberland, 1601."

This Richard Candish was chosen one of the burgesses for Denbigh, anno 1572, in opposition to the inclination, and even the threats, of Queen Elizabeth's great favourite, the Earl of Leicester.[2] It seems by his epitaph that he was afterwards in the Court interest.

On the wall of the same (south) aisle was a large slab placed upright on which were engraved the figures of a man, his two wives and son,

[1] Bishop Savage was promoted to the See of London A.D. 1497, and translated to York in 1500. It is probable that both he and Warham were contributors to the building.

[2] Pennant's *Wales*.

in the dress of Queen Elizabeth's or King James's time, erected "in memory of George Ray of Highgate, Gent."

Against a pillar on the north side of this aisle was the monument of John Carter, goldsmith (1776). On the floor was the tomb of the Reverend Matthew Mapletoft (1751); and also a small brass plate with the figure of an infant, underneath which was the following inscription:

"Jsu Criste, Mary is son—
Have merci on the soul of John Skevington."[1]

In the churchyard are many tombs, for the ground must have received the bodies of the inhabitants of the parish for some fifteen generations at least; but the only one that attracts much attention is that of Rogers the poet, in the north-east corner of the ground.

Samuel Rogers, poet, was born in July 1763, at Newington Green, and succeeded his father as head of the well-known banking firm of Rogers, Olding, & Co. His early literary friends were principally amongst the Presbyterians, including Dr. Price, Dr. Towers, Mrs. Barbauld, Dr. Kippis, etc., but later in life his circle embraced all the celebrities of the day. In 1792 he published his *Pleasures of Memory*, which at once made his reputation as a poet, four editions having been called for during the first year of its publication. On the death of his father, Rogers, who was thirty years of age, being inheritor of a large fortune, practically left the management of the bank to others, and devoted himself to literature and art. In 1795 he was in close association with Horne Tooke, Erskine, Fox, Grattan, and Lady Holland and the brilliant circle of Holland House. In 1803, during a journey to Scotland, he became acquainted with Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Scott, and in the same year he removed into the house in St. James's which is so closely associated with his memory, and in which he resided fifty-three years, and gathered his wonderful "art" collection. In 1814 he made a prolonged visit to Italy, and in 1822 published *Italy, a Poem*, the large paper edition of which was illustrated by Stothard, Turner, and others; and in 1834 he published his earlier works in the same elaborate style. These two beautiful volumes cost him £7,000; but they are said to have repaid him the outlay.

For half a century the residence of Rogers formed one of the centres of literary society; almost every known artist or author was welcomed, treated as a personal friend, and, if necessary, met with liberal assistance.

Rogers died in December 1855, in his ninety-second year, and was buried in Hornsey churchyard; in accordance with his own request, in the same grave as his brother and sister.

His nephew, the late accomplished scholar Samuel Sharpe, says:—"I

[1] Lysons. Sir John Skevington was Sheriff in 1520.

never left his company without feeling my zeal for knowledge strengthened, and with a fresh determination to do my best in everything." He adds that his uncle "trained his mind to look for the beautiful and the good in all that came before him."

The art collection left by Rogers was dispersed by a public sale extending over twenty-two days, producing a very large sum. He was of weakly constitution, which showed itself in a pale, sickly countenance,[1] but by care he grew stronger as he grew older, praising the use of the "flesh brush," which he called "the art of living for ever."

His political as well as his religious sentiments were unchanged throughout a long life. He was a parliamentary reformer, when to be so meant persecution and obloquy. He was one of the founders of the "British and Foreign School Society," for the education of the poor of every sect; also of University College, London. He was unshaken in his disapproval of requiring a belief in fixed creeds and articles of religion, and had a disbelief of the orthodox doctrines of the Atonement and the Trinity, although after the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts he did not refuse to worship and to commune with, the Church of England.

It is somewhat remarkable that each of the two graveyards in the parish contains the remains of a celebrated poet,—Rogers lying in Hornsey churchyard and Coleridge in that of Highgate.

The following notes refer to some of the rectors of Hornsey.

Thomas Westfield, who resigned the rectory of Hornsey A.D. 1637, was afterwards made Bishop of Bristol. His biographer, speaking of his manner of preaching, says:—"He made not that wearisome which should be welcome, never keeping his glass,[2] except upon extraordinary occasions, more than a quarter of an hour; he made not that common which should be precious, either by the coarseness or curiousness of his matter. He never, though almost fifty years a preacher, went up into the pulpit but he trembled, and never preached before the King but once, and then he fainted."[3]

A volume of his sermons is extant. He was held in such esteem by all parties, that on the 13th day of May, A.D. 1643, the committee for sequestering delinquents' estates, being informed that his tenants refused to pay him his rents as Bishop of Bristol, it was ordered that all the profits of his bishopric should be restored him, and that he should have a

[1] The sallowness of Rogers was so remarkable, that a story is told of a cabman, who was hailed by him at a late hour one night in St. Paul's Churchyard, refusing the fare, and adjuring him "to go back to his grave, and not try and bilk a pore cabby."

[2] The pulpit sand-glass, to regulate length of sermon.

[3] Harl. MSS., No. 7176.

grant of safe-conduct to remove his family to Bristol, being a man far advanced in years, and of great learning and merit.[1]

His successor, Thomas Lant, D.D. (who was turned out of the Rectory House with his wife and children), a native of Salop, became a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, and was admitted to this living in 1637. In 1644 he was ejected by a Committee of the House of Commons, at which time "one Collier" was, by the same authority, substituted in his rectory, who "violently thrust himself into the Parsonage House, turning Mr. Lant, his wife, and three small children out of doors, without any time allowed them to provide a place of retirement for his helpless family, and deprived of all present means of subsistence, and upon great penalties prohibited to exercise any part of his ministerial function, the profits of the living, and even of that year in which he had served the cure, being seized by Mr. Colliere; which Mr. Lant modestly and with great meekness claiming as his right, and what he had great occasion for to subsist his family for that present, was by Colliere roughly and most cruelly denied, saying, '*And what must I have this year to live upon?*' and being asked by Mr. Lant how he could have the conscience to take the benefit of another's labours, replied, 'What! do *you* tell me of conscience?' In this suffering condition Mr. Lant remained sixteen years, and at the Restoration found the parsonage almost entirely ruined and out of repair, and the chancel not much better, which he was obliged to repair at a vast charge."[2]

John Dalton was presented to the rectory by Sir John Wollaston A.D. 1654, and Samuel Bendy by Dame Rebecca Wollaston A.D. 1659. Bendy, soon after his admission, presented a petition to the Committee, setting forth that the rectory was only £92 per annum, out of which he was obliged to pay £16 to the wife and children of the late incumbent. He prayed, therefore, that a like sum might be granted him out of other rectories, which was complied with.[3]

Dr. Lewis Atterbury, who was collated to the rectory of Hornsey in 1719, had resided several years at Highgate, where he was elected preacher at the chapel in 1695. He was brother to the celebrated Bishop Atterbury, and himself a man of considerable note. Several of his sermons are in print, some published by himself, and others after his death.[4]

William Cole, F.S.A., a most industrious antiquary, who died in 1782, and bequeathed his large collection of interesting MSS., consisting of thirty-nine volumes of parochial surveys, historical anecdotes, etc., to the British Museum, with an injunction that they should not be opened till twenty years after his decease, was collated to the rectory of Hornsey in the month of November A.D. 1749, and held it for about twelve months.

[1] Harl. MSS., 7176.
[2] Walker's *Ejected Clergy*.
[3] Lambeth MSS.
[4] Lysons.

He resigned it partly in consequence of the dampness of the soil, of which he bitterly complains; he mentions that so wet was the churchyard that several of the brick altar tombs actually contain the bodies of deceased persons, instead of covering the graves, as is usual with such erections.[1] It must be remembered that there was no drainage, and that the New River then encompassed the church and the rectory like a net, crossing and recrossing the road four times in about a quarter of a mile; also that the flood waters from Muswell Hill caused the roads to be almost impassable in winter. Mr. Cole, referring to the interments in the altar tombs, says:—"I never saw the same fashion elsewhere, excepting the tumuli on the Gog and Magog Hills, where troughs or funnels exist as here, to let out the water that should happen to come in. * * * To the coldness and dampness of the soil Mr. Towers attributed his ill health and rheumatism, and therefore resigned his curacy."[1]

The New River at Hornsey flowed from the direction of Wood Green parallel with Nightingale Lane, crossed the Priory Road opposite the end of the lane, and, inclining to the east, immediately crossed the end of Middle Lane, proceeding through the gardens of the "Three Compasses," then, returning, re-crossed the main road just below the rectory garden, and describing an arc, once again crossed the road below the church near the present railway bridge.

This meandering stream, flanked by some fine old trees, gave great life and beauty to the village, which, crowned as it was by the ivy-covered tower of the old church, and backed by the rising ground of Muswell Hill and Highgate woods, was noted for its picturesque beauty, and was a very great attraction to visitors who flocked to the numerous tea-gardens in its neighbourhood during the summer season; but, from the circumstances already alluded to, the village must have been a damp and cold place of residence in winter, for even some twenty years since, pedestrian traffic was constantly stopped in the Priory Road by the overflow of the flood waters from the hills.

Mr. Cole seems to have been a man of most precise habits, and recorded in writing every passing event, however trifling—even to the weight of his body at different times of his life. There is a portrait of him in Nichol's *Literary Anecdotes*, which quite confirms this impression of his character. Amongst his MSS. is a series of letters respecting the rectory of Hornsey, which are worth quoting, although space will not permit that they should be reproduced in full.

1749. Nov. 15th.—Mr. Cole is requested to wait on the Bishop of London.

Nov. 23rd.—Formal declaration upon being collated into the living.

[1] Coles MSS.

Table of fees paid for the same, £17 7*s.* 6*d.* Copies of deed of institution. Letters testimonial from the Bishop. Order to induct William Cole, Master of Arts, into the said rectory of Hornsey.

Nov. 25th.—Certificate of induction signed by Matthew Mapletoft, witness Samuel Towers.

Nov. 26th.—Certificate that William Cole did read himself in on 26th Nov., 1749, signed "Jos. Cock, Church wardin."

Dec. 4th.—Statement by Mr. Cole that it would take £400 to make the rectory habitable, and Dr. Cartwright's executors offer only £35 (guineas); so, finding he "is likely to have a law suit on his hands," "to build a new house of £4 or 500," "to maintain a curate which I must keep whether I reside or not—the duty of burials being so hard from Highgate, from whence all the poor people are brought to be buried at their mother church of Hornsey," "and the king's taxes and other annual dues would reduce the living from £130 to about £60," he resolves on sending in his resignation.

Dec. 19th.—Letter from the Bishop, suggesting, "You might possibly be unacquainted with the consequence of it (resignation) to yourself. You should advise with your friends."

Dec. 21st.—Upon "advising with his friends," he finds he is liable for dilapidations, having accepted the living, and accordingly withdraws his resignation.

Dec. 28th.—The executors of Mr. Cartwright increase their offer to £40 (guineas) towards dilapidations.

1750. Jan. 2nd.—The Bishop advises him to accept the £40 (guineas), and says, "As to a successor in your living, I have not resolved who it shall be, nor have I made any offer of the living to any person, nor will I until it is actually vacant, and then I will make no conditions with him, but whoever he is I think *he will* or *ought* to be contented with the £40 (guineas)."

Jan. 9th.—Resigns a second time.

January.—The Bishop accepts the resignation, and appoints a Mr. Territt, a Fellow of St. John's and Reader of the Temple, to the rectory.[1]

Statement by Mr. Cole. "Mr. Territt told me the living was not worth his acceptance, but that he dared not refuse it after it was offered by the Bishop, from whom he expected preferment; and in 1758 Mr. Territt was appointed by the Bishop to a better living in Essex."

A few extracts from the parish register may be interesting; it dates from 1653, but some leaves are missing:—

[1] For some reason Mr. Territt was not instituted till 1751.

"A young man died at the Countess of Huntingdon's at Highgate; buried April 1663."

"Francis, son of Sir John Musters and Lady Jane his wife, was baptized the 18th of May, 1664." He was buried April 17th, 1680.

"Sir Richard Spencer and Mrs. Mary Musters married July 23rd, 1672."

"Sir Thomas Davis and Mrs. Elizabeth Ridge married Feb. 3rd, 1669—70."

"The old Lady Basset was buried July 17th, 1682."

"Reginald Grey of Ruthen, Earl of Kent, died at Hornsey March 17th, 1573, and was buried in the Church of St. Giles, Cripplegate."[1]

"John Lightfoot, the learned commentator and Hebraist, went to reside at Hornsey in the year 1628, for the purpose of being near London, where he might have access to the library at Sion College.[2] One of his works is dated from his study at Hornsey."[3]

The vestry minutes are of no special interest, but the following items are suggestive. Assessment for the poor in 1680 was £42 8*s.* 5*d.*; in 1698, £134 3*s.* 0*d.*

The poor's rate 1812-3 was 4*s.* in the £, and the land was assessed at £3 10*s.* per acre.

The surveyor's account for the care of roads, etc., for 1668 was £10 3*s.* 7*d.*; for 1670, £20 16*s.* 0*d.*; but in explanation of these trifling sums it should be stated that fifty-two inhabitants are credited in the accounts with "six days' work each, on the roads," in some cases with their teams.

The churchwardens' accounts in 1664-5 amounted to £93 7*s.* 9*d.*; 1668-9, £18 7*s.* 2*d.*; 1669-70, £41 18*s.* 0*d.* (including one item of £7 8*s.* 5*d.* "for relief of the maimed souldiers in the King's Bench," etc); 1674-5, £30 6*s.* 0*d.*; 1675-6, £14 11*s.* 0*d.*

In the accounts for 1801 is an item of 5*s.* "for killing hedgehogs," and in 1806 "subscription for the army" £85 1*s.* 0*d.*; and in one of the accounts we are informed there is an item of "£5 for killing flies." This item will most likely be found in the account of the year 1782, when the bushes and trees of north London were infested by a poisonous fly. The following letter appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxxi., describing the effects of contact with them, and showing that Hampstead, and doubtless other parishes, paid for their destruction.

"Hampstead, 1782.—I am sorry you was disappointed when your

[1] Holinshed's *Chronicle*, vol. iii. [2] *Biograph. Brit.* [3] Lysons.

goodness led you to call here for a description of my illness the beginning of last month, caused by the vermin at that time in webs on the bushes and trees near London. Having heard of their smell when burnt, and a large web being put in the fire, I was led to hold my head over it, on which I was immediately affected with a strong scent like copper, and I had a working within me, and increasing illness. Soon after, my extremities were very cold ; I put woollen socks on my feet, with worsted hose, and had a brick heated and tied in a cloth, to keep my feet warm in bed. Having slept about three-quarters of an hour, I waked in a great heat and violent ferment, my head much confused, and so very giddy that on getting out of bed I had difficulty to keep from falling on the floor, and could not put on my clothes. After getting into bed I slept about half an hour, and awaked again in a great heat and fermentation, and had frequent occasion to be out of bed. A violent flux continued for several days ; on the seventh, I was surprised at perceiving the smell of copper, like the effluvia of musk filling a room from a grain that cannot be perceived to be lessened in weight. The little that went into my blood caused a breaking-out about my nose and mouth ; my tongue and inside of my mouth were sore. My nose and outside of my mouth were well in about a fortnight, but it was near a month before the inside of my mouth was quite well. It appears to me, that if it had not been thrown off in the violent manner mentioned, I could not have lived twenty-four hours. To this may be added, that a gentleman of this place said, an acquaintance of his killed one of these vermin by bruising it with his finger ; and happening to put his finger soon after to his cheek, it caused blisters, and the next day his face was much swelled. Another gentleman who resides in this parish said that on finding the verdure of a hedge likely to be destroyed, he ordered his man to beat those vermin from the bushes with a long stick, that they might be taken up with a shovel to be cast into a pit to be buried. After the man had done his face broke out in blotches. Some time after, on observing some trees likely to be defaced by more of these vermin, he spoke to his man to beat them off with a long pole, as before from the hedge. After it was done, the man was again disordered in his face ; the person who had the care of seeing those burnt that were gathered at the expense of the parish of Hampstead, altho' of a very hearty, strong constitution, said that one evening, being too near the fume, he found the ill effect of it afterwards in his head. I was also told of a gentleman who came from France the beginning of this year, and said that when the police in that country ordered them to be destroyed, some poor persons, not thinking of the consequence, carried the twigs with the webs to their cottages to burn, and the next morning these poor persons were found dead in their cottages. This appears to me likely to be the natural effect of those hurtful vermin, from the disorder caused by their

effluvia to my weak constitution, although it might not have had exactly the like effect on some stronger persons."

Hornsey Workhouse stood in the Priory Road just behind the old watch house (lately used as a mortuary), but was removed when the Edmonton Union was formed, and its paupers transferred.

A well-known character was old Lucas Crouch, parish beadle and bellman, who held his office some fifty years, and died in 1878, much respected.

The stage coaches from Hornsey to the city started from the "Compasses," fare 2*s.* 6*d.*, and places had to be booked beforehand. For some time these coaches were, in consequence of the numerous highway robberies, escorted through the Green Lanes by two men from Mr. Turner's farm, mounted on horses and armed with pistols.

An Archery Company, called the "Woodmen of Hornsey," met at Hornsey every Saturday afternoon from May to September (1780).

The following, referring to the proposed stoppage of some old footpaths, will be read with interest. It is without date, but was issued some sixty years ago :—

FROM A DEAD ATTORNEY,

TO A

LIVING APOTHECARY.[1]

"Hark! from the Tomb," my restless spirit speaks,
And calls on you, O. B——n, ere 'tis too late;
O, be advis'd, stop not th' ancient way,
The ancient path that leadeth to the church;
The way which mortals walk to meet their God,
To supplicate His pardon for their sins,
And add their praises to the heavenly choir.

The coming moon, perhaps, may see the end
Of all your schemes; your soul may then be join'd
With mine, and wander in eternity,
Where guilty souls no rest will ever find,
Nor pass the gulph which parts from happiness.

I once, like you, in Hornsey parish dwelt,
Where I encroach'd upon its ancient rights,
And took the birthrights of my neighbours' sons;
A public path I stopp'd, and public land
I did enclose, adjoining Fortis Green,
For which I now do feel the wrath of Heaven!!

[1] Dr. Brown of Tottenham Lane, Hornsey; died in 1824.

O Hornsey! rural spot, could I return,
And once more join my mortal flesh again,
How would I act, not as I did before,
But serve my God, and study Him to please;
Would love my neighbours as I would myself,
Nor sell the rights which their forefathers left.

My hov'ring spirit sees, tho' cannot leave
The limits of the sphere where 'tis confin'd;
It views with pain the rights of Highgate lost—
Its wells, its walks, its common, all cut up,
And lotted out to please a hungry few—
A hungry few who on the poor doth feed,
And widows' houses study to devour;
A hungry few, whose dust will poison worms,
Whose souls, polluted, ne'er will rest in peace.

H.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ESTATES AND CHARITIES BELONGING TO THE PARISH OF HORNSEY.[1]

Extracted from the parish records and published by the Churchwardens, 1869.

Estates.

The Church Field.

An estate containing 4 acres 21 perches (formerly about 7 acres), which is recorded to have been given by a Bishop of London for the use of the Church and poor, and held of the Lord of the Manor of Hornsey by copy of court roll.

In the vestry book of A.D. 1670 it is stated that this field was let at £4 per annum, and in an old lease it is described "as situated near the church of Hornsey, together with the Way, lying at the lower end of a field, called 'Tyle Kiln Field,' leading from a lane called Crouch End Lane, unto the said pasture called Church Field; the said lane containing in length about six hundred and fifty feet, more or less, and in breadth about twenty feet, or thereabouts, as the same Way is now, and for more than sixty years past has been separated, and divided by stones, set into the ground, at the lower end of the said Tile Kiln Field." At the present time (1869) these stones still mark the boundary of the way, or road to this field.

In the year 1832 the land was let on lease for 21 years, at the annual rent of £21; and in 1847, the Great Northern Railway Company having purchased a portion of this land, the rent was reduced to £14.

[1] These charities are about being dealt with by a scheme in course of preparation by the Charity Commissioners.

In the year 1853 the lease of this field expired; it was let at the increased yearly rent of £24, commencing at Michaelmas 1853.

The quantity of the land taken by the Railway Company measured 3 acres 3 perches, or thereabouts, for which they paid the parish the sum of £1,000, which, according to "The Lands Clauses Consolidation Act," was paid by the Company, in the year 1850, to the Court of Chancery; when by order of the Court it was invested in the purchase of £1,036 5*s.* 5*d.* Three per Cent. Consols (the price being ninety-six-and-a-half per cent.), and transferred into the name of the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, "In trust, for the Rev. Richard Harvey, and others, for the Hornsey parish church field," and the money to be applied, according to the said Act, in the purchase of any real estate, whenever a fit opportunity offers.

The yearly dividend on this stock is £30 3*s.* 8*d.*, and is carried, with the rent, to the Churchwardens' General Account for the use of the church.

The Bowling Alley Estate, near Hornsey Church.

"The Bowling Alley given for the use of the poor of this parish by a person out of memory, and now held by John Hankin, at 10*s.* yearly rent, payable to the Churchwardens."

Part of this estate consists of a narrow slip of land measuring about sixty feet by twenty, at Hornsey, let at the annual rent of £1 10*s.*, as garden ground; and on the remaining portion are two cottages, with gardens, which are occupied by two poor widows, belonging to the "Hornsey side" (free and clear of rent), who are nominated by the Rector and Churchwardens in public vestry, when a vacancy occurs. In an old Vestry Book, in the year 1747, these cottages are particularly mentioned.

The Hornsey Inclosure Book (1816) records this estate as follows:—

"Part of a garden near the Compasses; containing 1 rood 8 perches, now let to Jacob Warner, Esq., at the yearly rent of 30*s.*;" also,

"Two cottages and garden, containing 37 perches."

The rent is received by the Churchwardens, and carried to the Waste Land Fund account.

This estate is numbered on the parish map 181.

Copyhold ground and premises, High Street, Highgate.

A general Court Baron of the Lord of the Manor of Cantlowes was held in Highgate, on the 17th day of April, 1811.

At this Court, on the humble petition of Charles Walker of Highgate, Churchwarden, and Giles Thomas, of the same place, Overseer, both of the parish of Hornsey, leave was granted to enclose a small piece of Waste, 25 feet long and 15 feet wide, situate near the "Ponds" in the

High Street, Highgate, for the purpose of erecting thereon an engine house; and possession of the said piece of Waste Land was delivered unto the said Charles Walker and to Thomas Strafford, the then Churchwardens of the parish of Hornsey, on the payment of a fine of £5 to the said Lord, and a yearly quit-rent of 2*s.* 6*d.* at Michaelmas.

Accordingly, the parish erected in the same year a building for the Fire Engine on part of this ground, and the remaining part was ordered by Vestry, held September 22nd, 1814, to be let by tender, when Mr. Robert Colson's tender was accepted, he consenting to lease it for thirty-five years, at a yearly rent of 30*s.*, and to lay out £200 in erecting a building thereon, since let at £13 13*s.* per annum.

Parish Alms Houses, commonly called Waste Land Cottages.

A general Court Baron of the Lord of the Manor of Hornsey was held on the 5th day of May, 1806, when permission was granted to two of the trustees of the Waste Land Fund, to enclose a long slip or piece of ground, part of the Waste lying on the south-east side of the road leading from Highgate to Muswell Hill, called Southwood Lane, extending along the said road-side 600 feet, and in depth at the east end 107 feet, and at the south-west end 84 feet, or thereabouts, and containing in the whole 1 acre and 18 perches, for the purpose of erecting cottages for the use of the poor of the Parish of Hornsey. To have and to hold the same in trust, for the Churchwardens and Overseers of the said parish for the time being, for the purpose aforesaid, on paying a yearly quit-rent of 3*s.* 4*d.* at Michaelmas.

The parish has accordingly erected, at various periods, eight cottages; the four nearest to Muswell Hill being occupied by poor persons belonging to the "Hornsey side," and the other four by poor persons belonging to the "Highgate side." These cottages are let, at one shilling per week, to such persons as the Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being find to be most eligible, and the rents arising therefrom are paid to the Treasurer of the Waste Land Fund.

Parish Allotment, Granted under the Hornsey Inclosure Act, 53 *Geo. III.*, 1813, *called "Irish Corner Allotment."* (*Fuel Fund.*)

The Commissioners appointed by the Hornsey Inclosure Act, dated March 23rd, 1813, awarded the following allotment of 12 acres 3 roods and 19 perches to the Parish of Hornsey, to be vested in the Lord of the said Manor, the Rector of the said Rectory, and the Churchwardens and Overseers of the said Parish for the time being for ever, as trustees for the poor of the said parish.

The rent and profit arising from the said allotment to be from time

to time laid out in purchasing fuel, and such fuel to be distributed amongst the poor inhabitants of the said Parish of Hornsey, who shall be legally settled and resident therein, as shall be prescribed by the said Trustees.

The situation of this allotment is described in the award-book, which is dated June 14th, 1816, as follows :—

"All that allotment (No. 98) of freehold land, containing 12 acres 3 roods and 19 perches, situate in the lower part of Hornsey Common, bounded on the south-east by the allotment of the prebendary of the Prebend of Brownswood, on the north by Hornsey Common Road, and on the south-west by the Parish of Finchley."

The first distribution of fuel from this estate took place at Christmas 1818, the yearly rent at that time being £14.[1]

Fortis Green Allotments. (Fuel Fund.)

The Commissioners also awarded to the said trustees, for the use and benefit of the poor of Hornsey, two allotments on Fortis Green, numbered on the parish map 62 and 63. The award-book states :— "We also award unto the Overseers of the poor for the time being of the Parish of Hornsey, in lieu of the right of common belonging to their estates in Hornsey, all that allotment (No. 62) of waste land, containing 2 roods and 21 perches, Copyhold of the Manor of Hornsey, situate on the said Fortis Green, bounded on the south-east by Fortis Green Road, on the north-west by Coalfall Wood, on the north-east by the allotment of the said poor, and on the south-west by the allotment of the Bishop of London."

This allotment is now freehold, it having been enfranchised by deed, dated the 14th day of January, 1868.

Also all that allotment (No. 63) of freehold land containing 1 acre, situate on the said Fortis Green, bounded on the south-east by Fortis Green Road, on the north-west by Coalfall Wood, on the north-east by the allotment of William Lister, Esq., and on the south-west by the allotment of the said overseers of the poor of Hornsey.

These two allotments are let, with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, for the erection of six houses to the Rev. Charles Room, for a building term of ninety-nine years, from the 25th of March, 1869, at the rent of £5 for the first year, £10 for the second, £25 for the third, and £50 per annum for the remainder of the said term, free from all rates and taxes, except property tax.

The rent and profit are directed by the said Act to be laid out in purchasing fuel, to be distributed amongst the poor inhabitants of the said parish who shall be legally settled and resident therein.

[1] This land has been acquired for public purposes by the Local Board for the sum of £3,000.

Highgate Common Allotment. (Fuel Fund.)

The Commissioners also awarded to the said trustees, for the use and benefit of the poor of Hornsey, one acre on Highgate Common (in Wood Lane), numbered on the parish map 194.

This piece of ground was let by the trustees with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, by a contract dated 15th May, 1867, to Mr. Edwin Shales, of Christ's Hospital, in the City of London, Surveyor, on a building term for 99 years, computed from the 25th March, 1867, at the rent of £5 per annum for the first year, £20 for the second, and £50 per annum for the remainder of the term, free from all rates and taxes, except property tax, for the erection of ten houses which are situate on the north side of Wood Lane.

Charities.

Priestly's Gift, A.D. 1620 (*Noble Money*).

William Priestly, of Hornsey, Esq., by will, dated May 2nd, 1620, gave to the Master and Wardens of the Merchant Taylors' Company the sum of £250, in trust, for eight poor men for ever, allowing each of them four nobles a year, to be paid them quarterly; four of the said poor men to be chosen at the discretion of the Master and Wardens for the time being, and to be of the poor of the said Company, and the other four poor men to be of the Parish of Hornsey, in Middlesex, appointed at the discretion of the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being.

One pound six shillings and eightpence (being the amount of four nobles) is paid quarterly to four poor men of the Parish of Hornsey, duly appointed agreeably to the provisions of the above will.

John Smith's Gift, A.D. 1655.

John Smith, of Highgate, Esq., by will proved June 26th, 1665, gave the sum of £10 to be distributed on the 21st day of December in each year, for ever; that is to say, £1 to the Lecturer of Highgate Chapel, in the Parish of Hornsey, to preach a sermon in the forenoon of that day; £5 to be distributed in sums of 5*s.* each, after the service, to twenty of the poorest men and women, residing in that part of Highgate situated in the Parish of Hornsey; and £4 to be distributed in sums of 4*s.* each, on the same day, to twenty of the poorest men and women, inhabitants of the village of Hornsey. The same poor people continue to receive the gift, as long as they live, provided they conduct themselves properly.

The above sum of £10 is a rent-charge upon an estate in Kent, called the Barton Court Estate, and is distributed, as above, by the Governors of the Grammar School, Highgate.

Consolidated Apprentice Funds, comprising Draper, Smith, and Midwinter's Gifts.

Draper's Gift, Anno, 1659.

Roger Draper, of Hornsey, Esq.,[1] by will, dated May 4th, 1659, bequeathed the sum of £120 for putting out six boys of Hornsey apprentices to freemen of London, to such honest and lawful trades and callings, except silk-weavers, tailors, and vintners, as his executor, if living, and the greater part of the parishioners of Hornsey, assembled in Vestry, should think fit.

It appears that, after the death of Mr. Draper, some difficulties arose as to the proper application of this legacy, according to the precise import of his will; in consequence of which proceedings were instituted in the Court of Chancery, the Churchwardens of the Parish of Hornsey against Sir Thomas Draper, baronet, executor of the will of Roger Draper; and by a decree in that cause, dated 18th July, 1661, it was ordered that the defendant should pay the said sum of £120 to the plaintiffs, to be laid out in lands; and that the profits thereof should be for ever disposed of for the benefit of such poor boys born or to be born in the said parish as the parishioners, or the greater part of them in Vestry there, should think fit.

In pursuance of this decree, and by agreement with the parishioners, Sir Thomas Draper, in consideration of the said £120, on the 22nd September, 1668, surrendered into the hands of the lord of the manor of Canonbury two acres of land or pasture, with the appurtenances, in Isleden (Islington), of which the said Sir Thomas Draper was then customary tenant, to the use of Sir Thomas Rowe and eleven others, their heirs and assigns, upon trust, for the town and parish of Hornsey, to the intent that the rents and profits of the said premises should be disposed of, for the placing forth of poor boys of the said parish to be apprentices, from time to time, according to the true intent of the will of the said Roger Draper and of the said decree.

There was a good deal of litigation respecting the trust, which was ultimately settled by Chancery suit in December 1798.

The vestry minutes of the 15th June, 1794, contain further information respecting this benefaction.

In the year 1862 (Christmas) the said lease fell in, and in the following year the trustees with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners employed a surveyor to go over the estate and report, which resulted in new leases being granted of the ten houses forming Hornsey

[1] His body, wrapped in lead only, was recently found in the churchyard, and was removed to the vaults under the church.

Row, in the Upper Street, Islington, and seven houses (one having been pulled down), in Canonbury Lane, for twenty-one years from Christmas 1862, with repairing covenants, at rents amounting in the whole to £608, and with reference to a portion of the ground at the back which before had formed and been used as garden ground to the said houses, the same was let with the like sanction of the Charity Commissioners on a building term of 80 years from Lady Day, 1864, upon which ten houses have been built, at ground rents producing in the whole £65 per annum; so that this estate at the present time (March 1869) produces to the parish the rental of £673 per annum.

The rents (together with the income derived from Smith's and Midwinter's gifts) are applied by the churchwardens and overseers under order of Vestry (two special vestries being held in the months of June and December in each year), in apprenticing boys and girls of the parish, according to the scheme adopted by the Vestry and confirmed by the Charity Commissioners.

Ann Smith's Gift, Anno 1662.

Consolidated with Draper and Midwinter's Gifts, by Order of the Charity Commissioners.

By indenture, dated 8th July, 1662, between Mrs. Ann Smith, of Highgate, widow of John Smith, Esq., of the one part; and Sir John Rayney, baronet, and others, of the other part; it was witnessed, that the said Ann Smith, according to a power reserved to her by a certain indenture therein mentioned, gave to the said parties of the second part, their heirs and assigns, a messuage, and divers lands and premises, therein particularly specified, situate respectively in the parishes of St. Paul and Bridge, in the county of Kent, and in Westbear Marsh in the said county, on trust after her death, among other things, "to pay £20 yearly, out of the rents and profits of the said premises (except the premises in Bridge parish), to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the poor of 'Highgate side' and 'Hornsey side,' lying within the parish of Hornsey, in the county of Middlesex, for the time being, for putting out four poor children apprentices to some honest trade or occupation, and to give £5 with every one of them, the same to be paid only at the feast of the birth of our Saviour yearly for ever."

The premises from which this annuity is received consist of about 125 acres, with necessary farm-buildings, situate in the parish of St. Paul, Canterbury, and Westbear Marsh, in the county of Kent, and are vested in trustees for certain charitable purposes in Canterbury.

The amount received in respect of this Charity has, since December 1866, been raised to £40 per annum, the Charity Commissioners

having agreed that Hornsey parish was entitled to that sum instead of £20, in consequence of the increased value of the Charity property.

Midwinter's Gift, Anno, 1750.

Consolidated with Draper and Smith's Gifts, by Order of the Charity Commissioners.

Daniel Midwinter, of Hornsey, Esq., by will dated 20th June, 1750, gave to the Master and Wardens of the Stationers' Company, from and after the decease of his wife, £1,000, on condition that the said company should, yearly, for ever pay the sum of £30 for the following purposes: that is to say £14 a year to the parish of Hornsey, in Middlesex, to put out two boys or girls of that parish apprentices, and to buy them some clothes when they go out; and also £14 a year to the parish of St. Faith, in London, for the like purpose; the boys or girls to be put out apprentices with the consent of the Rectors as well as the Church-wardens of the said respective parishes. The remaining £2 to be applied towards a dinner for the Master and Wardens of the said Company.

The annual sum of £14 was for many years received from the above Company, and when apprentices were appointed by the parish, the indentures were sent to the Company, and thereupon £7 was paid for each indenture. But in the year 1866 the Company paid to the official Trustees of the Charity Commission the capital on which they had hitherto paid interest, which has been invested in the purchase of £550 New Two-and-a-half per Cent. Annuities, now standing in their names, as also a sum of £43 1*s.* 11*d.* in the same annuities, which was purchased with a sum of £31 15*s.*, the arrears due from the Company at the time the investment was made. The income on these two sums of stock, amounting to £14 18*s.* 6*d.*, is applied in accordance with the scheme before-mentioned.

Doles—Bread Fund Charities.

Platt's Gift, Anno 1637.

William Platt, of Highgate, Esq., by will dated November 4th, 1637, devised certain lands and premises to St. John's College, Cambridge, and directed that the said college should, out of the yearly revenues of the said premises, after his wife's decease, yearly and for ever, pay £20 on New Year's Day to the Overseer or Overseers for the poor of the Parish of St. Pancras, in the county of Middlesex, and the Overseer or Overseers for the poor of the Parish of Hornsey, in the said county, to be bestowed and employed for the relief and benefit of poor inhabitants of the said two parishes; namely, £14, part thereof, for the benefit and relief of fourteen poor people of the said Parish of St. Pancras, and the other £6 for the relief of six poor people of the said Parish of Hornsey.

This annual rent-charge of £6 is received on New Year's Day from the Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge, and expended in bread, and distributed in church every Sunday morning, after Divine Service, to poor inhabitants of the parish, in their respective districts, of Hornsey and Highgate.

Chambers's Gift, Anno 1640.

Mrs. Susannah Chambers, of Hornsey, widow, by will, dated December 28th, 1640, left certain premises, consisting of a house and grounds in Hornsey Lane,[1] near Highgate Hill, charged with the annual payment of £2 12*s.* to be distributed in bread by the Rector and Churchwardens upon every Sunday, amongst the poor inhabitants of the Parish of Hornsey.

Joyner's Gift, Anno 1738.

Extract from the will of Catherine Joyner, late of the Parish of Hornsey, and of St. George the Martyr, in the county of Middlesex, spinster, dated May 6th, 1732:—

"I give unto the poor of the Parish of Harringay, *alias* Hornsey, that is to say, to the poor of the 'Hornsey side,' and *not* to the poor of the 'Highgate side,' the clear and yearly sum of £4 free of all taxes and assessments whatsoever, to be paid to the Churchwardens and Overseers of the said parish on the 'Hornsey side,' and to their successors for ever; to be laid out in bread, and disposed of by them to the poor of the said parish on the 'Hornsey side,' as they shall think fit; and for securing the payment of the said annual sum of £4 as aforesaid, I do hereby will and desire my sister Elizabeth Joyner, to subject and charge such part of the copyhold estate at Harringay, *alias* Hornsey, aforesaid, as she shall think proper."

Accordingly, the said Elizabeth Joyner did, by her will, dated May 4th, 1738, subject and charge her copyhold estates in the Parish of Hornsey, for that purpose.

In the year 1847, this estate was sold to the Great Northern Railway Company, who now pay the rent charge, for the purpose of making the railroad which now passes through the centre of the land. It is numbered on the parish map 107, 108, 109, etc.

Holland's Gift, Anno 1756, *and Evans's Gift, Anno* 1763.

Richard Holland, of Hornsey, Esq., by will, dated February 28th, 1756, "gave to the Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary, Hornsey, for the time being, £6 yearly and for ever, to be laid

[1] Linden House.

out in bread, to be delivered in the church, on a Sunday, to the poor of the 'Hornsey side' not taking alms of the said parish, and being of a sober life."

Mr. Richard Holland appointed Mr. William Evans, of Newgate Street, London, his sole executor and residuary legatee.

The said William Evans died in the year 1768, leaving by his will, dated July 2nd, 1763, the same gift of £6 yearly and for ever, and upon the same conditions as directed by the said Mr. Richard Holland.

It appears that these two gifts, of £6 each, were not paid to the Parish of Hornsey until after the executors of Mr. William Evans had applied to the Court of Chancery respecting them, when, by a decree of the said court, dated August 18th, 1770, they transferred, out of the name of the said William Evans, £400 Three per Cent. Consols, to the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being.

This £400 Three per Cent. Consols, forming part of a sum of £1,171 11*s.* 1*d.*, now stands in the names of the trustees.

Ellis's Gift, Anno 1785.

Samuel Ellis, of Hornsey, Esq., by will, dated October 3rd, 1785, gave to the Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish of St. Mary, Hornsey, the sum of £300, upon trust, to invest the same in the public funds in the names of the Rector of the said parish and of such other person or persons as should be named and approved of by the parishioners of the said parish in a public vestry, to be called for that purpose; and upon the death of such Rector, or any one or more of such person or persons, so to be named and approved of as aforesaid, the said trust funds to be transferred into the name of the Rector of the said parish for the time being, and of such one or more person or persons, so to be named and approved as aforesaid, and so from time to time; and upon further trust, that all the dividends and interest accruing from the said trust funds should be laid out in bread, and such bread distributed and given weekly, and for ever, to the poor of the said Parish of Hornsey, at the discretion of the said trustees, for the time being.

This legacy is invested in £331 0*s.* 8*d.* Three per Cent. Consols, forming part of a sum of £1,171 11*s.* 1*d.* in the hands of trustees.

Crunden's Gift, Anno 1797. *(Bread Fund.)*

Isaac Crunden, of the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, Middlesex, Yeoman, by will, dated May 11th, 1797, gave to the poor of the Parish of Hornsey, in the said county, his freehold estate, situate in the Clayfield, belonging to the town and county of Nottingham, and known by the name of Deacon Hill and Primrose Hill, containing by estimation 1 acre

and 13 perches, and then let at the yearly rent of £2 10*s.* He also gave £150 Three per Cent. Consols, that the interest arising therefrom should be distributed for ever, on every Sunday, amongst the poor of the said Parish of Hornsey.

This gift was by order of vestry placed to the Bread Fund Account.

The devise of the land being void under the statute 9 Geo. II., c. 36, the parish has derived no benefit from it.

The £150 Three per Cent. Consols was transferred, by the executors, in the year 1797, to the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being, and now stands in the names of trustees.

Patmore's Gift, Anno 1812. *(Bread Fund.)*

Richard Patmore, of Hornsey, yeoman, by will, dated June 9th, 1812, gave £100 Four per Cent. Annuities to the Rector and Churchwardens of the Parish of Hornsey for the time being, in trust, "to apply the interest arising therefrom in bread, to be distributed yearly, for ever, to the poor inhabitants of the said Parish of Hornsey (*not* receiving parochial alms), at the discretion of the said Rector and Churchwardens, and at such times and seasons as they shall direct."

This gift of £100 Four per Cent. Annuities was transferred by the executors on the 5th December, 1816, to the trustees of the Bread Fund, and afterwards, being reduced to three-and-a-half per cent. by Act of Parliament, it was sold, and £100 Three per Cent. Consols purchased with the proceeds. This £100 Three per Cent. Consols now stands in the names of trustees.

The income arising from the several bread charities (amounting in the whole to £45 0*s.* 6*d.* per annum) is applied in the purchase of bread, which is distributed in church every Sunday morning, after Divine Service, amongst the poor of the parish in their respective districts.

The persons partaking of it are those who are considered to be the most necessitous, and amount generally to about forty-four in number, each receiving a sixpenny or a threepenny loaf.

Brown's Gift. Anno 1826.

Charles Brown, Esq., of Hornsey, Surgeon, by will dated September 28th, 1824, gave £100 Three per Cent. Consols to the Rector and Churchwardens for the time being of the Parish of St. Mary, Hornsey, upon trust "to apply the whole interest arising therefrom, every year at Christmas, in the purchase of eight blankets, to be by them distributed from time to time to and amongst eight paupers of the said Parish of Hornsey, who may be proper objects of compassion."

The legacy duty on this gift reduced the amount of stock to £90 10*s.* 5*d.* Three per Cent. Consols, and forms part of a sum of £1,171 11*s.* 1*d.* now standing in the names of trustees.

Buckton's Gift. Anno 1847.

George Buckton, Esq., of Hornsey, by will, dated March 17th, 1845, gave £200 stock Three per Cent. Consols (clear of legacy duty) to the Rector and Churchwardens, for the time being, of the Parish of St. Mary, Hornsey, upon trust, to apply the interest arising therefrom, in the first place as it shall be necessary to keep in perpetual repair his family tomb, his mural tablet, erected on the north wall of the church aforesaid. Then upon trust, that the said trustees shall apply the remainder of the said interest, or the whole thereof, in the purchase of blankets and warm clothing, to be by them distributed, about Christmas in each year, amongst such of the deserving poor of the said parish, not receiving parochial alms, as they shall think most fit.

This sum is invested in the names of trustees.

Two Small Houses for the Poor of Highgate in Southwood Lane, near Sir John Wollaston's Almshouses.

These almshouses were given for the use of the poor of this parish, by a person out of memory, and are now occupied, free and clear of rent, by four poor widows.

At a general Court Baron of the Lord of the Manor of Hornsey, held the 22nd day of May, 1843, Mr. George Prickett and Mr. Thomas Danes, the surviving trustees, surrendered into the hands of the Lord of the said Manor "all that piece of ground, formerly waste, situate in Southwood Lane, containing in length, from north to south, 44 feet, and in breadth, from east to west, 24 feet of assize, with the buildings thereon;" when the Lord of the said Manor admitted new trustees, on behalf of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Parish of Hornsey, who pay a yearly quit-rent of 3*s.* 4*d.*

Passing from Hornsey, it will now be convenient to direct attention to the "Old Hermitage" at Highgate, from which both the Church of St. Michael and the famous Cholmeley Grammar School originated.

At what period the Hermitage was formed, and the first recluse took up his abode upon this then dreary spot, is uncertain, but it must have been prior to A.D. 1364; indeed, it is most probable that it was about coeval with the foundation of the chapel at Muswell Hill.

The author of a pamphlet entitled "Some Account of the Free

Grammar School at Highgate," speaking of the Hermitage at Highgate, says that "could its history be accurately traced, there is little doubt that the Hermitage would be found to have been one of those cells or humble dwellings which in the early periods of our history were scattered over the wild and unfrequented parts of the country; and none would be much more wild than this—the summit of a steep hill, far distant from any church, and to which no road conducted. To this Hermitage probably a small room or chapel was attached, where before the crucifix, or perhaps the image of the tutelary saint, the hermits who occasionally resided there, or pilgrims journeying to 'our Lady of Muswell,' offered up their vows, and performed the superstitious ceremonies of their religion."

In 1537, says Mr. Froude, while the harbours, piers, and fortresses were rising in Dover, "an ancient hermit tottered night after night from his cell to a chapel on the cliff, and the tapers on the altar before which he knelt in his lonely orisons made a familiar beacon far over the rolling waters. The men of the rising world cared little for the sentiment of the past. The anchorite was told sternly by the workmen that his light was a signal to the king's enemies" (a Spanish invasion from Flanders was expected), "and must burn no more; and, when it was next seen, three of them waylaid the old man on his way home, threw him down, and beat him cruelly."[1]

This instance shows how long the custom lingered; and "doubtless hermits were to be found in the remoter parts of these realms when the sudden tempest of the Reformation swept away alike the palace of the rich abbot and the cell of the poor recluse, and exterminated throughout England the ascetic life."[2]

Tomlins, describing the antiquity of the road between the Gate House and Smithfield (Maiden Lane, now Dartmouth Park Hill, into which Swain's Lane runs), states it was made as a communication with the great North Road *viâ* Whetstone, and is described in a paviage grant of the 37th of Edward III., A.D. 1364, "as the highway between Highgate and Smethefelde."

Hermits were useful people; the care of the roads with the collection of tolls was an office they very frequently filled, and the probability is that the earlier hermits of Highgate were the gate-keepers to the bishop's park, and their hermitage, the lodge at its entrance. Many of the paviage grants, or licences to collect tolls or customs for the repair of a road, are directed "To our well-beloved A. B., the hermit," etc. The paviage grant authorizing the collection of a toll for the repair of this road would doubtless point to a time when its traffic was considerable, and consequently needed most

[1] *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 256.
[2] Kingsley, *The Hermits*.

reparation, and also justify the statement of Fuller as to the "nameless hermit."

The paviage grant dated A.D. 1364, translated, is as follows:—

"The King to his beloved William Phelippe sendeth greeting. We highly commend the pious motive which for the advantage of our people passing through the highway of Heghegate and Smethefield, in many places notoriously miry and deep, you unremittingly and continually exert in the emendation and support of that way in wood and sand, and other things of that nature necessary thereto at your own cost; and since you assert that your own means are not sufficient for the purpose, we are willing upon due consideration to assent, and considering that those who from the performance of the said work obtain benefit and advantage to contribute to the same as is just; therefore with that intent, we have granted to you that in aid of repairing the said way for *one year* next ensuing, that you may take by yourself, and others whom you shall depute for this purpose, from persons passing through the aforesaid way, the customs or tolls underwritten, that is to say: For every cart shod with iron, laden with merchandises, by the week, twopence; for every cart not shod with iron, carrying such merchandises then by the week, one penny; and for every horse carrying such merchandises by the week one farthing. And that the money from the said customs accruing, you do apply in the reparation of the way aforesaid. But the year being completed, the customs aforesaid shall altogether cease, and further they shall not be levied. In witness thereof, etc. For the said year to endure.

"Teste Rege apud West^{m}, 11th die Novemb'r,

"By the Council."[1]

It appears, therefore, that this William Phelippe had at his own costs and charges repaired this road, and finding his means insufficient, had applied for a licence to collect and take a toll from the persons using the road with carts, etc. The act of amending a highway in those days was deemed, as in fact it was, an act of great public utility, and therefore it does not appear so extraordinary that we find hermits living on bridges and by the sides of roads, acting as toll gatherers, as numerous records indubitably prove, and there can be no doubt that this William Phelippe was the nameless hermit Fuller alludes to thus:—

"A nameless hermit dwelling in the Hermitage where now the School is, on his own cost caused gravel to be digged on the top of Highgate Hill, where is now a fair pool of water, and therewith made a causeway from Highgate to Islington; a two-handed charity, providing water on the hill, where it was wanted, and cleanness in the vale, which before, especially in the winter, was passed with *much tribulation*."[2]

Nicholson, in his notes on the old hermit's useful employment, confuses Highgate Pond on the *top* of the hill with the Highgate ponds lying far below in the valley, and twits the old writer with "knowing nothing of geology"![3]

[1] Pat. 37 Edward III. [2] Fuller's *Worthies*. [3] Nicholson's *Scraps of History*.

The pond originally dug out by the hermit was in Pond Square, now South Grove, opposite the Congregational Church. The bed of the pond has recently been filled in, and asphalted as an open space by the parish authorities.

The Highgate Hermitage was in the gift of the Bishop of London, for on the 20th February, 1386, Bishop de Braybrook[1] bestowed it on William Litchfield, "a poor infirm hermit weighed down by poverty and age"[2]—not to be confounded with John Lichfield, who was rector of the parish A.D. 1472. The next record is a grant by Bishop Stokesley, A.D. 1531, to "William Forte, a hermit, in consideration of his good services to the said Bishop, to pray for his soul, and the souls of his predecessors, and the souls of all the faithful deceased."[3]

The hermits whose cells were not endowed with land are spoken of as "mendicants" in several of the grants of Edward III., whereas that of Highgate sets forth "the messuage garden and orchard," and the hermit must have been a man of good repute, and worthy life and manners, if he did not actually belong to the sacerdotal order. Indeed, it seems exceedingly likely that William Forte, the last hermit, performed Divine Service in the chapel, as the officiating priest, seeing that his office was considered to be of sufficient importance to be under the special appointment of the Bishop.

It appears from these dates, that the site of the old chapel was occupied by the hermits five hundred years since,[4] and possibly long before; as it is not unlikely that its foundation dated from A.D. 1112, when Bishop Beauveys granted land at Muswell Hill for a similar purpose; and thus it would form one of a chain of similar foundations spread over the woodlands north of London. There is no doubt that it existed prior to A.D. 1364,[4] the date of the first paviage grant, which sets forth the *long continued service* of the hermit.

There was a second paviage grant in 1377, in favour of certain inhabitants of Highgate and Islington, for the same purpose; but this seems less an act of charity than a business speculation. The translation runs thus:—

"The King to his beloved William Maynerd,[5] William Smyth of Heghegate, and William Smyth of Iseldon, greeting: Know ye that we have granted in aid of

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[1] "But here we must not omit the particular mention of Robert Braybrook, Bishop of London, sometime Lord High Chancellor of England, who died August 27th, 1404, the 5th Henry IV., above 260 years before the ruin of this church (St. Paul's) in 1666. Notwithstanding this distance of time, upon pulling down the stonework, and the removal of the rubbish, his body was found entire, the flesh still enclosing the bones; on the breast there was a hole, made, I suppose, by accident."—*Dugdale.*

[2] Norden.

[3] Newcourt.

[4] Camden, Newcourt, Norden.

[5] See Court Roll, p. 61.

repairing and amending of the King's highways (*regiarum stratarum*) from our City of London to Heghegate that from the day of the execution of these present until the end of three years next ensuing complete ye shall take at the Heghegate (*apud le Heghegate*) and elsewhere in our King's highway (*regia strata nostra*) in this behalf where ye shall deem most expedient the customs underwritten; that is to say, For every hogshead of wine for sale, one penny; for every pipe of wine for sale, one halfpenny; for every rundlet of wine for sale, one farthing; for every cart-load of leather tanned and tawed or cordewain for sale, one penny; for every horse-load of the same for sale, one farthing; for every cart-load of avoir du poise for sale, one penny; and for every horse-load of the same, one farthing; for every cart-load of wollen cloth for sale, one penny; for every horse-load or truss of the same for sale, one farthing; for every cart-load of wood and of the ashes of the same and warence for sale, one penny; for every horse-load of the same for sale, one farthing; for a score of gross beasts for sale, one penny; for a score of sheep for sale, one farthing; for a score of hogs for sale, one farthing; for every horse-load of iron or lead for sale, one farthing; for every cart-load of corn or malt of whatsoever kind it be for sale, by the week, one penny; for every horse-load of the same, by the week, one farthing; for every horse-load of potters-ware for sale, by the week, one farthing; and for every cart-load of timber, boarding, laths, fire-wood, or charcoal, for sale, by the week, one penny. And therefore we command you, that you, the aforesaid customs until the end of the aforesaid term, do take as is aforesaid, but the term being complete of the said three years the said customs shall utterly cease and be destroyed. In witness, etc. To last for the aforesaid three years. Indeed we will not that, of the goods, wools, woolfels, salted skins, or venison, or from ecclesiastical persons by colour of this our grant abovesaid, anything be taken from the inducement aforesaid.

"T. R. (Teste Rege) at Westminster the third day of June,

"By the Council."[1]

Milton thus alludes to the hermitages :—

> "Then may at least my weary age
> Find out the peaceful Hermitage,
> The airy gown, and mossy cell,
> Where I may sit and nightly spell
> Of every star that heaven doth show,
> And every herb that sips the dew."

No doubt these lines embodied the popular sentiment of later times respecting these recluses, but their lot was hardly an enviable one; "airy gowns and mossy cells" are very well in poetry, but hardly agree with the bones of an infirm man "weighed down by poverty and age," on the top of Highgate Hill!

Before leaving the old Hermitage of St. Michael, an interesting enquiry suggests itself as to the name of the so-called saint. St. Michael is not only considered the superior of the guardian angels, but is the especial protector of high places,—St. Michael's Mount, both in England and France, to wit; and many of the older churches dedicated to him were erected on a hill, as in this instance. But the most striking fact

[1] Patents 51 Edward III.

in connection with his name as far as Highgate is concerned is that, as before stated, he is the tutelary saint of Normandy ; and this fact strongly suggests that the old Hermitage was established when the Norman Bishops of London resided at Lodge Hill. There is an engraving extant from a picture of Sabbatini of Bologna, representing the Holy Family. St Michael is standing *on* the devil, presenting the infant Jesus with the souls of men, after weighing them on a pair of scales ; the idea being, doubtless, that in the quality of his office as archangel he was the preliminary judge of the claims of departed spirits. And there are good grounds for the supposition that St. George and the Dragon are neither more nor less than St. Michael contending with the devil, *i.e.*, the divine destroyer of the spiritual serpent.

The South West View of Highgate Chappel

Published according to Act of Parliament Nov.r the 5. 1758

The order of St. Michael of France was instituted in honour of the supposed appearance of the Archangel on the bridge of Orleans, when it was besieged by the English A.D. 1428.

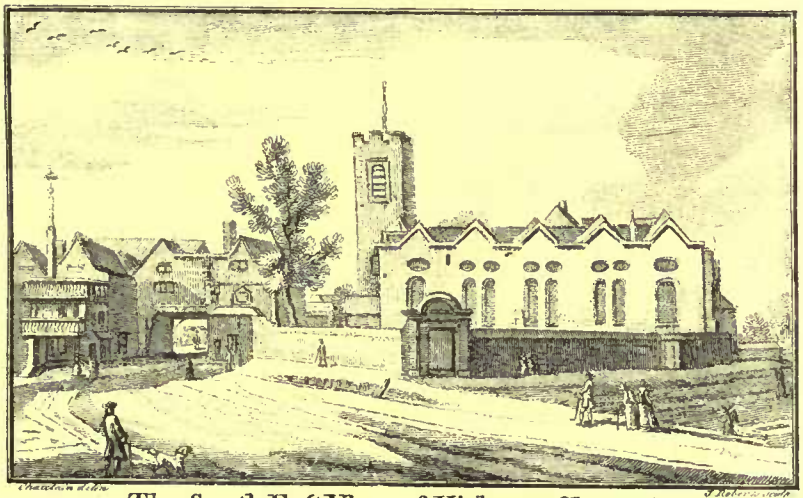
The site of the old Hermitage House was granted by Bishop Grindal to Sir Roger Cholmeley, who afterwards conveyed it to the six wardens or governors of the Free Grammar School, "with the house, edifices, gardens, and orchards, etc., together with two acres of pasture on the common abutting on the King's highway." [1]

The two acres of pasture, comprise the ground from the old School House to the Red Lion, North Road, bounded by Southwood Lane, from which the principal endowment of the school is derived. For some

[1] Sir R. Cholmeley died the same year, A.D. 1565.

reasons which do not appear, the same chapel and land were again granted in A.D. 1577 to John Farneham, reserving 4*d.* per annum to the Crown. This Act evidently points to what was deemed a concealment, as it was included in a grant with several other Church properties which had devolved on the Crown. John Farneham was a gentleman pensioner of Queen Elizabeth; he afterwards sold the ruinous cottage or chapel, A.D. 1583, to the receiver-general of the school, who in the March of the following year re-leased the same to the Governors of Sir R. Cholmeley's Free Grammar School, one of whom he afterwards became.

Newcourt,[1] speaking of the chapel, says:—"Which school Edwyn Sandys, Bishop of London, enlarged in A.D. 1570 by the *addition* of



The South East View of Highgate Chappel

a chapel for Divine Service, since which the chapel hath been again enlarged by the piety and bounty of divers honourable and worthy personages." The chapel attached to the school, and in which the schoolmaster officiated, originally joined the master's house, and was partially used by the inhabitants for Divine Service, it being enjoined on them "to resort to their *parish church* on the *first* Sunday of every month, to hear prayers and receive the Holy Communion," and this involved a journey to Hornsey Church. Therefore for the convenience of worshipping in Highgate it was considered incumbent on the residents to defray out of their own purses all cost of repairing and enlarging the chapel, as from time to time the increased population might require,

[1] *Repertorium.*

without any encroachment on the funds of the School; in confirmation of which it is stated that the chapel was rebuilt and enlarged by subscription of the bishop, wardens, inhabitants and others, in A.D. 1578, A.D. 1616, A.D. 1620, A.D. 1719, and A.D. 1772.[1]

"Lysons states that when it was repaired in 1719 it was with a donation of £700 from Mr. Pauncefort when treasurer of the charity, and £300 from the inhabitants, aided by other contributions."

The chapel must have been originally very small indeed; both it and the house annexed thereto were partly under one roof, as two dwelling rooms which were *over* the chapel were, so lately as A.D. 1772, taken away to elevate the building.

A memorandum in the constitution book, dated September, A.D. 1573, states that "there is laid out and disbursed for reparations of this free school and chapel the sum of £4 16*s.* 4*d.*,—a large sum, considering that the surplus revenues beyond the schoolmaster's stipend amounted to only 13*s.* 4*d.* for the year.

The following is Mr. Cole's account of the old Chapel of St. Michael the Archangel at Highgate[2]:—

"June 22nd, 1750. The Chapel at Highgate, which is a daughter of the Parish Church of Hornsey, stands upon the summit of the hill near the gate, and is built of brick, being capacious enough, and full as big as its mother church: it consists of a small brick tower, at the west end, on which hangs one bell and a clock; two porches on each side of the tower tiled, and the nave or whole chapel now divided into two aisles with the range of six pillars running through the middle, and is very beautiful, being made with arched cupola, in the centre of which, being gilt work, is wrote I.H.S.; it is neatly railed in on an eminence, and paved with black and white marble.

"A neat gallery runs all along the side of the north till it reaches the chancel; at the west end is a gallery, and in it a small organ, and underneath the organ loft, is placed the font. The pulpit is very neat, and is placed about the middle of the south aisle against the wall.

"The Chapel is endowed with about £80 a-year, and is in the presentation of the Governors of the School. The Rev. Mr. Yardly, Archdeacon of Cardigan, is the present morning preacher, and enjoys the endowment; he was formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge, and married a person who lived with my predecessor, Dr. Lewis Atterbury, who at his decease left her a handsome fortune. The reader at the Chapel is the Rev. Mr. Felton, son to a Head Master of a Hall in Oxon, who has the small living of Lofts in Essex, is married, with several children, supposed to be methodistically inclined, on which account Mr.

[1] Notes of law proceedings.
[2] Cole's MSS., British Museum.

Archdeacon Yardly don't allow him to preach in the Chapel; he *also teaches a school at Highgate*,[1] but has no great number of scholars.

"There are a great many and mostly very elegant monuments in this Chapel, but not calling soon enough in the evening, had no time to take any other inscriptions but the three following, which as more particularly coming under my observation, the one being for one of my predecessors, and the other two connected with my Cambridgeshire antiquities, could not pass them over,—Mr. Platt's, Dr. Atterbury's, and Sir Francis Pemberton's. On the north wall, near the east end, between the two windows of the chancel part, is fixed a mural monument of stone, finely adorned with about 36 coats of arms, beautifully blazoned with their proper colours, with the busts of a man and a woman; under them are the two following inscriptions in gold. In the middle are these arms, or fretty sable; plate on each cross bar, argent; impales, sable; 2 bars argent, and in chief 3 plates:—

> "Dedicated to the Memorie of William Platt of High Gate, in the Countie of Midd., Esq., Sonne and Heire of Sir Hugh Platt of Kerbie Castle of Bednal Green in the County of Midd., Knight, who married ye youngest daughter of Sir John Hungerford of Downamy in the Countie of Glocester, Knight. He had one brother of the whole blood and three sisters, viz., Robert Platt, Judeth Platt, Judeth Platt, and Mary Platt. He departed this world upon the seventh day of November, One thousand six hundred and thirtie seaven, aged five and forty years.
>
> "Here lieth the Body of Mary, Daughter of Sir John Hungerford of Downamy in the County of Glocester, Knight, who was first married to Edward Tucker of Madingly in the County of Wilts, Esq., by whom she had one onely Daughter married to Sir Thomas Gore of Barrow in ye County of Somerset, and was interred ye 26th of September, Anno 1686, in the 86 yeare of her age.
>
> "Repaired and beautified at the charge of Saint John's College, Cambridge, in memory of their generous benefactor,[2] A.D. MDCCXLIII.

"About the middle of the south wall, on the west side of the pulpit, and close to it, is fixed a very elegant and well-formed mural monument of white marble, being a small Corinthian pillar fluted on the top, on which are placed these arms, viz., paley of 6 pieces, or and sable a chiefvaire for Atterbury, and on an inescutcheon of pretence argent an eagle displayed gules for Bedingfield. The same arms hang by it on an

[1] Cholmeley School.

[2] Mr. Platt founded six Fellowships in St. John's College, which are called by his name, the Platt Fellowships. The monument was removed to old St. Pancras Church when the Chapel was pulled down.

achievement, being Atterbury impaling Bedingfield, and with the inescutcheon also on the base of the pillar is the following inscription, and below it is a book open with the Latin exhortation, 'Abi, Spectator, et te brevi moriturum scito.'[1]

> "To the memory of Lewis Atterbury, LL.D., formerly Rector of Sywell in the County of Northampton, and one of the six Preachers to her late sacred Majesty Queen Anne at St. James's and Whitehall. He was 36 years Preacher of this Chapell, 24 years Rector of Shepperton in the County of Middlesex, and 11 years Rector of the Parish of Hornsey. He married Penelope, the Daughter of John Bedingfield, Esq., by whom he had 4 children; namely two sons who died young; Bedingfield Atterbury, who died soon after he entered into Holy Orders; and Penelope, who was married to George Sweetapple, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Brewer, by whom he had one daughter, Penelope Sweetapple, now living. He died at Bath Oct. 20th, Anno Dni 1731, in the 76th year of his age, and lies buried near this place.

"Near Mr. Platt's monument, over the vestry door at the east end of the north aisle, and near the altar, is fixed a very handsome mural monument of white marble, with these arms at the bottom: A chevron under 3 buckets sable hooped or; for Pemberton (Sir Francis Pemberton) impales ermine, 2 boars passant in pale gules, for which cote above them is this inscription:—

> "M.S. venerabilis admodum viri D Francisci Pemberton Eq., aurati, servientis ad legem, e sociis Interioris Templi, nec non sub serenissimo principe Carolo 2^do^ Banci Regii ac communis capitalis Justiciarii; sacræ majestati a secretioribus consiliis; vir planè egregius, ad reipublicæ pariter ac suorum *dulce decus et præsidium* feliciter natus. Patre Radulpho in agro Hertford Generoso, ex antiqua Pembertonorum prosapia in Com. Palat. Lancastriæ oriundo. Charissimam sibi adscivit conjugem Annam Domini Jeremiæ Whichcote Baronetti filiam natu maximam ex quâ liberos undecim suscepit, quorum septem superstites reliquit: e vivis placidè et piè excessit 10^mo^ die Junii A° Dom 1698^mo^ Ætatis suæ 72 mo."[2]

Such is the interesting account of the old chapel given by Rev. William Cole, F.S.A., the antiquarian Rector of Hornsey already alluded to, who bequeathed many volumes of MSS. to the British Museum, describing churches and monuments in several counties, especially Cambridgeshire, which are quiet witnesses of his painstaking research.[3]

[1] "Go, Spectator, and know that thou shalt soon die."
[2] This monument was removed to Cambridge when the chapel was pulled down.
[3] See p. 94.

The following are notes of the inscriptions and monuments he does not allude to for the reason stated :—

Wadham Knatchbull, 3 years Preacher of Highgate Chapel ; died 6th January, 1773.

On a pillar with a globe on it :—Robert Springnell ; died 25th July, 1624.

On a triangular pillar :—Mr. Peter Pretty ; died 30th Dec., 1678.

John Schoppins ; died 22nd June, 1720. Mary his wife ; died 28th Dec., 1718. On this tombstone was inscribed by their son :—

"In life they were lovely,
In death they were not divided.
May their ashes rest in peace."

Strange to say, this was the only vault disturbed in the erection of the Crawley Chapel, one of the foundation piers actually dividing the vault, and causing the removal of the coffins.

Mr. John Bailey ; died 29th Dec., 1712 :—

"Now farewell Africa, farewell,
Full thirty years our conversation tell ;
Unfaithful thou hast been to me,
The faithfullest of husbands unto thee."

Hart. Bailey, M.D. ; died 21st Aug., 1740.

Monument :—Samuel Foster, Esq. ; died 25th April, 1752. Mary his wife ; died 14th June, 1744. Mr. Foster,

"One of the worthy Governors of the Free Grammar School of this town, bequeathed to them by his last will £300, to be laid out at their discretion for the increase of the pension of the poor widows in the almshouses here."

Tablet :—Mr. Jonathan Lowe ; died 15th April, 1795. Formerly of the Gate House.

A monument with arms :—Sir Edward Gould, Knt., one of the Governors of this Chapel ; died 26th Sept., 1728. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Gower of Highgate.

Flat Stones :—

Mrs. Elizabeth Atkinson ; died 19th Jan., 1772. Wife of Jonathan Atkinson, of Finchley, who died Jan. 10th, 1773.

Margaret Makepeace ; died 29th Sept., 1790.

Christopher Watkinson ; died 12th Aug., 1676. Merchant adventurer, who was born at Leeds in Yorkshire, of which Corporation he was constituted an Alderman by Royal Charter. He was

A { Loyall subject to his Prince,
Conformable son of the Church,
Faithful Patriot to his country,
Prudent Majestrate in his office,
Just correspondent in his Travels.

Mrs. Frances Hewit; died 21st May, 1632. Daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, Knt. and Baronet, late Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

"Frances the Faire, the Wise, the Good.
Judge Hobart's daughter mixed her Blood
And changed her name for Hewit's love,
When he did such a husband prove
As when he dies she'd the desire,
And so doth he, to rest here by her."

Mrs. Elizabeth Lisle; died 15th March, 1633. Wife to John Lisle, Esq., and daughter of Sir Henry Hobart, Knt. and Baronet, etc.

John Schoppins (the younger); died 1st July, 1728.

"Reader, pass on, walk freely o'er my bones,
I lately trod such monumental stones;
A few days hence shall others tread on thine,
So small the difference 'twixt thy fate and mine."

Before the Communion Table:—

Mrs. Rebekah Paunefort; died 2nd Nov., 1719. Wife of Edward Paunefort of Highgate, Esq., and daughter of Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart.

John Smith, of Highgate, Esq.; died 3rd March, 1655. One of the Governors of this Chapel. Defaced.

"John Smith, son of John Smith, Esq., late of this parish, by Anne his wife, being the only child which the said John Smith left at the time of his decease. He came into the world as a blessing obtained from Heaven by the devout prayers of his most religious mother, which she daily offered up at the Throne of Grace for the space of thirty years together, during which time she had been childless, and then God answered her petition and gave her this son." [1]

Basil Nicolls; died 14th Oct., 1648. One of the Governors of this Chapel and Free School.

Elizabeth Jacques; died June 18th, 1624. Wife of John Jacques—whose "sorrowful widdowe she was 19 years."

"Noe epitaph need make this just one famed,
The Good are pray'sd when Tha're only named."

Mrs. Elizabeth York; died 23rd Dec., 1724.

Nicholas Burwell, of Gray's Inn, Esq.; died 2nd Sept., 1670.

William Ord, Esq.; died 20th March, $171\frac{8}{9}$, in the 7th year of his age.

Mr. W. Carpenter; died 18th Feb., 1781.

Mr. Joshua Wilkinson; died 23rd Dec., 1790, late of this town. Also Mrs. Sarah Wilkinson, died 24th June, 1793, wife of the above.

[1] See Highgate Charities.

In Chapel Yard:—

James Meredeth Clerk; died 2nd May, 1777.

Rev. Edward Yardley; died 26th Dec., 1769.

> "He was chosen preacher of this Chapel Nov. 5th, 1731, and continued to discharge his duty in that office to God and man with unremitted diligence as a Faithful Pastor to the Day of his Death."

Mrs. Ann Yardley; died 15th May, 1773.

In the Churchyard:—

"Here lyeth the body of Mary, wife of Robert Harrisson, who departed this life the 28th Feb., 1727, in the 60th year of her age.

"The Grave is but a Fining Pot
Unto believing eyes,
For here the Flesh must lose its dross
And like the sun arise.

"Since none can see God's face and live,
For me to Dy is best;
Through Jordan's streams who would not dive
To land at Canaan's rest?

"Lord, let me praise Thee whilst I live,
And praise Thee when I die,
And praise Thee when I rise again
To all eternity."[1]

Many of the old "Ledger stones," some of black marble from the aisles of the old church, are carefully preserved in the vaults.

Since so little remains as a memorial of this ancient place of worship, comparatively unimportant incidents are worth recording, and the following entries from the church records may be of interest:—

"Edward Pauncefort, Esq., in 1705, ordered the plate to be double gilt at his own charge."

"William Bridges, Esq., in 1706, gave a new clock and surplice, and a common prayer book, to the chapel."

"Sir Edward Gould, in June, 1712, gave a velvet pulpit cloth and cushion with a gold fringe."

"Mr. William Thatcher, Senior, in 1713, gave a silver plate to collect the sacramental money in, and surplice."

"Sir William Ashurst, in 1717, bought the organ, three branches, and two dozen sconces for the pews."

"Lady Pritchard gave by will 50s. yearly for ever, to be distributed by the minister of the chapel, to ten poor old maids of the hamlet of Highgate; or widows, when no old maids can be found."

"The Lady Moyer, in 1720, gave the velvet cloth to the communion table."

[1] "Church Notes," by John Simco, MSS., British Museum.

"The Lady Child gave two common prayer books, bound in velvet, for the altar."

"Mr. John Scoppin gave a suite of fine damask linen for the altar."

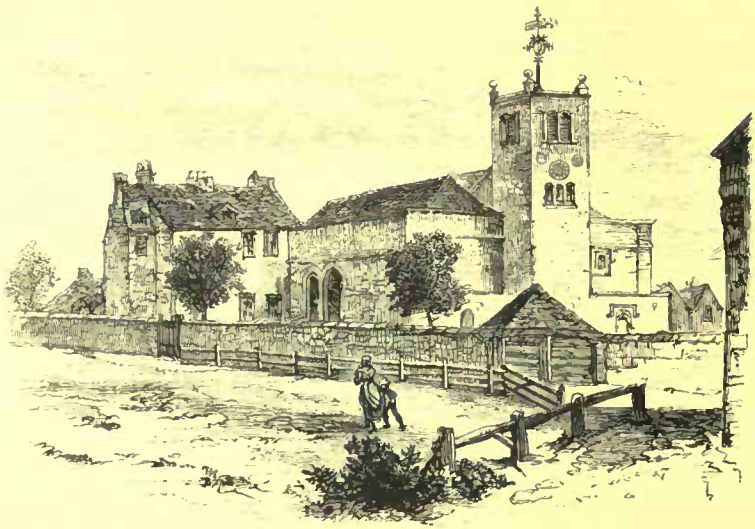
"Mr. Edward Stanton paved the altar with black and white marble, at his own cost."

"The communion plate, were two silver flaggons, given by Mrs. Jane Savage, widow, one silver chalice and cover, and one silver plate for the bread."

"The clock, upon the chapel being pulled down, was removed to the residence of Joseph Claypon, Esq., on Hampstead Heath."

The black and white paving mentioned above was laid down in the hall of the house, now the residence of Mr. W. P. Bodkin, J. P., West Hill Place.

The organ was sold and removed to a chapel in the country.



THE OLD CHAPEL AND SCHOOL HOUSE.[1]

CHARITIES.

Hamlet of Highgate.

The following charities, which are given in the Report of the Charity Commissioners, published in the year 1828, belong exclusively to the hamlet of Highgate:—

	Anno
Sir Roger Cholmeley's Gift . . .	1562
Sir John Wollaston's Gift	1658
Edward Pauncefort's Gift	1723
John Schoppens' Gift	1728

[1] There is a rough sketch of Highgate Chapel in the scrap book of Samuel Pepys, in Magdalen College, Cambridge.

	Anno
Hannah Boise's Gift	1746
Samuel Forster s Gift	1752
Robert Bootle's Gift	1757
John Edward's Gift	1768
Tobias Kleinert's Gift	1784
Thomas Cook's Gift	1810
Thomas Coventry's Gift	1636
Lady Gould's Gift	1712
Lady Pritchard's Gift	1707
Thomas Bromwich's Gift	1787

These charities are nearly all under the management of the Governors of the Grammar School, and are principally for the benefit of the residents in the almshouses and the school for girls.

The particulars as set forth in the Commissioners' Report are as follows. The income, being principally derived from funded property, is practically the same at the present date.

Leaving Sir R. Cholmeley's gift for separate and more detailed treatment, we will commence with

Sir John Wollaston s Foundation.

Sir John Wollaston, Knight, by will, dated the 15th April, 1658, reciting that he had built six almshouses at Highgate, devised the said six almhouses and their appurtenances to the Governors of the Free School at Highgate and their successors for ever, on trust and confidence, for the use of six poor almspeople, men and women, of honest life and conversation, inhabitants of Hornsey and Highgate in the said parish of Hornsey, or one of them ; whom the said Governors, and their successors, shall from time to time, for ever, in their discretion appoint to dwell in and inhabit the same. And he further devised to the said Governors and their successors for ever an annuity or yearly rent charge of £16, to be issuing out of his messuage or tenement in Highgate next adjoining to his capital messuage where he dwelt, and his two closes of meadow or pasture called High Readings, containing by estimation eleven acres or thereabouts, situate in the parish of Hornsey, payable quarterly at the four usual feast days, upon trust, that the said Governors should from time to time pay and dispose of the said annuity as follows, viz., to each of the said poor almspeople who should inhabit in the said almshouses, by the appointment of the said Governors and their successors, the yearly sum of 50*s*., to be paid to them on the feast days aforesaid by equal portions. And that the residue of the said annuity should be from time to time disposed of by the said

Governors in repairing the said almshouses as need should require; with a power to the said Governors, in case of non-payment of the said annuity for thirty days after any of the said feast days, to enter into the said premises and hold the same, and take the rents and profits thereof, until the arrears of the said annuity should be satisfied.

The two closes called the Readings were in 1830 the property of William Belcher, Esq. They contained the one about six acres and the other about three, a part having been taken by the Highgate Archway Company, for the purpose of making the new road.

Mr. Belcher was also the owner of a house at Highgate (Cholmeley Park), which was built upon the site of some old houses, formerly part of the Wollaston property. Mr. Belcher was unable to ascertain with certainty whether either of these old houses was the one charged by Sir John Wollaston's will with the annuity to the almshouses, but thought it most probable that such was the case.

Mr. Belcher paid to the trustees £18 10*s.* a year in satisfaction of the two annuities given as above mentioned by Sir John Wollaston's will.

Pauncefort's Foundation.

Edward Pauncefort, Esq., by will, dated 16th May, 1723, directed his executors out of his personal estate to purchase lands and hereditaments of a good fee simple estate of inheritance of the clear yearly value of £60 beyond reprizes, and when purchased, to convey the same to trustees and their heirs, on trust, out of the rents and profits thereof, to pay £30 per annum to the six poor widows for the time being, inhabiting in the almshouse lately erected by him at Highgate, in the county of Middlesex, viz., to each of them £5 per annum, and £10 per annum to the minister or curate for the time being, who should be elected or appointed to read prayers at the chapel at Highgate aforesaid, such yearly sums to be paid by half-yearly payments; and on trust, to apply the residue of the said rents and profits towards the maintenance of the charity girls at the charity school at Highgate aforesaid, lately built at his charge; and his will was, that until such lands should be purchased and settled, his executors should out of his personal estate, and the interest and the produce thereof, raise and pay the yearly sum of £60 to the respective persons, and in such proportions aforesaid. Some legal difficulties followed, but in pursuance of a decree of the Court the sum of £1,500 was in July 1751 paid by Mr. Pauncefort's executor to the trustees in discharge of the legacy of £60 a year, together with £25 for the costs of the purchase of land directed to be made therewith; and on the 2nd of August following, £1,501 17*s.* 6*d.* was invested, with the approbation of the Master, in the purchase of £1,500 Three per Cent.

Annuities of 1743, at the price of £100⅛. The almshouses respectively founded by Sir John Wollaston and Mr. Pauncefort, and the girls' charity school, now form one uniform building, having the school house in the centre (now let as a habitation), and six almshouses, each consisting of one apartment, on each side, one set appropriated to Sir John Wollaston's almswomen, and the other to Mr. Pauncefort's. The whole of this building was erected by Mr. Pauncefort, the six old almshouses which had fallen into decay having been rebuilt by him on the same plan with the six new ones, which, together with the girls' charity-school, he had himself founded and built upon the adjoining land.

Schoppens' Gift.

In 1728 Mr. John Schoppens bequeathed £150 to his brother-in-law, John Edwards, to be laid out in the purchase of freehold lands situate at Highgate, upon trust, in the first place, to keep his monument and the wall adjoining thereto in repair, and the surplus of the rents, if any were, to be to the use of the said John Edwards and his sister; and after the decease of the survivor of them, he gave the same to the Governors of the chapel at Highgate, in trust, in the first place, to keep his said monument and the said wall in repair, and to dispose of the surplus, if any, as they should think fit, amongst such objects of charity as should not receive alms, in such proportions and in such manner as should be judged proper by the Governors for the time being.

This legacy was received by the Governors in 1770, upon the death of the testator's brother-in-law, Mr. John Edwards, and was laid out, together with Mr. Edwards's gift of £300 to the almswomen, in the purchase of £518 Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities in the names of trustees.

Mrs. Boise's Gift.

Hannah Boise, by her will, dated 29th November, 1746, bequeathed to the Governors of the Free School, erected at Highgate, of the foundation of Sir Roger Cholmeley, Knight, deceased, and their successors, £150 South Sea Stock, on trust, that they should distribute the dividends twice a year, in equal proportions, amongst six poor women, who should be inhabitants of the six almshouses in Highgate, of the foundation of Sir John Wollaston, and have of his gift only 50*s.* yearly each, intending that the said legacy should be for ever applied, only, to the better maintenance of the said six poor women.

It appears from the minute books of the Governors that in pursuance of a resolution passed 8th December, 1811, this £150 South Sea Stock (together with some other funds therein mentioned) was sold

out, and the produce applied towards the discharge of a balance due to Mr. Price, the then treasurer, upon the general account of the charities under the management of the Governors; but the almshouses have had the uninterrupted benefit of the dividends.

Foster's Gift.

Mr. Samuel Foster, by his will, dated 21st April, 1752, left to the Governors of the Free Grammar School at Highgate £300, to be laid out at their discretion, for the increase of the pensions of the poor widows in the almshouses there.

This money was first lent to the trustees of the turnpike road from Highgate to Barnet, at interest, which appears to have fluctuated from 4 to 5 per cent. The principal was paid off by the trustees of the road in 1805, and invested in the purchase of £510 Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities.

Bootle's Gift.

Robert Bootle, Esq., by his will, dated 19th June, 1757, left to the trustees of the chapel and almshouses at Highgate £300, for the use of that charity.

This legacy, with an addition of £3 4*s.* made to it by the then Treasurer of the Grammar School and Chapel, was laid out, in August 1758, in the purchase of £320 Three per Cent. Annuities of 1726, now standing in the said names in the Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities.

Edwards's Gift.

John Edwards, Esq., deceased, by his will, dated 3rd September, 1768, after directing that £150 left by the will of his brother-in-law, John Schoppens, for the repair of his burial-place and monument at Highgate, and for other uses therein mentioned, should be paid to the Governors or Trustees of Highgate Chapel for that purpose, gave to the said Governors or Trustees £300, to the end the interest thereof might be applied, either for the better support and maintenance of the six almswomen for the time being at Highgate, who then received fifty shillings per annum each, under the will of the said Sir John Wollaston deceased, or in such other manner as the said Governors or Trustees for the time being should think most conducive for the benefit of that charity.

In the year 1770 this legacy, together with that of £150 given by Mr. John Schoppens, was invested in the purchase of £518 Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities in the names of Thomas Cave and Thomas Bromwich. In 1773 this £518 was sold out, and the produce, being £449 17*s.* 11*d.*, was applied towards the repairs of the chapel; and in

January 1822 the Governors repurchased the stock with £398 7*s.* 3*d.* out of the general account of the charities under their management, which stock so repurchased now forms part of a fund of £1,518 Three per Cent. Reduced Annuities.

Kleinert's Gift.

Tobias Kleinert, by will, dated June 27th, 1784, gave, after the deaths of his wife and his cousin, Sebastian Kleinert, certain leasehold premises at Highgate to the Governors of the Free Grammar School at Highgate, and their successors on trust, to sell and assign the same for the most money they could get, and to invest the money arising from such sale in the public funds, and apply the dividends thereof, half-yearly, as follows, viz., one moiety unto and amongst the poor women in the almshouses in Southwood Lane, in Highgate, in equal shares, for ever; and the other moiety for and towards supporting the charity children under the care of the said Governors, in such manner as they should think fit; provided that if the said Governors should think it most advantageous for the said charity to receive the rents of the said leasehold premises, during the residue of the term, and to invest the said rents, from time to time, as they should receive the same, in the public funds, and to apply the dividends annually to arise therefrom to and for the use of the said charity, in equal moieties, as aforesaid, instead of selling the said premises; his will was, that it should be lawful for them so to do, and that at the expiration of the said term, such several yearly rents as should have been so invested should be consolidated into one sum, and the dividends and interest to arise therefrom, for ever afterwards, should be paid the said charity, in equal moieties as aforesaid. This legacy being void, under the statute of 9 Geo. II., c. 36, and the property devolving upon Sebastian Kleinert, as residuary legatee under the will, who bequeathed the whole to his widow for life, she endeavoured after his death to give effect to the charitable intentions of Tobias Kleinert by conveying the premises in trust, to be sold for the purposes of his will. The attempt to sell was ineffectual; and after her death, her next-of-kin claimed, and got possession of one moiety of the premises, the other escheating to the Crown, in consequence of Sebastian's having died intestate, as to the reversion of the premises; and his next-of-kin being aliens, the Crown, upon petition of the Governors, waived its right. The sum granted was not paid over to the Governors, but was invested by the Solicitor to the Treasury, in December 1821, in a purchase of £418 15*s.* Three per Cent. Consols, in the names of the Wardens and Governors, who, by indenture dated 10th December, 1821, declared themselves to stand possessed thereof, upon the said trusts.

Cooke's Gift.

Thomas Cooke, Esq., by will, dated 28th March, 1810, bequeathed to the Trustees, Governors, Managers, and Directors, for the time being, of the almshouses founded by Sir John Wollaston and Edward Pauncefort, Esq., situate at Highgate, in the county of Middlesex, the sum of £2,100 Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, upon trust, to stand possessed thereof, and apply the whole of the dividends weekly, for ever, to and for the benefit and relief of twelve almspeople for the time being, living and residing in the said almshouses at Highgate aforesaid, by increasing their respective pensions and allowances in equal proportions.

Thomas Coventry's Charity.

The sum of £10 in respect of this charity is now annually paid by the Merchant Taylors' Company to one of the eight trustees, who is specifically appointed by a written order from the rest to receive it. The payment was formerly made to the overseers of the respective parishes, agreeably to the directions of the deed; but in consequence, as it is stated, of the misapplication of the money by some of those officers many years ago, the present course was adopted, and has since been observed. When received, the money is divided between twenty poor women of each parish, appointed by the eight directors according to a list, which they preserve, and which remains generally unaltered during the lives of the respective persons, if they continue so long to reside in the parishes.

The recipients are to be residents of that part of the parishes of St. Pancras and Hornsey "situate nearest to Highgate."

Lady Gould's Charity.

From the Court Rolls of the Manor of Cantlowes, in the county of Middlesex, it appears that at a Court held for the said manor on the 11th April, 1 William and Mary (1689), Edward Botsworth and John Storer, Edward Gould and Elizabeth his wife, and Ann Gower, surrendered three customary messuages or tenements in Highgate, held by copy of Court Roll of the said manor, and a certain way and a brick wall there, and other appurtenances to the said premises belonging, to the use of the said Botsworth and Storer, their heirs and assigns, during the life of the said Elizabeth Gould, upon the trusts therein mentioned, and after the decease of the said Elizabeth, to the use of such person and persons,

and for such estate and estates, as she, the said Elizabeth, by any writing under her hands, signed in the presence of two or more witnesses, should nominate and appoint; and that at the same Court there was enrolled a certain deed or instrument, in writing, whereby it appears that the said Elizabeth Gould had declared and appointed, that the surrender of the said premises so made as aforesaid, and the estate and interest in the same, should enure from and after her decease to the use of the heirs of her body; and for want of such issue, to the use of the said Edward Gould, for life; and after his death to such three discreet persons, their heirs and assigns, as by the parson or minister of the parish of St. Pancras, for the time being, at the time of the death of the said Elizabeth, without issue, should under his hand and seal be nominated, upon trust; and to the intent that such trustees, their heirs and assigns, should receive and distribute the rents and profits of the premises among such poor inhabitants of the town and village of Highgate, whether lying in the parish of Hornsey, or in the parish of St. Pancras, as should not receive any public alms or collection from the respective parishes, and should, at the discretion of such trustees, appear to be most proper and fit objects of charity; the necessary expenses of such trustees in the management of the trust being first deducted.

The premises belonging to this charity consist of three houses, with small gardens, situated in Highgate, on the west side of the High Street, at the top of the hill leading from Holloway.

After deducting the insurance, etc., the residue of the rents (some £90 per annum) is divided for distribution amongst the three trustees, and is given away by them to poor inhabitants of those parts of the hamlet which lie in Hornsey and Pancras, not receiving parochial relief. The persons selected are, in general, such as have been reduced from better circumstances, or such as are disabled by sickness from maintaining themselves. The sums given to each vary from £1 to £5, but these amounts are occasionally made up to them by successive gifts of smaller sums.

Lady Pritchard's Charity.

Dame Sarah Pritchard left by her will the interest of a sum to be divided amongst poor widows or maids equally, being inhabitants of the hamlet of Highgate.

Accordingly, £2 17*s.* 8*d.* was paid to the morning preacher of the chapel at Highgate, who was accustomed to make up the sum to £3, and to distribute it at Christmas, in sums of 5*s.* each, among twelve poor women in the almshouses.

Bromwich Gift.

Thomas Bromwich, Esq., who died in 1787, left £100 Four per Cent. Annuities to the almswomen.

There are besides these sundry smaller benefactions.

HIGHGATE CHAPEL.

Extracts from Registers of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials.

"Honble. Dna Judith Platt, uxor Hugonis Platt, militis sepult. Jan. 28th, 1635, relict of Sir Hugh Platt, author of *The Garden of Eden* and *The Jewel House of Art and Nature*."

"Nathanael f. Dni Nathanielis Hobart, ex. Anna, bap. 27th Sept., 1636." Sir Nathaniel was a younger son of Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Sir Henry had a house at Highgate, which appears to have continued some time in the occupation of the family.

"Charles Lord De la Warre and Ann Wild married Sept. 15th, 1642. Ann Wild was the daughter of John Wild, Esq., of Droitwich, Sergt. at Law."

"William, sonne of Hester Lady Manneringe (Mainwaring) and Sir William Manneringe, Knt., baptized Sept. 21st, 1645, buried July 29th, 1646." Sir William Mainwaring descended from an ancient family in Cheshire, and distinguished himself during the civil war. He was slain at the siege of Chester, about a month after the birth of his son.

"Robert, Earl of Warwick, and Ellenor, Countesse of Sussex, married Mar. 30th, 1646." He was Admiral of the Long Parliament.

"Charles, son of Sir Henry and Lady Blount, of Holloway, was baptized May 10th, 1654."

"Sir Richard Sprignell, Bart., buried Jan. 19th, 1658, and Sir William Sprignell, Bart., Sept. 8th, 1691."

"Sir John Wollaston, Knt., buried in the chancel, April 29th, 1658. He was Alderman of London, one of the Treasurers of the Plate, and Treasurer at Warre, Treasurer for Loan Money, Say Master of the Mint, and Trustee for the Sale of Bishops' Lands, and hath the Bishop's land at Highgate."

"Rebecca, his wife, was buried June 1st, 1660."

"The Lady Anne Peerpoint, daughter of the Honble. the Marquis of Dorchester, and John Lord Rosse, son of the Right Honble. the Earl of Rutland, were married July 15th, 1658."

"Mr. Graham, a servant of the Earl of Lauderdale, buried 1669."

"Charlotte, daughter of Sir John Pettis, buried May 28th, 1678."

"Sir Francis Pemberton was buried June 15th, 1699, and Dame Ann, his relict, April 15th, 1731."

"Mr. John Shower of the parish of Stoke Newington, a dissenting minister, buried July 5th, 1715." (Mr. Shower was an eminent Presbyterian divine, and brother of Sir Bartholomew Shower, the celebrated lawyer.)

"Sir Jeremy Topp, of Bremore, Hants, buried in the churchyard, 1733."

"The Rev. John Doughty, minister of St. James, Clerkenwell, buried July 1st, 1768."

Preachers and Readers of the Old Chapel.

The list of "Preachers" or "Readers" of the old Chapel of St. Michael is doubtless incomplete; the appointment being in the hands of the Governors of the School, there is no record available as in the case of a parish church.

Amongst the clergy who officiated as morning or afternoon reader, sometimes as both, also nominally holding the office of master of the Grammar School, as set forth in the rules, are the following. There certainly were other names, as the Bishop enlarged the school by the addition of a "chapel for Divine service" in 1565, but they are so far unknown.

Simon of Highgate (appointed by Sir R. Cholmeley, 1562).

Johnson Charle (appointed by trustees, 1571).

— Carter (1641). In the midst of the national troubles and suspicions of 1641, the Parliament ordered the following declaration to be taken by the residents of "each parish," which was to be duly signed by them, but in many instances the ministers and churchwardens signed on their behalf. Amongst the returns appear Hornsey and Highgate. 1641, 30th July:—"I, A. B., do, in the presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to defend with life, body, and estate the true reformed Protestant religion expressed in the doctrines of the Church of England against all Popery and Popish innovations within this realm * * * and neither for hope, fear, nor other respect will relinquish this promise, vow, and protestation."[1] Mr. Carter seems to have been an ardent royalist, and to have been unguarded in his public expressions; for in 1641, October 18th, "information was laid against Mr.

[1] *Journal of House of Lords.*

Carter, of Highgate, clergyman, for speaking scandalous words against Parliament."[1] This entry will doubtless explain the reason for Walker's statement, viz., "Mr. Carter, Master of the School and Reader of the Chapel during the civil war, was ejected and treated with great cruelty by the Puritans."[2]

Humphrey Vernon (1642); was appointed by the Parliamentary Commissioners.

After this date there is a long hiatus, two names only being casually mentioned, and those without any special date, but that there were preachers is further inferred from the fact that Sir John Wollaston, who died in 1658, left a bequest in aid of their stipend.

Daniel Lathom (for some time blind).

John Brown, M.A. (died 1728).

Lewis Atterbury, LL.D. (died October 1731). He was thirty-six years preacher of the Chapel, and eleven years rector of Hornsey (see biographical notice). Dr. Atterbury was one of the six preachers of Queen Anne at St. James's and Whitehall.

— Felton, Oxford, late Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. Author of a learned dissertation on the classics.

Archdeacon Yardley, B.D. (died 1769). Archdeacon of Cardigan, preacher thirty-eight years! Author of published discourses on the genealogy of Christ.

Wadham Knatchbull, M.A. (1769). Died 1773, aged twenty-seven; three years preacher.

James Saunders, LL.D. Morning preacher.

William Porter (1793). Mr. Porter printed a sermon on the death of Mrs. Lewis Juby, 1792. He died suddenly, whilst playing a game of cards at a friend's house in Quality Walk (Grove), aged seventy.

Thomas Bennett, D.D., J.P., Canon of St. Paul's. Afternoon preacher. Died 1816.

Samuel Mence, B.D. (preacher); appointed 1816. Master of the Grammar School immediately preceding Rev. Dr. Dyne. His family was connected with St. Pancras, where the Rev. B. Mence was vicar in 1750. Mr. Mence was the first vicar of St. Michael's, which was consecrated in 1832.

Charles Mayo, reader for many years prior to the opening of St. Michael's Church.

[1] *Journal of House of Lords.* [2] Walker's *Ejected Clergy.*

THE CHOLMELEY SCHOOL.

It has already been pointed out that after the occupancy of the Hermitage as a religious foundation had lapsed,—having been forfeited, *temp.* Henry VIII., as devoted "to superstitious uses," for the Act of 1539 put an end to monastic life,—the property became vested in Sir Roger Cholmeley, who founded a Free School, and in a very short time afterwards the Bishop enlarged the School by the addition of a chapel; the history of which has been as fully dealt with, as materials will allow.

It is now necessary to consider the fortunes of the School.

The inscription on the stone which was affixed to the western end of the chapel ran thus :—

> "Anno Dni 1562, Sir Roger Cholmeley, knight, lord chief baron of y. Excheqver, and after that lord chiefe jvstice of the King's Bench, did institvte and erect, at his owne charges, this pvbliqve and free gramer schoole, and procvred the same to be established and confirmed by the letters patent of Queene Elizabeth, hee endowing the same with yearelye mayntaynance, which schoole Edwyn Sandys, lord bishop of London, enlarged, ani dni 1565, by the addition of this chappel for Divine Service, and by other endowments of pietie and devotion, since which the said chappel hath been enlarged by the pietie and bovnty of divers honble and worthy personages."

This inscription was renewed A.D. 1668 by the Governors of the said School. The "mayntaynance" there referred to, according to the records of the Rolls Chapel, consists of two messuages in the parish of St. Martin with Ludgate, and a messuage in Crooked Lane, of the value of £10 13*s.* 4*d.*

A curious error occurs in this inscription. Sandys was not Bishop of London till A.D. 1570, and in the deed founded on the charter of Queen Elizabeth dated 27th April, 1565, Grindall[1] was described as "Bishop of London, ordinary and Lord of the Manor of Haringey, and Lord and proprietor of the chapel at Highgate within the parish of Haringay—parcel of the said manor."

The premises conveyed by the Bishop are the chapel, "and all the site and circuit thereof, and also the soil and ground of the same, and also all and singular the houses, edifices, barns, and structures of, in, or upon the premises, together with all the gardens, yards, and orchards to the chapel belonging or appertaining, and also two acres of land or pasture, in the common or waste land called Highgate Common, there to the chapel next adjoining or abutting, as therein mentioned."[2]

An enlargement or reconstruction of the premises seems soon to have been needed, as the following minute records:—"M^d^ that the fyrst stone of the Chappell and Free Scoole at Higate was leyd the 3^rd^ day of Julye, 1576, and the same Chappell and schoole was finished in Sept^r^. 1578."

Now that the establishment of the School which has grown to be of so much importance, is on record, it is desirable to digress a little to state a few incidents in the life of its worshipful founder, the foremost of the "worthies" of Highgate.

Sir Roger Cholmeley is placed by Fuller in *his Worthies*, in the county of Yorkshire, as a descendant of a family of that county. His father lived in the county of Middlesex, though branched from Cheshire, but was much conversant with London, being Lieutenant of the Tower under King Henry VII. By his will he bequeathed a legacy to Sir Roger, his natural son, then "student of the Laws." Sir Henry Spelman states[3] that in the 37th of King Henry VIII. in Michaelmas term he was made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was one of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the possessions of Wolsey in Middlesex after the Cardinal's disgrace,[4] and, in the sixth year of Edward VI., he was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench. In the first of Queen Mary,

[1] Grindall, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, died at Croydon, 1583; Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, died at York, 1588.

[2] Prickett MSS.

[3] Spelman's *Glossary*.

[4] Rymer's *Fœdera*.

July 27th, he with Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was committed to the Tower, "for drawing up the Testament of King Edward VI., whereby his sisters were disinherited, yet Sir Roger's activity amounted to no higher than a complyance and a subscription of the same." He afterwards was enlarged, but lost his judge's place.[1] His release from prison is thus noticed by Stow :[2]—"27th July, 1553, Sir Roger Cholmeley, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Edward Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, were sent to the Tower; and the third day of September, the Lord Ferrers of Chartley, the Lord Chief Justice Sir Roger Cholmeley, the Lord Montague, Sir John Cheek, and others, were delivered out of the Tower." He lived several years a comparatively retired life, probably at Highgate; and was M.P. for the county of Middlesex for the Parliaments of 1554, 1555, 1557-8, 1558-9.

From the activity displayed by Sir Roger Cholmeley in committing the martyrs in Queen Mary's reign, as shown in Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, it might be easily imagined that he had a strong partiality for the Roman Catholic religion. But the author of the pamphlet entitled "Some Account of the Free Grammar School of Highgate and its Founder," says :—"This charge I do not believe, for all I can find to justify the supposition is the simple fact of his committing as a magistrate some riotous persons to prison, who happened to be Protestants, during his residence at Hornsey." On the contrary, there can be little doubt that Sir Roger Cholmeley was at this period strongly in favour of the Protestant interests, and that this as well as the other causes previously mentioned will account for his being displaced from the Chief Justiceship by Queen Mary in less than three months after her accession to the throne, more especially as it was this very Sir Roger Cholmeley who, in conjunction with six other Commissioners, passed the sentence against Cuthbert Tonstall, the Bishop of Durham, by which he was deprived of his bishopric, which sentence was annulled, on petition from the bishop, by patent of the 1st of Mary about the very period that Cholmeley was removed from his high judicial seat.

Another act of Sir Roger Cholmeley's life recorded by Fox in his *Acts and Monuments* is thus justified by Fuller.[3] "When William Flower was burnt in Westminster, Sir Roger, being present (though called by Master Fox but plain 'Master Cholmeley'), called him to recant his heresy, which I impute rather to his carnall pity than any affection to popery."

That Sir Roger Cholmeley was a Protestant may also be fairly

[1] He was succeeded in 1553, October 4th, by Sir T. Bromley, Kent.
[2] Stow's *Chronicles*.
[3] Fuller's *Worthies*.

inferred from the absence in his will of every term of superstitious belief; for although by an Act passed in the reign of Edward VI. (as well as by the Act of Uniformity passed in the reign of Elizabeth), such injunctions as are to be found in the will of his father, Sir Richard,—for instance, "To be buried within the Chapel of our Blessed Lady of Barking;" "To have masses said and sung, and prayers for his soul," and "to have an obit or anniversary," etc.,—were expressly forbidden, yet had Sir Roger continued in the faith of his father, it is impossible but that his will, made as it were on his deathbed, would have exhibited the character and partaken of the tincture of his belief. But indeed, without any other authority, the circumstance of his founding a Grammar School, with the concurrence and assistance of the bishop of the diocese, at a time when the Reformed religion was becoming firmly established, affords ample evidence that Sir Roger was a Protestant.

The following items from the will of Sir Roger Cholmeley, dated April 30th, 1565, will not be uninteresting: "To the pore Hospitall at Highgate, fourtie shillings." This Hospital was the one founded by William Poole, of which some particulars will be found under the head of "Lazar House." "Als to the pore people of Highgate five pounds," "als to Simon of Highgate five pounds in monie towards his findinge the schole." This Simon appears to have been the first master; the second is mentioned in the Rules, Laws, and Statutes, A.D. 1571, by the name of Johnson Charle.

Sir Roger died in June 1565, and was buried at St. Martin's, Ludgate Hill, on the 2nd July. It has been repeatedly stated that "Sir Roger Cholmeley resided at Hornsey," but we claim him to have been a resident of the Highgate side of the parish,[1] for the following reasons: (*a*) The bequests in his will to his "*poor neighbours;*" (*b*) The foundation of the School in the little "hamlet of Highgate,"—doubtless for the children of his poor neighbours, Jasper Cholmeley *of Highgate*, the next heir, being one of the first Governors; (*c*) Some curious entries referring to Sir Roger and his *house at Highgate*, in a very interesting diary kept by H. Machyn, a citizen of London, who lived at Queenhithe, and in the fifty-sixth year of his age retired to Kentish Town. His diary begins A.D. 1551, and continues till A.D. 1563, when it is thought he died of the plague then raging. The MS. is in the Cottonian Library, and is much damaged by fire. From it we extract the following.

"1561.—The begynnyng of Lent ther was on Master Adams dwellyng here, and ther was proclamasyon mad that yff any bocher dyd kyll any flesse for Lent he should pay xxP. at every time so doynge, and this man kyllyd ij oxen for the Lorde

[1] It is most probable that his house was in the Grove, and if so, really in St. Pancras. See page 305.

of Totenhall, and ther was a queste whent on hym and they cast ym in the fine to paye the moneye.

"The xvj day of June ther dynyd at *Sir Roger Chomleys howse at Highgate* my Lord mare, Sir John Lyons, Sir Marten Bowse (Bowyer), Sir Wylliam Huett and Sir Wyllyam Garrett, Master Loge, Master John Whytt, Master Cryster (Christopher) Draper, Master Rowe and Master Chomley, Master Marten, Master Baskerfild, and Master Chamburlayn of London, and mony worshipfull men and mony Lades and gentyllwomen and gret chere boyth the whettes (waits) and clarkes syngnyng, and a nomber of vyolles playhyng and syngyng, and they had xxx bokes (bucks) and stages (stags), and this was the grossers (grocer's) feast."

"1562.—The xx daye of Julye was goodlye weddyng in this Paryche of Master Coke and Master Nycolles dowther for ther wer the mare and *Sir Roger Chomley* and money Lades and mony worshipfull men and women, and mony from the citie, and after the weddyng was done they went home from the Totenhall to dener, for ther was a grett dener as ever was sene, and all maner musyke and dancing all the daye long, and at nyght goodlye soper, and after a goodlye masque at mydnyght at the weddyng, Master Vernon dyd pryche being sent by the Deane of Powles, for no maner mettes (meats) nor drynges (drinks) that cold be had for money that were wantyng."

"The xxj day of Julye was grett cher at Totenhall at the same weddyng at Master Nicolles; and after soper cam iij masques, one was in clothe of gold, the next masque was frers (friars) and the iij was nunes, and after they danced betymes, and after frers and nunes danced together. The xxij day of Julye ther was a grett shutyng (shooting, archery) in the fields of the paryche.

"The xxvj daye of Julye my Lade Sysselle wyfe of Ser Willyam Sysselle came to Totenhall, and ther was a grett bankett as I have sene and wassail of Epocras, Frenche Wyne, Gaskyn Wyne, Reynys Wyne with grett plente, and all the servandes had a bankett in the hall with dyvers dyssys (dishes).

"The xviij of Septembre my Lord mare and my Masters, the Aldermen and mony worshiphull men and dyvers of the Masters of the xij companys red (rode) to the Conduth hedes for to se them after the ould coustum and afore dener they hundyd the hare and kyllyd and so to dener to the hede of the Conduth in Holborne ffields, for ther was a nomber and had goode chere of the Chamburlayn, and after dener to huntyng the fox, and ther was a goodlye crye for a mylle, and after the hondys kyllyd the Fox by Chyrche of Panerasse, and ther was a grett crye at the deth and blohyng of hornes and so rod to London my Lorde mare Harper with all his compene home to hys own plase in Lumberd Strete.

"1562.—The xxj daye of October dyd pryche at Panerass Chyrche, Recherdson the Skott that was the Reder at Whyttyngton college from on (one) till iij of the cloke, and ther was the grettest audyense that has been seen in the paryche, and all went away well placed" (pleased).

There seem to have been several members of the Cholmeley family residing in the neighbourhood. There was a Sir Hugh Cholmondeley of Hornsey, and a Jasper Cholmeley, who was the heir of Sir Roger, and who held some property in Holloway, for by inquisition, taken 1588, after his decease it was found that he died "seised of one capital messuage or farm called the brewhouse, with a barn and divers buildings to the same belonging; and also 42 acres of land lying in Nether *Hollwey*, holden of Thomas Fowler as of his Manor of Bernersberye in free socage,

etc., and this same brewhouse and land came to Thomas Cholmeley, who, dying in 1589, a similar inquisition was taken, and therein the premises were described as before."[1]

The following are the rules for the government of the Grammar School as signed by the Governors appointed by Sir Roger Cholmeley.

"*Rules, laws, and statutes made by Roger Martin, Knight; Roger Carew, Richard Hodges, Jasper Cholmeley, Gent., John Langley, Alderman; and John Kytchyn, Esquire, then Governors, in pursuance of the powers invested in them by the Charter, and signed by them,* 14*th December*, 1571.

"Be it known to christian people by these presents, that whereas Sir Roger Cholmeley, late of London, Knight, deceased, in his lifetime, by the license of our dread Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, the Queen's most Excellent Majesty that now is, hath erected a Free Grammar School in the town or hamlet of Highgate, in the county of Middlesex, for the education and bringing up of youth in virtue and learning. And whereas, the said Queen's Majesty, by her said license under her highnesse's great seal of England, at the humble suite and petition of the said Sir Roger Cholmeley, of her grace especial, hath authorised, nominated, and appointed Sir William Hewit, Knight, now deceased, Sir Roger Martin, Knight, by the name of Roger Martin, Esq., Alderman of the same city, Roger Carew, of Hadleigh, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., Richard Hodges, of Highgate aforesaid, Gent., and Jasper Cholmeley, of Lincoln's Inn, in the same county, Gent., to be governors of the landed covenant chattels of the said free school, and hath also given authority and power to the said governors, by the said licence, or the more part of us, with the assent of the Rev. Father in God the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, to make, ordain, and establish from time to time such good laws, statutes, and ordinances concerning the good government of the said free school as to us or the more part of us, by the assent aforesaid, as be thought necessary and convenient; therefore we, the said Sir Roger Martin, Knight, Roger Carew, Richard Hodges, and Jasper Cholmeley, Gent., together with John Langley, Esq., Alderman of the city of London, and John Kytchyn, Esq., whom we have chosen to be governors with us in the place of the parties deceased, of one assent, liking, will and agreement, *according to the trust reposed in us*, upon good deliberation, advice, and counsel had, and also by the good assent and consent of the Rev. Father in God Edwin, Lord Bishop of London, have made, appointed, and decreed certain rules, laws, and statutes to be obeyed as hereafter followeth. That is to say—

"First. Imprimis, we order and decree *according to the will, mind, and intent of the said Sir Roger Cholmeley, Knight*, founder of this free school, that there be an honest and learned schoolmaster appointed and placed to teach the scholars coming to this free school; which schoolmaster that so shall be placed, be Graduate of good, sober, and honest conversation, *and no light person*, who shall teach and instruct young children as well in their A B C and other English books, and to write, and also in their grammar as they shall grow ripe thereto, and that without taking any money or reward for the same, other than is hereafter expressed and declared.

"Second. We will and order, that any schoolmaster that shall be placed to teach in the free school shall *say and read* openly, at the chapel at Highgate, *next*

[1] Tomlins' *Islington*.

adjoining to the said free school, the service now allowed and set forth by the Queen's Majesty, and that decently and orderly according to her Majesty's injunctions, in the form following, *that is to say*, every Sunday and holiday, *morning and evening prayers;* every Wednesday and Friday, *morning* prayers with the Litany; and on Saturdays and the vigils of every festival day and holiday in the year, *evening* prayers, the same service to be said and read at hours mete and convenient, saving that on any the *first Sunday of every month* in the year the said schoolmaster shall not say the morning prayer in the said chapel, because the inhabitants of the said town or hamlet of Highgate are, by the ordinaries of that place, appointed upon every such Sunday to *resort to their several parish churches* to hear common prayers and sermons, and to receive the holy communion there; and that the same schoolmaster shall not have nor take any cure elsewhere, neither read any service publicly but in the said chapel at Highgate, being only a chapel of ease for the inhabitants of the said town of Highgate, and for that purpose erected by the founder, *that the schoolmaster* for the time being should not only teach and instruct children *in learning* and good letters, but also should *say service* in the said chapel in the manner afore specified.

"Thirdly. That the said schoolmaster do commit no manner of waste upon any of the houses, neither intermeddle with the felling or lopping any of the timber trees growing about the chapel, nor upon any the lands, without the license of three of us at the least, upon pain that he shall forfeit for all waste committed, treble the value thereof; and for every tree to be felled without our license, or three of us, 10*s.*; and for every tree he shall top 6*s.* 8*d.* of lawful money, which shall be employed towards the repairing of the free school and chapel aforesaid.

"Fourthly. We also order that the said schoolmaster teach the number of forty scholars, and not above, which number shall be furnished out of the towns of Highgate, Holloway, Hornsey, Finchley, or Kentish Town, *if there be so many*, or else of the other towns thereto adjoining, or otherwise by the discretion of us, or the most part of us, and our successors, for which number, except only four, the master shall take no money or other reward, by agreement between him and any of the parents or friends of the said children, his scholars.

"Fifthly. Acknowledging God to be the author of all knowledge, learning, and virtue, we order that the said master of this free school, with the scholars, at *seven of the clock every morning*, do, devoutly kneeling upon their knees, pray to Almighty God, according to the due form which shall be prescribed unto him by the Bishop of this diocese.

"Sixthly. And after prayers, he *do remain* in the school, diligently teaching, reading, and interpreting, or writing till eleven o'clock in the forenoon, *and not to depart but upon very urgent and great causes.*

"Seventhly. We order, that by one of the clock after dinner he do resort to the school again, there to remain with the scholars, *teaching them aforesaid*, till five or six of the clock of the night, according to the time of the year: viz., till five in the winter, and till six in the summer season; and then, devoutly kneeling upon their knees, to pray in the form afore specified.

"Eighthly. We order, that the master of the free school for the time being shall receive quarterly, for his wages, *fifty shillings*, the same to be delivered by the hands of us, or one of us, or our assigns; and also that he have his dwelling-house rent free, and all other charges, as in repairing the said schoolmaster's house in all reparations,

borne and allowed necessary according to the view from time to time to be taken by us, or any of us, our successors or assigns in that behalf.

"Ninthly. We will, *that the schoolmaster absent not himself from the school above ten days in the year*, nor so long, but upon urgent and good cause, to be allowed of us, or the more part of us, and that in that time of his absence he shall *provide a sufficient learned and honest man to supply his room* in the said school, upon pain to forfeit towards the repairs aforesaid for every day that he shall be absent above the said ten days, two shillings.

"Tenthly. We will, that the master of the said school shall have towards his living and maintenance, over and above his said wages, two acres of ground, lately inclosed *out of Highgate common*, with the garden and orchard to the said chapel adjoining, and also shall have yearly out of the wood of the Lord Bishop of London in Hornsey, *eight loads of fire wood*, provided that the said fire wood be expended within the house, and not sold away by the said master, nor spent elsewhere, without the special license of us.

"Eleventhly. We will that every scholar that shall be admitted into the free school shall pay the box fourpence at the time of his admittance, which money shall be employed by the master for books to be bought, to remain in the same school, at the oversight of us from time to time, or one of us at least; and also we will that every scholar, at his first admittance, shall from henceforth pay to the schoolmaster, for and towards his better relief, *only fourpence.*

"Twelfthly. We will that the master of the school do himself endeavour to the *continual perfecting* of all the scholars of the same grammar school, and of his part do truly and faithfully observe and keep all the points and articles within these our aforesaid orders contained, as by the same orders thereof more plainly doth and may appear; and finally, if the said master shall manifestly or willingly neglect, infringe, or break any of these our orders now made, or hereafter to be made, being thereof thrice warned by us, or any two of us, and notwithstanding continues the breach thereof without present reformation and amendment, that then it shall be lawful to and for us, or the more part of us, the same master so offending, forthwith to expel and put out, and to place another honourable and honest man in his room and office, according to the letters patent of our first corporation.

"Thirteenthly. And finally, for that we desire to have these laws and statutes now made, and hereafter to be made, *kept inviolate*, we will and order that the schoolmaster of this free school, from time to time, for his part shall stand and remain *bound unto us in twenty pounds by obligation*, with condition that he shall truly and effectually perform all our orders and laws, made and to be made, touching and confirming this free school, and the good government of the same.

"In witness whereof, as well we the said governors as also the said Rev. Father in God Edwin, Lord Bishop of London, testifying his assent of Johnson Charle, now elected, to be schoolmaster of this free school, to this present writing indented interchangeably our hands have set. Given the 14th day of December, A.D. 1571, and in the fourteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c."

EDWIN LONDON,
ROGER MARTYN,
JOHN LANGLEY,
JOHN KYTCHYN,
JASPER CHOLMELEY,
RICHARD HODGES.

Referring to the first rule, allusion is made to instruction in "A B C and other books;" and, as the expression may be liable to misconstruction, it is worthy of remark that the A B C here alluded to *does not mean the alphabet*, but absolutely a black-letter book, called *The A B C with the Catechisme:* that is to say, "an instruction to be taught and learned of every child before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop."

"This book is said to have been written by a Royal author, King Henry VII.."[1] It was printed in his reign, reprinted in the reign of Edward VI., and again in 1633, and contains a numeral table, the catechism, and certain "godly graces;" but, singularly enough, *does not contain the alphabet.*

It concludes thus:—

"This little catechisme learned
By heart, for so it ought;
The primer next commanded is
For children to be taught."

By an account furnished to Lysons by the Rev. W. Weldon Champneys, the then Vicar of St. Pancras, in 1800, it appears that the moneys vested in the Governors of Highgate Grammar School were as follows:—

DATE.	DONOR'S NAME.	DESCRIPTION.	VALUE IN 1800.
1562	The Founder.	Messuages in the parishes of St. Martin, Ludgate, and St. Michael, Crooked Lane . .	£ 40 s. 0 d. 0 per annum.
		Lands at Highgate	99 0 0 ,,
1580	John Dudley.	Rent tenements at Stoke Newington	2 0 0 ,,
1587	Jasper Chomley	Rent charge on Manor of Renters, Hendon	1 6 8 ,,
1637	William Platt	Rent charge, house at Kentish Town	10 0 0 ,,
		Money in the Funds, etc. . .	140 0 0 ,,

The last sum included money left by Edward Pauncefort, an inhabitant of Highgate, which was principally for almshouse gifts;[2] but the above statement omits the Martin bequest. In A.D. 1574, John Martin, by surrender, at a manor court, charged a copyhold tenement at Highgate with a payment of 20*s.*, towards paying the master's salary. This sum appears to be now received from an estate at Hendon, as well as £1 6*s.* 8*d.* left by Jasper Cholmeley.

[1] Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors.*
[2] *History of St. Pancras* (Palmer).

The following figures show the income of the School at the dates mentioned respectively, but it should be borne in mind that they probably include the income of the Chapel, as far as burial and other fees are concerned:—1565, £10 13*s.* 4*d.*; 1634, under £20; 1756, under £50; 1762, £98 10*s.*; 1794, £166; 1818, £764 11*s.*

The greater part of the two acres of land in Highgate had been let on a building lease, which expired in A.D. 1817, and was then re-let at a rental of £526, and upwards of £1,000 was received for fines on renewal of the leases; the remainder of the land then yielding £47 per annum, and the city property £115 10*s.*; this accounts for the large increase of income in 1818. Prior to 1824, the fortunes of the School were at a very low ebb; the acting master had been a pluralist, and held also the office of sexton to the chapel,—possibly the more lucrative office of the two. But better days were in store; the country was emerging from the dreadful incubus of the Napoleonic wars, steam was beginning to create a revolution, everything was moving, and the statutes of the old School were revised.

In the year 1830, by Lord Eldon's decision in the great law suit, Cholmeley's school was raised to the rank of a "Public School." It became one of a great educational family, marked by a uniformity of type which distinguishes alike the oldest and the youngest, and which, in spite of individual varieties, makes all in their principal features akin. The revenue is small as compared with the lordly revenues of Winchester and Eton, but not much smaller than that of Harrow.[1] In the year 1844 it amounted to about £860, with prospect of increase; but the costs of the law suits of 1825 and 1830, and a contribution of £2,000 towards the erection of the church, were heavy encumbrances.

The School is not richly endowed. This is no very great drawback. As the Commissioners[2] say, "the endowments of the schools bear no proportion to their magnitude." "To a large and popular school, so long *as it is large and popular*, a permanent endowment is not of essential importance; but there can be no doubt that such endowment is of great service, in enabling any school to provide and maintain suitable buildings, to attract to itself, by exhibitions and other substantial rewards, its due share of clever and hard-working boys, to keep up by these means its standard of industry and attainments, and run an equal race with others which possess this advantage, and to bear, without a ruinous diminution of its teaching-staff, those fluctuations of prosperity to which all schools are liable."[3] But the Cholmeley School has an endowment which gives it the

[1] The revenues of Harrow, which was founded about the same time as Highgate school, amount to £1,000 per annum.

[2] Public School Commissioners' Report.

[3] *Ibid.*

advantage as a boarding-school over even the most richly endowed City public school, and which has probably greatly accelerated its rise. This is to be found in its situation. It is close to town, and yet quite in the country; its beautiful playing field giving ample facility for that measure of bodily exercise between which, and the development of the mental powers, there often seems so close a connection.

"Classics are, of course, the principal branch of study, as in all public schools, but at the time when this School was remodelled, there was a popular demand for the addition of other studies, to meet the immediate requirements of the age. The Cholmeley School system, influenced, at that time, by this modern demand, has this advantage, that from its first start as a public school it has adopted that modification of system which some of the others can only acquire by a complete re-arrangement of their present course."[1]

But it was impossible that the School could have fair play until the removal of the old Chapel, when the Governors rose equal to the occasion, and put the old foundation on a more comprehensive footing, in harmony with the requirements of the times,—with the most satisfactory results. When the condition of the old Chapel became such that it was imperative either to reconstruct or to remove it, the limited nature of the site became a very serious question, and it was generally acknowledged that the proposed new church should be erected upon a far more comprehensive plan, and more in keeping with the growing demands of the neighbourhood. Then the very serious question arose, to whom did the old Chapel belong? To the churchwardens, as representing the inhabitants, or to the Governors, as representing the School?

"The statement of Norden, that the "Chapel was for the ease of that part of the country," formed a point of discussion in the warm controversy which arose as to the right of property in the Chapel, whether it was vested entirely in the Governors of the School, or shared by the inhabitants. The truth appears to have been, that the Chapel was actually the property of the charity, by grant from the Bishop of London, the ancient patron of the Hermitage, as well as by Letters Patent from the Crown, and also by transfer from a third party who had procured a grant of it from the Queen as a suppressed religious foundation; that in the first century and a half the inhabitants had been allowed to have seats gratuitously, but that about the year 1723 the pews had been converted into a source of income for the School."[2]

A Bill was brought into Parliament in 1822, with the consent of the Bishop, to obtain a confirmation of the Bishop's grant, and to authorise the building of an enlarged place of worship for the regular service of the Church of England, the ancient Chapel having then become in a

[1] Commissioners' Report. [2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1834.

dilapidated state, and also to effect the conversion of the hamlet into a Chapelry, and the application of the surplus revenues of that part of the charity estate which was originally granted by the Bishop of London, after setting apart a sufficient fund for the expenses of the School, towards the accomplishment of these objects, the patronage being in return, re-vested in the Bishop of London. At the time the Bill was introduced, informations exhibited by the Attorney-General, on the relation of the Rev. H. B. Owen, B.D., against the Earl of Mansfield and others, the then Wardens and Governors of the Free School, in their individual capacity, and the Master of the School, and also against the Wardens and Governors in their corporate capacity, were pending in the High Court of Chancery, whereby an administration of the charity funds in accordance with a decree of the Court was sought to be obtained. The Bill in Parliament was strongly opposed, statements and counter-statements were published and circulated by the friends and opponents of the measure, and a considerable degree of interest was publicly felt on the question. This Bill, for which Sir Charles Wetherell, then Mr. Wetherell, and Sir Launcelot Shadwell, the Vice-Chancellor, then Mr. Shadwell, were counsel, was opposed in Parliament by Lord Brougham; the Lord Chief Justice of England; Mr. Abercrombie; Mr. C. F. Palmer; Mr. J. B. Monck; Sir Robert Wilson; Mr. Calvert; Sir John Dashwood King; Sir S. B. Morland; Lord Nugent; Mr. Rickford; Mr. Ricardo; Mr. Barrett; Mr. Baring; Mr. John Martin; Mr. John Smith; Alderman Sir Matthew Wood; Alderman Sir W. Heygate; Mr. Crompton; Mr. Lamb; Mr. Denison; Mr. Hume, etc., etc., and the measure was ultimately defeated for the time.

In the pending suits, Lord Eldon, then Lord High Chancellor, by his decree dated 30th April, 1827, dismissed so much of those suits as sought the removal of the Wardens and Governors from the trust: and declared, that "the charity founded by Sir Roger Cholmeley was a charity for the sustentation and maintenance of a Free Grammar School *for teaching the learned languages;*" that the Wardens and Governors were not bound further to enlarge the Chapel out of the revenues of the charity, or to enlarge the burial-ground, or to do any other acts with respect to the Chapel, for the benefit of the relators or other inhabitants of Highgate, and it was referred to the Master, the late Lord Henley, to approve a scheme for the purposes therein mentioned.

By a further order of the Lord Chancellor on the 16th April, 1829, the Master was directed, in settling the scheme, to consider, whether it would not be beneficial to, or not inconsistent with the interests of the Free Grammar School, that the Chapel should be enlarged or taken down, and a new and more convenient Chapel erected on the then present or some other site, and out of what funds the repairs should be

provided, and the Master was to enquire what sums the Commissioners for Building Churches, and the inhabitants, were willing to contribute, and whether application should be made to Parliament for effecting such enlargement or rebuilding, and the confirmation of Bishop Grindall's grant. In pursuance of which the Master, on the 18th December, 1829, reported, that the Chapel should be taken down, and a new one erected on some other site by the Commissioners, and that the burial-ground should be transferred to those Commissioners. That sittings should be secured in the proposed new Chapel for the Wardens and Governors Master and Scholars, and for the families of the Wardens, and Governors, and Master, *rent free for ever*, and that the charity estates should be exonerated from liability to repairs, which should be otherwise provided for. That the patronage should be vested in the Bishop of London, and that application should be made to Parliament for the required authority:—which report was confirmed by an order of the 23rd December, 1829, whereby the Wardens and Governors were ordered to apply to Parliament accordingly. This application was made, and at the close of the reign of King George IV. the enactment already referred to, passed the legislature, whereby, after reciting the letters patent of Queen Elizabeth, the grant of the Bishop of London to Sir Roger Cholmeley, the ratification by the Dean and Chapter, and that it was apprehended that such grant nevertheless was absolutely void as against the successors of the Bishop, under the provisions of the 1st Elizabeth, and reciting Sir Roger Cholmeley's conveyance to the Wardens and Governors, the several proceedings in the Court of Chancery, and the scheme approved by the Master, and the orders of the Court; the grant of the Chapel and ground was confirmed, the Governors authorized to raise by mortgage of the charity estates £2,000, in aid of the funds to be contributed by the Church Commissioners, and were empowered to apply part of the £2,000 in the purchase of a site and burying-ground for the new Chapel, to be vested in the Commissioners, and the remainder as the Commissioners should direct, and to take down the old Chapel and sell the materials, and to convey the site of their then present Chapel and burying-ground to the Commissioners, to be used as a place of interment belonging to the new Chapel. The Commissioners were authorized to appropriate pews therein for the Wardens and Governors, Master and Scholars, and to the families of the Wardens, Governors, and Master of the Free School, *rent free for ever*. The right of presentation was vested in the Bishop of London, the endowment then payable to the lecturer and preacher, or reader of the old Chapel, except the salaries payable out of the general funds of the charity, was transferred for the benefit of the new Church, and the charity estates were exonerated for ever from the repairs of the Chapel.

This decision cleared the way for the further development of the School.

In 1838 the Rev. John B. Dyne, D.D., was appointed Head Master, and with his name the progress of the School is indissolubly connected, for he raised it to a position of dignity and usefulness it had never before attained.

When he entered upon his duties as successor to the Rev. Samuel Mence, Master of the Grammar School,[1] and Reader of the Chapel, he found the School to consist of but 18 scholars; in ten years he had increased it to 102, and in thirty years to 167 scholars.

At the thirtieth anniversary of his appointment, on the annual speech day, the 1st July, 1868, his labours received a graceful and suitable recognition. Sir Roundell Palmer, M.P., on behalf of pupils, friends, and neighbours, stated that £920 had been subscribed, in acknowledgment of Dr. Dyne's services; of this sum £600 had been placed in trust for the foundation of certain prizes to bear his name, and the balance expended in plate; the following inscription (translated from the Latin) being placed in the library of the School:—

TO

JOHN BRADLEY DYNE, D.D.,

NOW FOR THIRTY YEARS
HEAD MASTER OF THE CHOLMELEY SCHOOL, HIGHGATE,
AND THE RESTORER OF THAT SCHOOL
WHEN IN DECAY, AND FALLEN FROM ITS EARLIER POSITION,
HIS PUPILS, FRIENDS, AND NEIGHBOURS,
IN GRATEFUL RECOLLECTION OF BENEFITS CONFERRED
ON THEMSELVES AND THOSE DEAR TO THEM,
AND IN CORDIAL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS SINGULAR EARNESTNESS IN
THE WORK OF EDUCATION, OF HIS EMINENT GENTLENESS OF
CHARACTER, AND OF HIS HIGH TONE AND INTEGRITY,
HAVE OFFERED THIS SLIGHT EXPRESSION OF
THEIR GOOD WILL AND REGARD.

THEY HAVE FOUNDED PRIZES IN THE SAME SCHOOL,
TO BE ADJUDGED ANNUALLY TO THE MOST DESERVING,
AS A MEANS BOTH OF STIMULATING THE MINDS OF THE BOYS TO
DILIGENCE IN THEIR STUDIES, AND OF HANDING DOWN TO
FUTURE TIMES THE REPUTATION OF THE MASTER
WHOSE NAME THEY BEAR.
1868.

[1] "Mr. Mence resided in the house adjoining the old Chapel," presumably the school house.—CROMWELL'S *Walks*.

The sub-master, Mr. George Martin (for the Preacher of the Chapel was always *ex-officio*

The new school premises were erected by foundation funds, after a design by Basevi, and were opened on 31st July, 1866, the tercentenary of the School. The Library was the gift of the old Cholmeleans, and was opened at the same time. The beautiful School Chapel (the Crawley Chapel) was erected in memory of Mr. G. A. Crawley, a late Governor, at the sole cost of his family.[1] The corner-stone was laid by Mrs. Crawley on 24th March, 1866, and it was consecrated for use on 29th March, 1867. It contains memorial windows, perpetuating the names of R. Isherwood, H. Lake, T. H. Causton, and W. Bloxam, late Governors of the School.[2]

During the period Dr. Dyne was Head Master, not only was the school itself resuscitated, for the numbers increased from 18 to 160 boys, but the school building and the school chapel were erected, endowments for exhibitions and scholarships provided,—principally from the foundation funds,—and the cricket-field purchased;[3] in fact, the school was placed in its present enviable position.

Dr. Dyne retired, full of years and honour, in 1874, and was then succeeded by the present Head Master, the Rev. Prebendary McDowall, D.D., who, in 1880, went into residence, in the spacious and well-adapted Master's House then newly erected on the cricket-field.

The old School has turned out many boys who in different pursuits of life are doing good work, and this after all is the real test of success; the honour lists give the names of those who have achieved some measure of scholarly distinction, and there is yet a further, but necessarily more limited, list of those who may be called "distinguished scholars." Doubtless many names might be added, and it is in the hope that it *will* be so in succeeding years that the list is now commenced; but it should be remembered that before Dr. Dyne's headship the position of the School precluded the possibility of "scholarly," or indeed any other, distinction; it was but a village school, the sub-master of which held the combined offices of schoolmaster and sexton, which provoked the famous joke of Lord Eldon, when the School law suit was before him. Alluding to the sexton and his scholars, he remarked sententiously, "*That in that case he proved himself to be quite capable of well grounding them.*" Therefore any such list of

master), held the office for thirty-three years under Dr. Bennett and Mr. Mence. He seems to have been a good teacher, and was famed for his beautiful handwriting. His grandson, Mr. John Martin of High Street, a well known and respected neighbour, takes great interest in parish affairs.

[1] The architect was Mr. F. P. Cockerell.

[2] The Crawley Chapel stands on the exact site of the old Chapel of St. Michael, but is not quite so long, nor so wide.

[3] The drinking fountain in the cricket-field was the gift of Mr. William Ford, one of the Governors.

names can only date from the time of Dr. Dyne's appointment as Head Master.

Distinguished Scholars.

PHILIP STANHOPE WORSLEY, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Author of a translation of the *Odyssey*, and other poems. *Obiit.*

BENJAMIN BICKLEY ROGERS, Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. Translator of Aristophanes, a Member of the Chancery Bar.

ROBERT EDMUND CHESTER WATERS, of Wadham College, Oxford. Well known as a distinguished antiquarian and genealogist.

WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, Honorary Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Professor of Anglo-Saxon in Cambridge University; author of the *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.*

EDWARD BICKERSTETH, Pembroke College, Cambridge, Bishop of Japan, son of the Bishop of Exeter.

JAMES COTTER MORISON, Lincoln College, Oxford. Author of *Life and Times of St. Bernard, The Service of Man, Gibbon* and *Macaulay* in *The English Men of Letters* series, etc.

GENERAL SIR HERBERT MACPHERSON. *Obiit.*

EDMUND YATES, Journalist and Novelist.

COLONEL EDWARD PEMBERTON LEACH, R.E., Victoria Cross (for services in Afghanistan).

The School now consists of 260 scholars, of whom the greater proportion are day boys This is in part due to the very rapid development of the neighbourhood during the last few years, a process likely to be continued, for besides its many natural advantages and its high reputation for salubrity, the recent acquirement of the Gravel Pit Wood as a public recreation ground on the one side, and the very welcome addition of the Parliament Hill Fields as an extension of Hampstead Heath on the other, is likely to render the neighbourhood of Highgate probably the most popular residential suburb north of the Metropolis; and if so, the old School, provided originally for "*forty boys if there be so many,*" is likely to become second to no other public school in numbers, influence, and importance, for happily situated as it is, it will present to parents the inestimable advantage of a healthy residence, combining the

possibility of the supervision of home life, in addition to the benefits of the training of a public school for their sons.

The following is the last published prospectus of the School : —

HIGHGATE SCHOOL.

Founded by Sir Roger Cholmeley, Lord Chief Justice, 1565.
Confirmed by Letters Patent of Queen Elizabeth.

Governors :

CO-OPTATIVE.

EARL SELBORNE.
COLONEL LEACH, R.E.
W. FORD, ESQ.
VISCOUNT LEWISHAM.
J. BRADLEY DYNE, ESQ.
T. TATHAM, ESQ.

NOMINATED.

REV. R. CRAWLEY. BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF MIDDLESEX.
THE VEN. ARCHDEACON HESSEY. BY THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.
B. G. LAKE, ESQ. BY THE LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF ENGLAND.
C. MARSHALL GRIFFITH, ESQ., Q.C. BY THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.
REV. J. LLEWELLYN DAVIES. BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.
T. S. OSLER, ESQ. BY THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

Head Master :

REV. CHARLES McDOWALL, D.D., OXON.

Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

FIRST CLASSMAN IN FINAL, FIRST CLASSMAN IN FIRST, } Public Classical Examination.
Former CLASSICAL SCHOLAR, MATHEMATICAL EXHIBITIONER, } University Coll., Oxon.

Assistant Masters :

REV. R. L. MORRIS, M.A., *late Scholar Pembroke College, Oxford. 2nd Class in First, 3rd Class Final Mathematics.*
REV. R. FAYRER, M.A., *late Scholar Trinity College, Oxford. 1st Class Moderations. Septuagint Prizeman.*
G. T. ATKINSON, ESQ., M.A., *late Scholar Magdalen College, Oxford. 1st Class Moderations.*
T. H. JUDSON, ESQ., B.A., *late Scholar Merton College, Oxford. 1st Class Natural Science.*
E. H. KELLY, ESQ., B.A., *King's College, Cambridge. Junior Optime.*
REV. S. B. SIMONS, M.A., *late Scholar St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. 45th Wrangler.*
W. J. BARTON, ESQ., M.A., *late Scholar Exeter College, Oxford. 1st Class in First and Final Mathematical Honours.*
C. T. CAMPION, ESQ., B.A., *late Scholar Oriel College, Oxford. 1st Class Moderations. 2nd Class Lit. Hum.*
G. W. DOUTON, ESQ., M.A., *late Fellow King's Coll., Cambridge. 1st Class Classical Tripos. Browne's Medallist.*
C. A. EVORS, ESQ., B.A., *late Scholar Jesus College, Cambridge. 2nd Class Classical Tripos.*
F. G. LUSHINGTON, ESQ., B.A., *Balliol College, Oxford. 2nd Class Moderations.*
MONS. A. DE BEAUMONT, M.A., *Officier Legion d'Honneur. Late French Tutor to H.R.H. Prince Arthur* (FRENCH).
HERR M. NAUDASCHER, *University of Heidelberg* (GERMAN).
H. B. HAGREEN, ESQ., *Professor of Drawing, Government School of Art, Kensington*
C. H. SWINSTEAD, ESQ., } (DRAWING).
W. G. WOOD, ESQ., *Professor of the Organ at the Royal Academy of Music* (MUSIC AND SINGING).

The School Buildings, comprising a Large Hall and a full complement of Class Rooms, were lately rebuilt, and, being on high ground, the site is very healthy, and strongly recommended as such by the most eminent of the Medical Profession in London. The Boarding House accommodation is provided with all Modern appliances.

There is a beautiful Chapel attached to the School, and one of the finest Playing Fields in the Country; there is also a spacious Gymnasium with a duly qualified Instructor. A new Sanatorium and a large Swimming Bath have lately been built.

School Fees.

Tuition : £24 per ann. payable in advance, in three equal Terminal payments of £8.
Boarding : £60 per annum (not including tuition).
Entrance Fee to the School : £1 1s.

Extra :	Music (Piano)	£2	2s. per term.
	Gymnasium (Spring and Autumn Terms)	£1	0s. per term.
	Swimming Bath (Summer Term)		10s. per term.

Day Pupils can dine at the Head Master's or other Boarding House for an extra charge of £4 per term for four days a week ; £5 for six days.

Admission.

1. All applications for admission must be made to the Head Master.

2. A certificate of good conduct is required, before admission, from every boy who has been at any other school, or with a private Tutor.

3. Age of Admission from 8 years : but no boy can be admitted who cannot pass an examination of the minimum standard, viz., Reading easy narrative, small text hand-writing, first four simple Rules of Arithmetic, outlines of Geography of England.

4. Boarders are received by the Head Master, and by the Rev. R. L. Morris and the Rev. R. Fayrer, Assistant Masters. All Boarding Arrangements are under the supervision and control of the Head Master.

5. No boy attending the School as a Day Pupil is allowed to Board with any other person than his parent or guardian without the special sanction of the Head Master.

6. A Full Term's Notice is required before the removal of a boy from the School. Any parent failing to give such notice is responsible for the Fee of the Term following his son's removal.

School Year, Vacations, Hours, Etc.

The School Year is divided into Three Terms.

Vacations :	Spring.....3	Weeks, commencing	middle of April.
	Summer.....7	,, ,,	end of July.
	Christmas.....5	,, ,,	about 20th December.
School Hours :	Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, Friday,	9 to 12.30 and 2.30 to 4.30.	
	Wednesday,	9 to 1.	
	Saturday,	9 to 12.30.	

Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes.

There are Exhibitions of £60 and £40 per annum, open to competition every year, tenable at Oxford and Cambridge for three years. No boy is eligible who has not attended the School three years.

There are 24 Foundation Scholarships of £24 per annum, open to all Candidates ; but Day-Scholars have preference for a fourth of the above number.

Three Gladstone Scholarships of £24 per annum, open to boys under 15, tenable by them as boarders at the School for four years, or more.

Twelve Entrance Scholarships of £70, £60, £40, three of each, for Boarders.

In addition to the Form Prizes in different subjects, there are the following Special Prizes : The Earl of Dartmouth's for General Proficiency, French, and German : The Baroness Burdett-Coutts' for Mathematics : The "Dyne" for Divinity (two), and for History (two) : The "Sir W. Bodkin" for Physical Science : The "Fletcher" for English Literature : The Governors' Gold Medal for Latin Verse.

SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.

The School is divided into three branches, the CLASSICAL, the MODERN, and the JUNIOR.

1. THE CLASSICAL BRANCH prepares directly for the Universities, the Indian Civil Service, Woolwich, Sandhurst, and the other high competitive Examinations.

   Subjects of Study: Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Arithmetic, Divinity, French, German, English History and Literature, Physical Science, Drawing.

2. The MODERN BRANCH prepares for Mercantile Life, the Home Civil Service, and similar Examinations.

   Subjects: Latin, French, German, Divinity, English History, Geography, Précis Writing and Dictation, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Physical Science, Drawing.

3. THE JUNIOR BRANCH includes the Two Lower Forms, and the course of instruction provides a sound elementary knowledge of Scripture, History, Latin, Arithmetic, French, and the rudiments of Greek, special attention being given to Writing, Dictation, Geography, and English Reading.

Special arrangements are made by which boys reading for the Indian Civil Service, and the more difficult Examinations, can be as fully prepared as by any other private tuition.

Throughout the School MODERN LANGUAGES receive more than the usual amount of attention and time.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE forms part of the regular work in all Forms except in the two highest (where it is optional) and the Junior School.

THE NEW DISTRICT AND CHAPELRY OF ST. MICHAEL.

The ecclesiastical district assigned to St. Michael's is thus set forth in *The London Gazette* of October 3rd, 1834, being an Order in Council assigning a consolidated district to the church at Highgate of parts of the parishes of Hornsey and St. Pancras under the sixth section 59 George III., c. 134.

The order is dated from the Church Commissioners' Office, September 29th, 1834, but was passed on 1st August, 1832, at the Court of James's; present the King's Most Excellent Majesty in Council.

After a long preamble setting forth the powers of the Commissioners appointed under the Act for "building and promoting the building of additional churches in populous places," it goes on to say :—

"And whereas the said Commissioners have made a representation to His Majesty in Council, stating that when the last census was taken the parish of Hornsey, in the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, contained a population of 5856 persons, and that the parish of St. Pancras in the same county, which is a peculiar under the jurisdiction of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and within the limits of the same diocese, contained a population of 103,000 persons; that the said

Commissioners have caused a new Chapel to be erected at Highgate, at the extremity of and situate in that part of the said parish of St. Pancras which is contiguous to the said parish of Hornsey, which affords accommodation to 1520 persons, including 520 free seats, appropriated to the use of the poor. That such Chapel has not yet been consecrated; that the said Chapel is distant two miles from the parish Church of Hornsey, which is the only place in that parish appropriated to the celebration of Divine worship, according to the rites of the Church of England, and is distant one mile and a-half from the Kentish Town Chapel, which is the nearest place for celebration of such Divine Service in the parish of St. Pancras; that the extremities of the said parishes of Hornsey and St. Pancras, which lie contiguous to each other at Highgate, and are delineated on the accompanying plan, contain a population of 4,070 persons.

"And whereas the said Commissioners have further represented to His Majesty, that having taken into consideration all the circumstances above mentioned, it appears to them to be expedient to unite and consolidate the said contiguous parts of the said parishes of Hornsey and St. Pancras into a separate and distinct district, to be assigned to the said Chapel for all ecclesiastical purposes, and to constitute such district a consolidated Chapelry under the 6th sec. of the Act 59th year of His Majesty King George the Third, for the purpose of affording accommodation for attending Divine service, and for enabling the spiritual person serving such Chapel to perform all ecclesiastical duties within the said district, attached to such Chapel, and for the due ecclesiastical superintendence of such district, and the preservation and improvement of the moral habits of the persons residing therein; and that such district should be named the Consolidated Chapelry of Highgate, and that the boundaries thereof should be as follows:

"The boundary to commence half a furlong north-west of Ken-Wood House, at the point where the three parishes of St. Pancras, Hornsey, and Finchley meet; from thence proceeding along the boundary line which divides the parishes of Hornsey and Finchley, crossing the Barnet Road until it arrives at a point in the said line one furlong distant towards the north from the said Barnet Road, thence turning to the east and continuing parallel to the said Barnet Road, and the road called the Highgate Archway Road, at one furlong distance therefrom until it arrives at Hornsey Lane; to continue along the centre of Hornsey Lane: leaving Islington on the south-east, until it meets the Holloway Road where the parishes of Islington, Hornsey, and St. Pancras meet, continuing along the boundary line which divides the parishes of Islington and St. Pancras, down Maiden Lane one furlong: thence to proceed in a south-western direction to Swaine's Lane, until it meets the road from Kentish town to Highgate; thence to proceed in a north-western direction up the said road towards Highgate one furlong beyond the entrance to Millfield Lane: then to diverge in a line nearly west across the field into Millfield Lane, continuing along the said lane until it meets the boundary line which divides the parishes of Hornsey and St. Pancras, at the entrance into the Lord Southampton's ground called Fitzroy-farm, and to proceed westward about one furlong and three-quarters to the point where it commences half a furlong north-west of Ken-Wood house aforesaid.

"That the consent of the Lord Bishop of London has been obtained thereto, as required by the above mentioned section of the said Act 59 George III., and in testimony of such approbation the said Bishop of London hath put his signature and seal at the foot of the said instrument, and humbly praying that His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take the premises into his royal consideration, and to make such order in respect thereto as to His Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet.

"His Majesty having taken the said representation into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that such proposed union and consolidation be accordingly made and effected according to the provision of the said Acts.

"C. C. GREVILLE."

An excellent site for the church was found on that of the old mansion house in the Grove, erected by Sir William Ashurst in 1694. The position is a very admirable one, retired yet commanding and appropriately crowning the most beautiful height of the northern suburbs. The ground was purchased advantageously; the house, having a reputation of being *haunted*, had stood empty for some years.

The church was erected from a design by Louis Vulliamy, by Cubitts the builders, and consecrated by the Bishop of London on 8th November, 1832. It contains upwards of fifteen hundred sittings, of which five hundred are free; and cost about £10,000, of which sum £5,000 was granted by the Church Commissioners, £2,000 from School funds, £500 from Church Building Society, the balance being raised by subscriptions.

Some little delay in its opening was occasioned by the claim of jurisdiction being raised by the Vicar of St. Pancras, on the ground that "it had been erected within the limits of his parish;" which had to be met by an amendment of the Order in Council, freeing the said district from all over-riding parochial jurisdiction.

A large stained-glass window, representing the entombment and ascension of the Saviour, was presented by the Rev. Charles Mayo, assistant reader of the old chapel; Mr. Gillman (the kind-hearted and judicious friend with whom Coleridge resided) stated, but with doubtful authority, that "the design was by Albert Dürer, and that the arms displayed in the top compartments were those of the Cromwell family, removed from their old manor house at Cheshunt."

The clock and the bell (which weighs upwards of nineteen hundredweight) were the gift of Mr. George Crawshay.

Vicars of St. Michael's.

SAMUEL MENCE; presided over his last vestry meeting April 1838.

THOMAS HENRY CAUSTON, M.A.; presided over his first vestry meeting August 1838. Mr. Causton, who was a man of a noble presence, was a member of a very old Highgate family, many members of which are buried in the Causton vault under the School chapel.[1]

[1] Some curious old coffin plates are fixed round the walls of this vault, of some of which Mr. George Potter has rubbings.

Charles B. Dalton, M.A.; presided over his first vestry meeting April 1855, and resigned in 1878, after an incumbency of twenty-three years. Mr. Dalton is a canon of St. Paul's. He was very popular with his congregation, and his resignation through failing health was much regretted, and received a suitable expression. During Mr. Dalton's incumbency the district was still further divided, the north-eastern portion being assigned to the Church of All Saints, erected on the slopes of North Hill abutting on the Archway Road.

Daniel Trinder, M.A.; appointed 1878.

Closely following on Mr. Trinder's appointment the church was enlarged and renovated, with excellent effect, at a cost of about £5,000, and is attended by a large and influential congregation.

In the new church some of the monuments which were formerly erected in the old chapel are preserved, together with others erected in more recent periods. That of Coleridge cannot fail to be viewed with considerable interest. The Coleridge vault is beneath the Crawley Chapel, in the precincts of the Grammar School.

St. Michael's Parsonage was erected in 1856, the ground having been given by the Bishop of London and Mr. Crawley, the cost, about £3,000, being raised by subscription.

ALL SAINTS' DISTRICT CHURCH

Was erected as a Mission Church for the northern portion of the chapelry of St. Michael. The foundation stone was laid by Sir Roundell Palmer, M.P., Solicitor-General (afterwards Lord Selborne), on 13th June, 1863, and consecrated by the Bishop of London on 30th January, 1864.

Its original cost was £3,392 15*s.* 10*d.*; it has since been twice enlarged, and an endowment fund provided.

"All Saints" was created a separate ecclesiastical district on 20th October, 1874.

The first stone of its Mission House and Hospital for Children, on North Hill, was laid by Earl Nelson on 17th February, 1880, and it was opened by a dedication service on 26th September, 1882.

The zeal of the vicar and congregation of "All Saints" is not only marked by the successive enlargements of the church and the building of its Mission House and Hospital, but also by the proposed erection of the Church of "St. Augustine" in the Archway Road, for which the ground has been secured and a temporary building provided.

Vicar.—Edgar Smith, B.A.; appointed 1874, having been previously curate-in-charge.

CHAPTER III.

THE HAMLET OF HIGHGATE.

"How we set out, for sages have decreed
That fair and gently brings the greatest speed;
Now straggling Islington behind we leave,
Where piety laments her learned Cave;
Now Can'bury's numerous turrets rise to view,—
No costly structure, if the tale be true.[1]
Here Humphreys breath'd his last, the Muses' friend;
Here Chambers found his mighty labours end;
Here City doctors bid the sick repair,—
Only, too oft, to die in better air.
Through Holloway, famed for cakes, we onward tend,[2]
While much St. Michael's hermit we commend,
Whose care a double charity bestow'd,
Supplying water as he rais'd the road.
To Highgate hence, the long ascent we gain,
Whose various prospects well reward our pain."[3]

The old village of Highgate, its salubrity and picturesqueness—The great North Road—Madan and Swain's Lanes—The Gate House and toll—Hampstead Lane and the Spaniards—Southwood Lane—Jackson's Lane—Holloway Hill—Bishop's Avenue—Archway Road—Proposals for removing Highgate Hill—Wood Lane—West Hill—Merton and Millfield Lanes—Green Street—Bromwich Walk—The Hornsey Enclosure Act—Sites of Hornsey, Highgate, Fortis Green, and Muswell Hill Commons—Highgate Green—Its revels—A favourite Sunday promenade—Hogarth at the Flask tavern—The Lazar House, afterwards a Spital—Its governors or "guyders"—Small-pox Hospital on its site—The old Presbyterian Church—The Act of Uniformity of 1662—The Five Mile Act—The Congregational Church, its buildings and succession of ministers—The Baptist Church and ministers—St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church—The Highgate Theatre—"The good old times," being principally records of local crime and violence, 1571-1831—The returns of the old watchmen—The first Act for lighting and watching the hamlet of Highgate.

IGHGATE, from its altitude, 424 feet above high-water mark, and its sandy soil, has always enjoyed a great reputation for its salubrity. Norden, writing A.D. 1593,[4] says respecting it:—"Upon this hill is most pleasant dwelling, yet not so pleasant as healthful; for the expert inhabitants thereof report that divers who have long been visited by sickness not curable by physicke, have in a short time repaired their health by that sweet

[1] Reported to have been built for a penny a day.

[2] Holloway cheese cakes had a great celebrity; they were sold in different parts of London by men on horseback.

[3] "A Journey to Nottingham," *Gentleman's Magazine*, September 1743.

[4] *Speculum Britanniæ.*

salutarie aire." And it is only necessary to note the numerous hospitals and infirmaries erected on the slopes of the hill to see that old Norden's opinion is still very generally held.

From its heights—

> ". . . With pleased retrospect we view the cloud
> Which buries thousands in its sooty shroud,
> Immersed in toil, who live the slaves of care,
> And never taste the sweets of purer air!"[1]

An anecdote is told of a lady who, in advanced age and declining health, went by the advice of her physician to take lodgings in Islington. She agreed for the rooms, but on coming downstairs observed that the balusters were much out of repair. "These," she said, "must be mended before I move in." "Madam," said the landlady, "that will be useless, as the undertaker's men in bringing down the coffins are continually breaking them." The old lady was so shocked at this funereal intelligence that she at once declined the apartments, and went to reside at Highgate; the inference being that as the balusters there were not found broken, the undertaker's business was not so flourishing.

The beautiful undulations of Highgate have been extolled as the most refreshing and charming scenery in Middlesex; a range of gently swelling eminences giving variety, beauty, and extent to the landscape.[2]

Malcolm,[3] speaking of the picturesque views of North London, says:—"Let us now view our subject from the surrounding country, and this should be done on a summer's morning, before the industrious inhabitants begin their labours. The most perfect and delightful landscape is from Hampstead Heath; when the wind blows strong from the east, then is that clear bright band of foreground broken into a thousand grotesque shapes, gives lustre to the projecting front of Highgate, topped with verdure and serving as a first distance, from which in gradual undulations the fields retire till lost in a blue horizon."

Thomson thus describes the view:[4]

> "Here let us sweep
> The boundless landscape: now the raptured eye
> Exulting swift, to huge Augusta send,
> Now to the Sister Hills[5] that skirt her plain.

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[1] "Journey to Nottingham."

[2] Pedestrians who may want to know more of the beauties of North London are recommended to purchase *Our Lanes and Meadow Paths*, by H. J. Foley, to be had at the railway bookstalls, one shilling.

[3] *Londinum Redivivum.*

[4] *The Seasons.*

[5] Highgate and Hampstead.

Heavens! what a goodly prospect spreads around,
Of hills, and dales, and woods, and lawns, and spires,
And glittering towns, and gilded streams, till all
The stretching landscape into smoke decays!
Happy Britannia! where the Queen of Arts,
Inspiring vigour, liberty abroad
Walks unconfined, e'en to thy farthest cots,
And scatters plenty with unsparing hand."

Middleton states that "Highgate affords one of the many proofs round London, that even a very poor soil on a hill is more valuable than a rich soil in a low situation; for the hill is naturally of this description, but owing to its elevation, and overlooking some more fruitful and pleasant vales, it has acquired a higher value than the most productive valleys."

It will be at once observed that from the paucity of houses in the neighbourhood in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the local traffic must have been but very trifling; but as Highgate is situated on the great North Road, it will be of considerable interest to trace the old roads that led through or closely adjoined the village.

The earliest road of which there is any record is the one referred to in the paviage grant of 1364, as the "high way between Highgate and Smethefield," which was the old line through Portpool Lane (Farringdon Valley), and Madan Lane[1] (now the line of Dartmouth Park Hill), crossing Highgate Hill into Hornsey Lane by the old Black Dog Inn, the site of which is now covered by St. Joseph's Retreat, the top of the hill being reached by Swain's Lane, branching off from Madan Lane nearly at the foot of the slope near the lower grounds of the cemetery; the old road dividing the Finsbury and Holborn districts, and being a direct line from Gray's Inn Road to Highgate.

Swain's[2] Lane, from its narrowness and steep gradient, could only have been used for pedestrian or pack-horse traffic. The route of the old waggon and coach road is that described by Norden:—"The auncient Highwaie to High Bernet from Portepoole, now Gray's Inn, as also from Clerkenwell, was through a lane on the east of Pancras Church, called Longwich Lane; from thence leaving Highgate on the west, it passed through Tallingdone Lane, and so to Crouche Ende, and thence through a Parke called Hornsey Great Parke to Muswell Hill, Coanie Hatch, Fryarne Barnet, and so to Whetstone, which is now the common highwaie to High Barnet." For the heavier traffic, which in days before the advent of "Macadam" had to avoid hills as much as possible, the line of the ancient Hag (Haw)bush Lane would be taken. This old road seems to have branched off from Madan Lane, bearing across the gentle slopes of Pentonville in an oblique line towards Barnsbury, at the back of

[1] Madan (Maiden) Lane, probably "Midden" or Dunghill Lane.
[2] Swain's Lane, anciently "Swine's Lane."

the Liverpool Road (the back road), crossing the present line of the Holloway Road, nearly if not exactly by the lane running at the back of St. James's Church, past "Ring Cross,"[1] a place of execution for highwaymen and other malefactors[2] taken in the neighbourhood (the spot is identified by the "Old Pied Bull Inn"). It then entered Tallington Lane, now Hornsey Road, and so on to Crux (Crouch) End, and Tottenham Lane, through the Green Lanes *viâ* Colney Hatch to Friern Barnet, joining the great North Road at Totteridge. There seems to have been a cross road running from the north-west, rather below the line of the present Junction Road, and falling into Hagbush Lane before it reached Crouch End, which would be the best line for traffic from the western parts of London.

When the great North Road was constructed on the line of the Islington and Holloway Roads over Highgate Hill to Totteridge direct, it was but natural that these zig-zag bye-paths, often but little better than tracks over the grass, should fall into disuse, excepting at points where they were of some local service, and become absorbed into the manors through which they passed, as waste lands.

The popular notion is, that Highgate derived its name from the gate erected as a toll house at the entrance of the Bishop of London's park, when the new road was formed, under the following circumstances. "The old road was refused by way-fairing men and carriers, by reason of the deepness and dirtie passage in the winter season; in regard whereof it was agreed between the Bishop of London and the countrie, that a new road should be layde forth through the said Bishop's park, beginning at Highgate, to lead to, as it now is accustomed, directly to Whetstone, for which new waie all cartes, carriers, packmen, and such like travellers yielde a certaine tole[3] unto the Bishop of London, which is farmed (as it is said at this daie) at £40 per annum, and for that purpose was the gate erected on the hill, that through the same all travellers should passe, and be the more aptlie staide for the same tole."[4] Prickett maintains that prior to the erection of the arch a gate was in existence for the collection of toll by the hermit William Philippe in 1364, and that it was to the gate that Highgate originally owed its name.

If the reader will refer to the terms of the paviage grant to Philippe, it will be found that the toll was granted only for "*one year next ensuing*," and that in this very grant *Highgate is named* as a place already recognised. Therefore, the whole question of a continuous toll disappears, for

[1] Probably the site of a wayside cross (Nelson).

[2] The new gallows for the execution of criminals is erected at the beginning of the causeway leading to Holloway (*London Gazette*, 28th July, 1759).

[3] The tenants and dwellers of Finchley, Colney, Hornsey, and *Friern* Barnet were exempt from the payment of this toll, as holding under the Bishop.

[4] Norden.

with the very trifling traffic of five hundred years since, over a steep hill, on a road *not* the high road to the north, which then ran in quite another direction, it was most unlikely a toll gate would be either erected or maintained; the etymology of Highgate suggested on page 5, on the one hand, and Norden's statement already quoted on the other, account far more satisfactorily for its origin. Norden alludes to the way across the park as a *new road*, and he dedicates his work "To the high and most mighty Empress Elizabeth, etc., etc., etc., the most comfortable nursing mother of the Israel of God in the British Isles;" and, therefore, the date of the making of the road and its consequent toll is pretty well fixed.

The gate was originally only of sufficient width to allow one loaded pack-horse to pass through at a time,[1] and although it had doubtless been enlarged, yet up to the time of its removal many of the coaches and country waggons were unable to pass through it, and had to go round through the inn yard. When the gate was removed as an obstruction in 1769, and the road widened, the rooms over the arch were occupied by a laundress; there being no longer any necessity to keep open the Gate House yard as a thoroughfare, the Assembly Room was built on it.

As it will not be necessary again to allude to the old gates, it may be convenient here to mention the gate that stood at the other side of the Bishop's park. "On the spot now occupied by the Spaniard's Tavern was formerly a gate of similar use with that which imparted a name to the adjacent village of Highgate (?); both were formed at the extremities of land pertaining to the Bishoprick of London. . . . The house was originally called Park Gate, and obtained its present appellation from a Spaniard who first opened it as a place of public entertainment."[2]

This is evidently a mere conjecture, as, from the antipathy between the two nations, Spaniards were hardly likely to keep ale-houses in England in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, although they were so numerous in Queen Mary's time that a contemporary writer, quoted in the Camden Society's publications, says that "in 1554 there were so many Spaniards in London that a man should have met in the streets for one Englishman above four Spaniards, to the great discomfort of the English nation." It is far more probable that the name originated from the fact that the Spanish Ambassador Gondomar retreated to this neighbourhood during one of the continual recurrences of plague, and resided in the immediate vicinity, for there is a letter of his extant excusing his attendance at Court, dated from Highgate A.D. 1621, where he had gone for "fresh aire,"—the fact being that he was very unpopular, and was attacked and hooted in the streets; and there is a further letter complaining to his royal master that since he hath been in England "he hath seen so little of the sun."

[1] Tomlins. [2] *Beauties of England and Wales.*

There is a tradition that the Ambassador of the states of Holland, during similar plague times, removed from town into the fields beyond Islington, and hence the name Copenhagen (Coopen-haagen) which was given to his house and its surroundings.

Southwood Lane is a very ancient thoroughfare. Its direction was probably first determined by the passage of the solitary pilgrim through the woods, in passing to the neighbouring religious houses or stations; and there must in time have grown up a very considerable traffic, caused, not merely by the members of the religious fraternities themselves in their constant pilgrimage, but by travellers using these cross roads to the outlying villages.

Three such religious houses lay almost in a line, viz., Kilburn Priory,[1] on the further side of Hampstead Heath; from which the direct road would be up Hampstead Lane to the "Highgate Hermitage of St. Michael," and by Southwood Lane, a continuation of the line, to "Our Lady at Mosewelle."[2]

Southwood Lane is described in an Act of George III., 1774, as "Southwould or Chapel Lane."

The footpath by the side of the Local Board offices was originally known as "Dutton's Alley," and that by the pound, "Well's Alley."

Jackson's Lane was the old path across the common to Hornsey church—the route by which many of the old inhabitants were carried across the fields to their last resting-place in the graveyard of the parish church at Hornsey.[3]

The road generally known as Highgate Hill, *i.e.*, the approach to Highgate by the south from Holloway, is an old road, but was of little importance until the North Road was opened in the time of Queen Elizabeth, giving a far more direct road to the north, and causing the old tortuous road round Crouch End and Friern Barnet to fall into disuse. The line of the Holloway Road and Highgate Hill, in spite of its steepness, then became of great importance as the main arterial road to the northern counties, throwing the whole of that important line of traffic through the village of Highgate. This roadway appears originally to have been much narrower and steeper of ascent than it now is, for a manuscript note by the late Peter Collinson, F.R.S., in Mr. Chester's copy of Norden, copied by Prickett, is as follows:—

"The greatest part of the year 1767 was spent in enlarging the Highgate road from the four-mile stone up to the gate,[4] and moderating

[1] A representation of Kilburn Priory will be found in Park's *Hampstead.*
[2] Moselle, *i.e.*, clear water.
[3] Cole's MSS.
[4] Corner of Dartmouth Park Road.

the sharp ascent of the hill. To widen the road the great elms on the bank, and *all through the town*, were cutt down; the foot causeway on either side taken down and leveled to make more room, all the highway through the town to the gate was diged up many feet deep for the sake of the gravel, which was sifted and then laid on the surface.[1] This was a great expence, and stoped up the thoroufare for a long time, and yett that was cheaper raising gravel than to fetch it from Hampstead, for Highgate Hill is all over sand and gravel, and the country round it is all clay, which makes materials for repairing the road very dear, as it must be brought a great way off."—*Mill Hill, Oct. 12th*, 1767.

Cromwell says, in his *Walks through Islington*, that "the hill was the cause of great loss of life, both of horses and men," from frequent accidents.

The construction of the City Road giving direct access to the City, opened on 29th June, 1761, largely increased the traffic, and seems to have been a good reason for the attempts that were made towards easing the severe gradient of the hill. No wonder Highgate was so full of taverns; rest and a bait were absolutely necessary, *for the horses at least*, after the painful struggle to drag the heavily laden coach or the broad-wheeled country waggon up the dreadful hill; for more than five horses or oxen attached to a waggon was penal in the metropolitan district in Elizabeth's time, and carriers were repeatedly fined for driving more.[2]

The Seven Sisters' Road was cut in 1832, and the Junction Road 1811-2; this latter road intersects both Maiden Lane and the upper part of Hagbush Lane.[3]

In the year 1778 a proposal was made in the *Public Advertiser* to the inhabitants of Marylebone, for "forming a new road from the bottom of Portman Square across the fields by the west end of Mr. Alsop's new farm, across Mr. Willan's field by the side of the Hill-field, commonly called Little Primrose Hill, through a part of Belsize Park, to the bottom of Hampstead town, then across the lower side of the Heath, and to go between the Spaniard's and Caenwood House, through Bishop's Wood, across the fields in the Barnet road, at the bottom of the hill rising up to Finchley common, about half a mile below *Highgate hill:* the whole length of this proposed road is computed to measure barely four miles." "A gentleman from Hampstead says that he could not help remarking the many people he saw on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning last,

[1] When the New River Company were excavating for laying down their pipes the men came upon five large elm trees lying below the surface by the side of the road, and enquiry was made in vain as to how they came there; the above extract sufficiently explains. They were cut down from the sides of the road, the gravel taken away, and the trees put in to fill up the holes—being a cheaper proceeding than to cart material up the hill.

[2] See p. 409.

[3] See Roque's Map, 1745, at the Literary Institution for the course of this tortuous lane.

in particular about Primrose Hill and Hampstead Heath, with newspapers in their hands; he was led by curiosity to enquire the cause, and found they were perusing the plan and taking a survey of the new (Queen's) road that was proposed in our last Saturday's paper, from the bottom of Portman Square by Hampstead to Finchley common. It was pronounced by all parties to be the greatest and most practicable improvement in the roadway that was ever made about the metropolis, the new Islington and City roads not excepted"[1]

This record is interesting as, one hundred years afterwards, a road was cut on almost the *exactly* suggested line between Hampstead Lane and Finchley—the beautiful "Bishop's Avenue."

THE ARCHWAY ROAD.

After various attempts to render the ascent of Highgate Hill less difficult and dangerous, a scheme was projected in 1809, by Mr. Robert Vazie, for diverting the road and forming a subterraneous arch, or tunnel, 24 feet wide, 18 feet high, and 375 yards (afterwards altered to 358 yards) long, through the body of the hill. The original plan of Robert Vazie was subsequently altered under the advice of Mr. Rennie, the civil engineer, who recommended the tunnel to be shortened, at least from 358 to 255 yards, by open cuttings of 45 yards on the north and 58 yards on the south side of the hill, and Mr. Rennie recommended further open cuttings, to the extent of 44 yards, if the Company could agree to the expense, thus reducing the length of the tunnel to 211 yards; and a private Act was obtained, in May 1810 (50 Geo. III., c. 88), incorporating the proprietors by the title of "The Highgate Archway Company." This Act placed the affairs of the Company under twelve Directors, to be elected annually, and authorised them to raise £40,000, by shares of £50 each, with an additional sum of £20,000, if necessary, and empowered them "to levy perpetual tolls, not exceeding sixpence for every horse or other beast drawing any carriage; not exceeding threepence for every horse or mule not drawing a carriage; not exceeding twopence for every donkey; and not exceeding one penny for every foot passenger."

The work was commenced, and the tunnel constructed, to the length of about 130 yards, when the whole fell in, with a tremendous crash, on the morning of the 15th April, 1812, fortunately before the workmen had commenced their labour for the day Hornsey Lane, although rendered impassable for carriages, was nevertheless traversed by foot passengers, who descended into the hollow formed in the sunken road, and ascended on the opposite side. A row of trees on the north side of the lane

[1] *Public Advertiser*, August 1778.

presented a singular appearance, by their heads closing in upon each other.

The scheme was then altered, in accordance with the plans and recommendations of Mr. John Nash, and an open road, in the line of the intended tunnel, was formed. A further Act was obtained in 1812 (25 Geo. III., c. 146), enabling the Company to raise further capital to the extent of £70,000.

This road, by which upwards of 100 yards are saved, and the hill and village both avoided, was opened on August 21st, 1813. It passes under an arch, over which Hornsey Lane, an ancient cross-road, is continued. The foundation stone of the arch was laid on October 21st, 1812; it is built of brick, faced with stone, and surmounted by three semi-arches, supporting a bridge, along which the lane passes, and is 64 feet in height and 36 feet in width.

The failure of the tunnel was not the only, or the chief difficulty in making the road. The subsoil was sand and gravel, and the road being in a deep cutting was exposed to the frequent and sudden influx of water, and all attempts to form a firm roadway for a time were unsuccessful.

The road, it is true, was formally opened in 1813, but after trying numberless experiments, at a great outlay, the works were practically unfinished till 1829; when, by extensive and judicious drainage, and by laying the road metal in a thick bed of Roman cement, Telford, with his able assistant Macneil, brought the road into an excellent state. So marked was the success, that the Archway Road occupies an important place in the annals of road-making; whilst the experience gained from the failure of the tunnel is said to have been of material service to Stephenson in constructing his early railway tunnels through the London clay.

The disastrous issue of the tunnel was made the subject of a dramatic entertainment, called "The Highgate Tunnel, or the Secret Arch," introduced at one of the London theatres.[1]

The total capital of the Company, raised by shares, mortgages, and annuities, amounted to £103,608 15*s.*, which was spent on the work and its approaches.

The original Act gave the proprietors the right of exacting toll in perpetuity, but a dispute having arisen with the Government—who had, under the powers of the 9 Geo. IV., c. 75 (an Act for Improving the Mail Road between London and Holyhead), become large creditors of the Company for moneys expended in improving the road and for interest thereon—and the Highgate Archway Company, being unable, owing to the traffic being diverted to the Railway, to pay the amount claimed as due from them, an arrangement was made with the Government in 1861, in accordance with the Act 24 and 25 Vict., c. 28, by which the Company

[1] A copy of one of the play-bills is in the possession of Mr. Robert Watson, of Highgate.

agreed to pay £9,000 in satisfaction of the Government debt, in fifteen years from April 1861, by annual sums of £400 for the first five years, £600 for the second five years, and £800 for the third five years; and at the end of such fifteen years—namely, in April 1876—the toll was to cease, and the road was to become reparable by the parishes of Islington and Hornsey, through which it passed. The compromise authorised by this Act was duly carried out, the tolls ceased, and the road was thrown open to the public on the 30th April, 1876.

For many years no dividend was paid to the shareholders, the toll being barely sufficient to keep the road in repair and to pay the necessary expenses, and the shares were considered worthless, but, as the value of land in the neighbourhood increased, the Directors were enabled to sell off the surplus land in their possession, and to recoup the existing proprietors almost the whole amount of their shares.

The object for which the Company was formed having been attained, it is now in course of winding-up under the provisions of a Private Act, passed May 1884 (47 Vict., c. 21), empowering them to do so, and probably before the close of the current year (1887) it will become extinct.[1]

THE SEAL OF THE COMPANY.

In consequence of the numerous suicides which had taken place by persons throwing themselves off the bridge on to the roadway below, it was resolved by the Hornsey Local Board on the one side, and the Islington Vestry on the other, to remove the stone parapet and balustrades, and to substitute an open iron railing, seven feet high, at a cost of £364 for each side. This, no doubt, effects the object in view, but has certainly not improved the appearance of the bridge. This alteration was completed in the latter part of 1885.

[1] "Some Account of the Highgate Archway, the Road and Company," February 1887.

It is a curious circumstance that the herb coltsfoot has grown abundantly on the banks of the Archway Road since the cutting, although it was never observed before.[1]

The Archway Tunnel was thought so ridiculous a scheme that the following prospectus was issued as a satire on its collapse, and was extremely popular amongst the publicans in Highgate, who naturally saw in the proposed new road the total loss of their coaching business.

PROPOSALS FOR REMOVING HIGHGATE HILL ENTIRELY, WITH THE HOUSES THEREON.

"The Highgate Archway having fallen in, it is intended to remove the whole of the hill entire, with the houses, gardens, fields, roads, and footpaths, by a mechanical slide, constructed so as to remove the whole, including the Chapel and burying-ground, entire.

"It is intended to remove it into the vale behind Caen Wood, where the seven ponds now are, thereby forming a junction with Hampstead, and inviting the approach of the two hamlets in a more social manner.

"On the spot where Highgate now stands it is intended to form a large lake of Salt Water, of two miles over, or thereabouts, beginning at the north end of Kentish Town, and reaching to the spot where the White Lion at Finchley now stands or thereabouts.

"It is intended to supply the said lake with Sea Water from the Essex coast, by means of earthen pipes, iron pipes being injurious to Sprats.

"It is intended to stock the said lake with all kinds of Sea Fish (except Sharks, there being plenty of Land Sharks to be had in the neighbourhood), to supply the Metropolis with live Sea Water Fish at reduced prices.

"It is intended to have 100 Bathing Machines, to accommodate the Metropolis with Sea Bathing.

"It is intended to erect a large building in the centre of the wood called Coal Fall Wood, on the north side of the intended lake, which building is intended for Insane Surveyors and Attorneys, who have lately infested the neighbourhood of Highgate, and annoyed the peaceable inhabitants and copyholders thereof.

"An estimate having been made by a skilful mechanic of the amount of the mechanical slide, the expenses of forming the lake, and stocking it with Herrings, Mackerel, Sprats, etc., with the expenses of erecting the Madhouse and Bathing Machines, conveying Sea Water, etc., which to complete the same will amount to £50,000, which sum is intended to be raised by subscription shares of £50 each. On a moderate calculation, the Profits arising from the sale of Fish and the Bathing Machines, annually, clear of all deduction whatever, will amount to £5,000, which is 10 per cent. Profit.

"Subscriptions received by Mr. Regdum Fundus, Treasurer, and at all the principal Inns at Highgate.

"By order of a Committee,

"OBADIAH GALL,
"*Clerk and Mechanic.*

"HIGHGATE LAKE OFFICE,
"*April 14th*, 1812."

[1] Cromwell's *Walks in Islington*, 1835.

But there really was a scheme in 1809 for laying on water to Highgate, when Mr. Dodd, an engineer, made an estimate; his words are these:—"To making different excavations, erecting necessary machinery, forming the different tanks, reservoirs, etc., conducting the watering pipes through the town of Highgate, village of Holloway, and to those places on the west of Islington above the level and supply of the New River, erecting the Bath on the summit level at Highgate, etc.; the cost will be £11,500, which will amount to 460 transferable shares of £25 each, deposit £1 per share." It is almost unnecessary to add that this vague scheme was not carried out.

The Archway Road, although not available for pedestrian traffic for some considerable time, in consequence of the large quantity of water which naturally accumulated in the cutting, through which it poured like a river,—the road crossing, as it did, the natural watershed, for which it was difficult to find an outlet,—yet it at once diverted all the vehicular traffic, to the immense saving of horse-flesh, but to the ruin of the taverns. There were no less than nineteen licensed houses in Highgate in 1826, though the legitimate requirements of the resident population could certainly have been supplied by four.

Wood Lane was a path crossing the end of Highgate Common and running into the wood; it was known to the older inhabitants as "Squire Jackson's ride," it being almost a daily ride for many years of "old Squire Jackson," who resided in the cottage now known as Hillside in "Jackson's" Lane.

At the back of the west side of Wood Lane there is a deep dell, lying between it and the Muswell Hill Road (Southwood Lane). This is an old plague pit, where in 1665 large numbers of corpses were carted across the fields from London, and shot into a hole. Highgate Common then adjoined the wood, which with the spot itself, still retains the name of "Churchyard Bottom," and where at a few feet from the surface have been found quantities of human bones, intermixed with a darkened strata of earth.

The West Hill is one of the most secluded as well as the most picturesque of the Highgate roads; arising from the fact that the severe and dangerous gradient causes it to be avoided as much as possible by all discreet coachmen, and from the difficulties of its approach, there being (up to very lately, when the new line of tram cars commenced running) no public conveyance of any kind nearer than the Junction Road or Gospel Oak Stations. The West Hill, the whole eastern side of which is occupied by the beautiful grounds of Lady Burdett-Coutts, and the western side by the shrubbery frontage of the houses

occupied by Mr. Heriot, Mr. Bodkin, Mrs. Goslett, and Mrs. Tatham, is certainly the most rural and leafy road in any district at an equal distance from the Metropolis.

It is not an ancient road, but has probably been made some two hundred years, as it appears in "Roque's" map of 1745, and what seems to be meant for it in "Ogilby's" map of 1674, in which the Holyhead Road is marked as running through "Green Street" (Highgate Rise) to Highgate! But the latter map is by no means reliable, and is in fact more an itinerary than a topographical authority, and the line indicated hardly agrees with that of the present West Hill.

A suggestion we would make is, that the ancient high road was that of MILLFIELD LANE. It exists to the corner of Fitzroy Park as a parish road, although, excepting at the entrance, which has evidently been altered, probably when the "West Hill" was cut, there are no residences, and according to modern parish management no roads are "taken over" until the buildings are erected, in order that the road should (after having been "made up") not be unnecessarily cut up by the builders' carts. These facts, therefore, suggest an old road. Beyond Fitzroy Park there is a good road (narrow, it is true, but as wide as "Swain's Lane" or "Madan Lane," and in fact not more contracted than most of the ancient roads) up to the gate of Lord Mansfield's stables, where it suddenly terminates in a narrow footpath to the right. This change to a footpath arises from the fact that in 1786 Lord Mansfield diverted the road known as Hampstead Lane very considerably, as it used to run within a few feet of "Caen Wood House," and, at the same time, altered the exit of the old Millfield Lane, which had before run *directly* into Hampstead Lane, stopping the road at his stable gates, and giving the public but a stile and footpath in continuation. No doubt it was all done in strictly legal order, and, doubtless from the fact that the West Hill Road gave a direct access into Highgate, the traffic had been diverted, and it had fallen into disuse and decay. But that Millfield Lane was an old road running from Kentish Town into Hornsey Park (the fields opposite Lord Mansfield's) is plain from an old record respecting Sir William Bruges, first Garter King-at-Arms.

Sir William had a fine house on the spot where "Wolsey Terrace" stands, just below the Midland Railway Station, Kentish Town, at which, on 14th May, 1417, he entertained the Emperor Sigismund, the Duke of Briga, the Duke of Holland, the Earl of Hungary, and other lords and their retinues; and there exists a circumstantial account of the cavalcade, and the provisions for the aforesaid feast;[1] and there is a further record some years afterwards of a grant of land, as follows :—

[1] Account of a cavalcade of Emperor Sigismund to Kentish Town, etc., from an old MS. belonging to the Duke of Montague, now in British Museum.

"Henry VI. by the grace of God, etc., to the most worshipful Fader in God, John Archbishop of Canterbury, etc., our Chancellor, greeting.

"Forasmuch as we understande by a supplication presented unto us by our wel beloved servant William Bruges, otherwise called Garter King-at-Arms, how he had builded a placeys at Kentisseton within the countie of Middlesex, the which placey had a close of the said William Bruges thereto belonging, lyeth and joineth to *oure high wey betwix London and Haryngey Parc*,"—the document then gives permission, "of oure habundant grace," to enclose a portion of "our said highwey, that is to say XX foote in brede, etc.," and to make a "dyche" round his house, etc.

"Geven undere oure privye sele at oure Castell of Wyndsesore ye XXVII day of December, the yere of our raigne XXIIII."[1]

This is very good evidence that an old line of road ran from Kentish Town to Hornsey Park, and Millfield Lane is exactly the line required, for even granting the West Hill Road existed, it is hardly likely that its severe slopes would be toiled up to reach Hornsey Park when the easy rise by the side of the ponds up Millfield Lane would lead directly to the Hunting Lodge and the Park, saving a very considerable distance in a journey northwards.[2]

Now that the new and important road called the Bishop's Avenue is cut, it is apparent what an immense public convenience it would be if Millfield Lane were again opened throughout, as it would give a direct access from the north-west to the north of the Metropolis, *viâ* Kentish Town and Finchley, almost entirely avoiding the hills.[3]

Leigh Hunt says:—"It was in the beautiful lane running from the road between Hampstead and Highgate to the foot of Highgate Hill (Millfield Lane), that meeting me one day, he (Keats) first gave me the volume (his poems). If the admirer of Keats's poetry does not know the lane in question, he ought to become acquainted with it, both on his author's account and its own."

"It has been also paced by Lamb and Hazlitt, and frequented, like the rest of the beautiful neighbourhood, by Coleridge, so that instead of Millfield Lane, which is the name it is known by on earth, it has sometimes been called Poets' Lane, which is an appellation it richly deserves. It divides the grounds of Lords Mansfield and Southampton, running through trees and sloping meadows, and being rich in the botany

[1] Roll of the family of Sir William Bruges, and papers relating to his house in the reigns of Henrys V. and VI., ex-originals in Turre *Lond.*, Anstis, and MSS. in British Museum, copies of which are in possession of Mr. A. Heal.

[2] See Map.

[3] A Colonel Stanhope, a connection of Lord Mansfield's family, committed suicide in Millfield Lane many years since; before that time the road was in constant use by the family.

for which this part of the neighbourhood of London has always been celebrated."[1]

The lower part of West Hill on the western side was anciently occupied by a row of old houses called "Slater's Rents." This again is a corroboration of an old line of traffic.

MERTON LANE was cut when Mr. Meaburn Tatham built "Merton Lodge," now in the occupation of Mr. John Glover, J.P. It was an ancient footpath leading across the fields to Hampstead; it was a field path in the time of Coleridge, and was his favourite and constant walk.[2] The other house in the lane, "Greenbank," was erected by Mr. W. P. Bodkin, J.P., who resided in it until the decease of Sir W. H. Bodkin, when he removed to the family residence, "West Hill Place." It was afterwards occupied by Mr. Lovell, member of the School Board for London, and by Lord Pollington; it is now occupied by Mr. J. H. Lloyd.

The house at the entrance of the lane, "Highgate Lodge," was built by a Mr. Gordon, and was until lately in the occupation of Mr. Atkinson, who was the companion of Coxwell in several balloon ascents, of which he published an account.

BROMWICH WALK was probably an old church path from the hamlet of Green Street[3] to St. Michael's Chapel, and if so, is a far older right of way than the West Hill, for had that road been made, there could have been no object for a footpath running so closely to it, and almost parallel with it, but there would have been an immense saving of time in approaching Highgate through it, from Green Street, rather than by Swain's Lane or Millfield Lane, the one running as far to the right as the other did to the left.

When Mr. Thomas Coutts was laying out and improving the Holly Lodge grounds, he attempted to close the almost disused path; but his intentions were so strongly opposed that he abandoned the attempt, shutting out the lane which divides the grounds by the erection of some high walls, which, as will be seen, appear to have been resented by the neighbours.

It would really have been a very good thing if the path had been closed. It is but little used, except by "'Arry" and his friends on Sundays and bank holidays, who do their very best to enliven the solitudes by howling out the last music hall song or "something worse." A narrow path like this, partly enclosed by high walls, so near London, is really a great nuisance.

The upper end of the walk originally came out nearer the church, but was altered by Mr. Bromwich when he enlarged the house known

[1] *Leigh Hunt and Some of His Contemporaries.*

[2] A right of way across Lord Southampton's park to Hampstead.

[3] Highgate Rise.

as Dr. Sacheverell's, in which he resided; and from this alteration his name is associated with it.

The following refers to Mr. Coutts's threatened appropriation :—

THE DEAD

TO THE LIVING, ON HIGHGATE HILL.

O Coutts, forbear, and be not led astray
To rob the Public of their ancient Way;
Your lofty Walls from public view has driven
The richest Landscape formed under Heaven;
The spot where once the popish traitors stood,
That spot's now hid by you and Isherwood,
Whose o'ergrown hedges keep out sun and air,
And hide the path, for thieves to harbour there.
Not so in former times; the hedgerows neat
Were cut, and near them plac'd a resting seat.
That seat's remov'd; now feeble age in vain
Attempts the summit of the hill to gain.
Highgate now mourns its ancient worthies dead,
Its rights and privileges, all now are fled,
And rich Oppressors have, by fraud and pillage,
Destroy'd the beauties of its matchless Village.

BROMWICH.

There was an old footpath running from the direction of West Hill across the cemetery, into the upper part of Swain's Lane; the probability is that this was the continuance of "Bromwich Walk, which now reaches the top of West Hill by a sharp angle, which is evidently not the course of the original path. And there was another path running from the church across the Grove (a portion of it still remains in the passage by the side of Grove House School) into Hampstead Lane, across the grounds of the parsonage, through the fields into the cross path from the upper part of Hampstead Lane to Finchley. This was an old church path for the cottagers of East Finchley, their own parish church being at quite an equal distance on the other side, and its accommodation exceedingly limited.

The Hornsey Enclosure Act of 1816 completely changed the appearance of the parish, and cut up the frontages into innumerable insignificant holdings. Enclosure Acts seem to have been very desirable as a means of bringing a large quantity of unproductive land under cultivation at a time when food was very scarce and dear, but their action deprived the people of their public land, and destroyed the picturesque beauty of the country. Common lands in the vicinity of towns almost disappeared, and the rights of the people, although not altogether overlooked, were made entirely subservient to the interests of the landholders and the clergy.

In Hornsey, as will be seen, the bishop (as landholder), the prebend, and the rector were together awarded 85 acres, whilst the claims of 256 copyholders, etc., were met by an award of 52 acres, and some 46 acres more were sold to pay the expenses of this delightful and neighbourly arrangement!

Of course this was all to scale; no one could throw a stone at its legal fairness, but the people had a far greater interest in keeping this land open than the landholders,—it was *their own park*, where they had the *right* to walk on the green grass, without being growled at and ordered off as trespassers; and such open lands would now mean life, joy, and health to thousands.

The following is a brief outline of the scope and result of the Hornsey Act:—

HORNSEY ENCLOSURE ACT, 1816.

Thomas Chapman, Middle Temple, Gentleman
John Claridge, Pall Mall, Gentleman } *Commissioners*,
Charles Kent, Cray's Court, Gentleman

Who fixed the exact boundaries of the parish and awarded the public carriage roads and highways, of which they only set forth six, besides the main road through Highgate, viz., Muswell Hill, Stroud Green Road, Southwood Lane, Fortis Green, and Maynard Street (the other roads being the parish boundaries), fifteen private or occupation roads, and nine footpaths.

The Commissioners dealt with the common lands of the parish as follows. They sold about

19 acres on Hornsey Common
7 ,, ,, Highgate Common
7 ,, ,, Fortis Green Common } for £7,248 8*s.* 1*d.*, to pay costs.
10 ,, ,, Muswell Hill Common
3 ,, ,, Stroud Green

Appropriating the remainder as follows:—

15 ,, to the poor, principally on Hornsey Common.
11 ,, to the Bishop of London, being about $\frac{1}{18}$th part of the value of the common lands.
27 ,, to the prebendary of Brownswood.
42 ,, to the rector for tithes. } Hornsey Common.
5 ,, ,, ,, ,, common rights.
52 ,, between some 256 claimants, being owners in the parish, in extinction of their common rights.

Total 198 acres; on which all common rights were extinguished on 25th March, 1815.

The positions of the common lands thus dealt with were as follows :—

Hornsey Common commenced at the Fortis Green corner of Tatterdown Lane, and extended its whole length to the lane at right angles at its foot, which leads to Colney Hatch. The boundary being Coalfall Wood, this common was of very considerable extent, Tatterdown Lane—known then as Foxglove Lane—originally running across it, as an occupation road to the adjoining farm lands.

Highgate Common extended from about the line of the Holmesdale Road, Archway Road, along the frontage of the railway, round by the "Woodman Inn" and Muswell Hill Road, to the further side of Churchyard Bottom, including Wood Lane (an old bridlepath to foot of Muswell Hill, across the beautiful valley at the back of the railway station, returning over the rise of the approach to Shepherd's Hill, having an irregular depth of two to five furlongs, backing on to Churchyard Bottom Wood. Before the Archway Road was cut this common extended much further up the eastern slopes of Highgate, General Wade's house, in Southwood Lane, being originally described as built on "Highgate Common" (A.D. 1745); and the grant to the Grammar School by Bishop Grindall was "two acres of Highgate Common" (A.D. 1562), now the North Road and Southwood Lane.

Fortis Green Common extended from the Barnet Road the whole length of Fortis Green Road on the north side, backed by the woodland. Thus it will be seen that the waste lands of Fortis Green and Hornsey Commons ran round three sides of Coalfall Wood, which was open on the fourth side to Finchley Common.

Muswell Hill Common extended from the line of St. James's Lane, commencing at the corner where the church now stands, and extended in a north-easterly direction, across to the main road over the hill, and below where the lane debouches on the hill; it practically included the whole frontage on the south side of Muswell Hill in very unequal widths, to the entrance of Maynard Street, now Park Road.

Stroud Green Common was the waste land lying on the sides of the lane of that name.

Highgate Green.

Highgate Green (the Grove) was a large open space between the top of the West Hill and the High Street, and seems to have been the place for the recognised revels of the village.[1]

[1] In an old ballad called "The Tornament of Totenham, or the Wooeing, Winning, and Wedding of Tibbe, the Reve's daughter," some of the guests are from Highgate :—

"Thither came all the men of that countray
Of Hisselton, of Higate, and of Hakenay," etc.

In an old comedy, called *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (4to, 1601), on the introduction to the Whitsun morrice dance, the following song is given :—

"Skip it and trip it nimbly, nimbly;
Tickle it, tickle it lustily;
Strike up the tabor, for the wenches favour;
Tickle it, tickle it lustily.

"Let us be seene on Hygate Green,
To dance for the honour of Holloway;
Since we are come hither, let's spare for no leather,
To dance for the honour of Holloway."

Poor Robin, in his *Almanack*, A.D. 1676, says :—

"At Islington
A fair they hold,
Where cakes and ale
Are to be sold.
At Highgate, and
At Holloway,
The like is kept here *every* day;
At Totnam Court
And Kentish Town,
And all those places
Up and down," etc., etc.

It was on the Green that the village fair was held.

"*Highgate Fair, July 2nd*, A.D. 1744.—This is to give notice, that Highgate Fair will be kept on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday next, in a pleasant walk in the middle of the town. On Wednesday a pig will be turned loose, and he who takes it by the tail and throws it over his head shall have it, to pay twopence entrance. On Thursday a match will be run by two men a hundred yards in two sacks for a large sum, and, to encourage sport, the landlord of the 'Mitre' will give a pair of gloves to be run for by six men, the winner to have them. On Friday, a hat value 10*s.* will be run for by men twelve times round the Green, to pay one shilling entrance, no less than four to start; as many as will may enter, and the second man to have all the money above four; no one to be entitled to take the hat that ever won that value."[1]

Highgate Green was surrounded by elm trees of great size and beauty, some of which still remain in front of the old red brick houses in the Grove. These houses were first called Pemberton Row, in honour of Sir Francis Pemberton, who resided in the most northerly of them. Afterwards, and indeed till comparatively lately, it was called Quality Walk. When the pond was open, and before the Green was defaced by the mean terrace of houses in a line with the police station, it must have been very picturesque.

[1] Daniel's *Merrie England*.

It was well known as a famous promenade on Sunday morning after service, and attracted numerous visitors.

> "Such as you find on yonder sportive green,
> The squire's tall gate and churchway walk between,
> Where loitering stray a little tribe of friends
> On a fair Sunday, when the sermon ends."

Hogarth's name is associated with the old public-house on the Green, "The Flask."

"During his apprenticeship, he set out one Sunday, with two or three companions, on an excursion to Highgate. The weather being hot, they went into a public-house, where they had not been long before a quarrel arose between some persons in the same room. One of the disputants struck the other on the head with a quart pot, and cut him very much; the blood running down the man's face, together with the agony of the wound, which had distorted his features into a most hideous grin, presented Hogarth with too laughable a subject to be overlooked. He drew out his pencil, and produced, on the spot, one of the most ludicrous figures that ever was seen, exhibiting an exact likeness of the man, with the portrait of his antagonist, and the figures, in caricature, of the principal persons gathered round him."[2]

Letitia Hawkins, daughter of Sir John Hawkins, of Highgate, tells a characteristic anecdote of Hogarth,[3] which is worth reproducing. She says in effect, that a penurious Scotch nobleman, having heard of the rising fame of Hogarth, thought it would be a good opportunity of getting some good work done cheaply, so, sending for the artist, he said he was thinking of having his staircase painted with a scriptural subject, and to Hogarth's amusement suggested as the proposed outlay—"*Eh, mon, from two to three guine-eas!*" Hogarth, seeing his way to a good joke, at once accepted the commission as a "very liberal one," on condition that he chose his own subject, and that the work should be done when his lordship was out of town. On the return of his lordship he was thunderstruck at finding the whole staircase painted a dirty red. "Why, why! what's this, what's this?" "Oh! please, my Lord," said the housekeeper, "the painter man says this is the Red Sea; the Israelites have got safely over, but the Egyptians are drowned, which makes the water rather dirty; and will you please send him the three guineas?"

THE LAZAR HOUSE.

Stow states that "one William Pole, yeoman of the crown to King Edward IV^th^., being stricken with a leprosie, was also desirous to build an hospital with a chapel to the honour of God and St. Anthony, for

[1] Crabbe's *Village*. [2] Preface to his Works. [3] *Anecdotes*, etc.

the relief and harbour of such leprous persons as were destitute in the kingdom, to the end they should not be offensive to others in their passing to and fro; for the which cause Ed^d^. IV^th^. did by his charter, dated the 12^th^ of his reign, give unto the said William Pole a certain parcel of his land, lying in his highway of Highgate and Holloway, within the County of Middlesex, containing 60 feete in length, and 34 in breadth."[1]

The same work describes the situation to be "near Whittington Stone."

Tanner states, "One William Pool, yeoman of the crown, founded the hospital below on the hill in the reign of King Edward the Fourth;" and, in a note, adds, that "being stricken with leprosy, he built an hospital for persons afflicted with the same distemper."[2]

Again, Lewis records, "An hospital for lepers was founded on the lower part of Highgate Hill by William Poole, yeoman of the crown, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, which continued untill the reign of Henry the Eighth, and is supposed to have occupied a scite now called Lazaret or Lazarcot Field, near Whittington-stone."[3]

In the will of Richard Cloudysley, dated 13th January, 1517, appears the following clause: "I leave & bequeath to the poor lazars of Hyegate, to pray for me by name in their bede-role, 6*s*. 8*d*." This gift, with many others made by the devout Cloudysley for the repose of his soul, did not seem to be efficacious, for old Purlet says,[4] "And as to the same heavings, it is sayde y^t^ in a certaine fielde near to y^e^ parish church of Islingtoun, in like manner did take place a wondrous commotion in various partes, y^e^ earthe swellinge and turninge uppe every side towards y^e^ midst of y^e^ sayde fielde, and by tradycion of this it is observed y^t^ one Richard De Clouesley lay buried in or near that place, and y^t^ his bodie being restless on y^e^ score of some sinne by him peradventure committed, did shewe or seeme to signifie y^t^ religious obseruance should there take place to quiet his departed spirit; whereupon certaine exorcisers, if we may so term y^m^, did at dede of night, nothing lothe using divers diuine exercises at torche light, set at rest y^e^ unrulie spirit of y^e^ saide Clouesley, and y^e^ earthe did returne aneare to its pristine shape, neuermore commotion proceeding therefrom to this day, and this I know of a verie certaintie."

These lazar houses upon the extinction of leprosy became gradually converted into houses for the reception of patients suffering under some presumedly infectious disease. Of those in the neighbourhood of London seven remained in 1547, when the charter was granted to St. Bartholomew's, and in 1550 the hospital accounts contain certain charges for the con-

[1] *Survey of London.*
[2] *Notitia Monastica.*
[3] Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary.*
[4] *De Mir Natura.*

veyance of patients to "Lazer Houses in Mile End, Hammersmith, Finchley, Southwark, Knightsbridge, Highgate, and Kingsland. With each person was sent a mattress, a bolster, a coverlet, and a pair of sheets."[1]

This dreadful affliction has been termed the "lack-linen disease," and is popularly supposed to have been engendered by the want of that most necessary article of apparel, and the constant wearing of filthy sodden woollen clothing poisoning the skin.[2]

Some very severe laws were passed concerning lepers. In A.D. 1346, "all persons who have blemish are to quit London and the suburbs, and betake themselves to the country, and to seek their victuals through such sound persons as must be found to attend them. Any person harbouring a leper after this notice was to forfeit house and building."[3]

Leprosy was by no means confined to the poor. In the reign of Richard II., the youngest son of the Earl of Leicester, himself a leper, founded St. Leonard's hospital at Leicester. The Mayor of Exeter A.D. 1454 was a leper, and Henry IV. was at a stone house in Bermondsey "to be cured of a leprosie."[4] Gower in his will left ten shillings to the houses of the lepers in the suburbs, "so that they may pray for me."

The disease must have extensively prevailed before A.D. 1200, for there were one hundred and eleven hospitals or leproseries in this country named in the *Monasticon*. "Lepers were mostly poor and in want, and one was appointed to sit at the gate of the hospital and beg for himself and his fellow-sufferers, and if he moved about, he had to use a clapper to warn people that a leper was at hand."[5]

At this moment, leprosy in India is a living death; lepers, being excluded from the society of their fellows, have to reside in the villages devoted exclusively to their use.[6]

The real cause of leprosy seems to have been low degraded living, and this, like the plague and other diseases, has deserted our shores as the conditions of life have improved.[7]

Pole's foundation seems soon to have been carried into effect, for on 26th October, 1477, 17th Edward IV., the king, in right as donor of the land, granted Robert Wilson, who, although described as a "saddler of London," appears to have been a disabled soldier afflicted with leprosy, "the new Lazar house at Hygate which we lately caused to be constructed by William Pole, now deceased, for the term of his life, without any matter or account to us to be yielded or paid."[8]

[1] Sir James Paget.
[2] Moser's *Vestiges*.
[3] Riley's *Lond*.
[4] Lambard.
[5] *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, 1841.
[6] Monier Williams.
[7] Erasmus Wilson.
[8] Pat. 17 Edward IV.

The next grant was to John Gymnar, and Katherine his wife, 9th December, 1498, 15th Henry VII. "The keepership of a certain Hospital, with a certain chapel of St. Anthony, being between Highgate and Holwey, during their lives and the longest liver of them.[1]

No mention is made here of leprosy; therefore we may infer that neither the grantees nor the inmates were lepers, and that leprosy was then declining.

The next grant was of the "Spital," for such it had become, February 4th, A.D. 1533, 24th Henry VIII., to Symon Guyer for life.[2] From the will of Cloudesley it is inferred it had become a religious foundation, and, consequently, the Reformation extinguished the Chapel of St. Anthony, and altered the character of the asylum, for in the next patent, dated 23rd March, A.D. 1563, 7th Elizth., "William Storye is appointed Guyder of our Hospital or Alms House at Highgate, commonly called the Poor House or Hospital of Highgate."[3] This must have been an appointment of some emolument, as the condition runs, "Provided always that the said W. Storye, during his natural life, shall find and provide for all the poor persons in the house aforesaid, victuals, etc., etc., and further well repair, sustain, and maintain the said house."

There is a bond in the Harley MSS. under which John Boate of Newbury, clothworker, is bound to our Lady the Queen in £5, dated 22 April, 1580, which was during the time of Storye's "guydership," setting forth that—

(1) The condicion of this obligacion is such that if the above bound John Boate doe from tyme to tyme satisfie, content, and paye unto the guyder of the pore house or hospitall of Highgate in the County of Middlesex for the tyme being to the use of the pore of the said house, all such somme or sommes of money, benefites, rewardes, and advantages as he the same John or anie other person or persons for him or in his name shall collect, gather, or receave by force of a licence under her Majesty's greate seale of England, shortly to be procured in the name of the said John for the collecting of the goodwilles of the weldisposed persons inhabiting within the counties of Buckingham and Northampton, and the townes of Buckingham and Northampton, without fraud or coven. That then this obligacion to be utterly void, or ells it to stand in full force and virtue.

Sealed and delivered to the Quene's Majesty's use by the presentes of usse

J. ✠ Boat, his mark. FRANCES ANSLEYE. EDW. GRIFFITH.

On Storye's death in March A.D. 1584, a grant was made in favour of John Randall, and in A.D. 1589 he received a second grant of "all and singular orchards, gardens, lands, tenements, meadows, pastures, and hereditaments whatsoever to the same almshouse belonging," etc., etc.[4]

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[1] Pat. 5 Henry VII.
[2] Pat. 24 Henry VIII.
[3] Pat. 7 Elizabeth.
[4] Pat. 31 Elizabeth.

The succeeding governors were Thomas Watson, appointed 3rd June, A.D. 1590; William Stockwell, appointed 22nd January, A.D. 1605; and John Harbert, "a Chirurgion," who died A.D. 1650.

The last record of this old forgotten Lazar House is that on 21st January, A.D. 1650. There was sold by the Parliament to Ralph Harrison, of London, Esq., for £130 10*s*.—"all that messuage or tenement commonly called the Spittle House, situate and being near the roadway leading from London, between Highgate and Holloway, etc., etc., and all houses, outhouses, etc., by estimation two roods more or less, of the possessions of Charles Stuart, late King of England, and of the yearly value of £9."[1]

From the number of deaths recorded in the Islington parish register the Spital House must have become, as Sir James Paget suggests, a hospital for infectious diseases. The following are a few :—

"Francis Joanes, from the Spitle Howse, was buried ye 4th day of Febr., 1574.

"John Chandler, from the Spitle Howse at Higat, was buried ye 10th May, 1576.

"A Dome Child, from the Spitle Howse at Upp' Holloway, was buried ye 30th July, 1576.

"Thomas Martyn was buried the 6th Sept., from the Spytle Howse at Upper Hollowaye, 1576.

"Elizabeth Gates, widow, was buried the 10th day of Sept., from the Spitle House at Hollowaye, 1576.

"Susan Mytler, from the Spittle House at Upper Holloway, was buried the 6th Dec., 1579.

"Elizabeth Griffen was bd from the Spittle House at Hiegate the 20th day of March 1580.

"Thomas Patton was buried from the Spittle howse the 24th Janr, 1582.

"Joane Bristowe from the pore howse at Hiegate was buried the 1st Octr., 1583.

"Ralph Buxton was buried from the Spitle howse the 30th October, 1583.

"William Storye, Gwyder of the pore-howse at Upper Holloway, was buried the 30th day of March, ao 1584.

"Jerome Tedder was buried from the same howse the 23rd March, 1584.

"A pore man from Spitle howse at Upper Holloway was buried ye 15 June, 1584.

"A Crisom childe from the Spitle Howse was buried the 4th day of May, 1593.

"P. (*plague*) Anne the daughter of Thomas Watson, guyde of the Spitle Howse at Hiegate, was bd the 5th of Sept. 1593."

The last registry being that of

"Dorothy Radyett from the Highgate Spittle, bd 8th July, 1630."

It is a singular circumstance that the Small Pox Hospital, an equally beneficent foundation, should have been erected upon almost the identical spot two hundred years afterwards; about 1860 this hospital was removed from King's Cross, the ground being required for the Great Northern Railway, to its present secluded site.

[1] Tomlins' *Perambulations*.

THE OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NOW REPRESENTED BY THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH.

The action which drove two thousand of the clergy out of the Church of England in A.D. 1662 was so remarkable for its despotic tyranny, and has proved so disastrous in its reactionary results on the very Church in whose supposed interest it was perpetrated, that in the history of a locality affected by it, a brief record could hardly be omitted, for amongst the large number of free churches it called into existence was that of Highgate, which was founded by Rev. William Rathband, late Vicar of South Weald in Essex.

"In the springtime of the year 1662, Bishops Sheldon and Morley, prompted probably by Lord Clarendon, resolved to take such action as would free the Anglican Church from the last vestige of Puritanism. They would tolerate no difference of opinion in matters ecclesiastical, and every clergyman who had the least scruple of objection should be compelled to leave the Church. They urged Chief Justice Keeling to frame an Act which should embody the principle of the statute made in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, for one uniform order of common service and prayer, to be used by authority of Parliament, and which should compel the adoption of the Prayer-Book recently amended by Convocation. The new measure, called the 'Act of Uniformity,' enjoined that all ministers should be bound to use and say the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other common prayers, in such form and order as are mentioned in the book; and that every clergyman, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, should openly and publicly, in the presence of the congregation assembled for religious worship, declare his unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things contained and prescribed in the same book. The penalty for neglecting or refusing to make this declaration was to be deprivation, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions. Clergymen of all ranks, fellows, tutors, professors, everyone keeping a private or public school, and all persons teaching in private families, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 1662, were required to state their abhorrence of taking up arms against the king, and that they should conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England. The clergy who refused to make such a declaration were to be 'immediately deprived;' schoolmasters and tutors who failed to do so were to be 'imprisoned for three months and to be fined five pounds.' It was further enacted that 'no person should hold any benefice, or administer Holy Communion, before he be episcopally ordained a priest, on pain of forfeiting one hundred pounds for each offence.' No one was to be permitted 'to lecture, preach, or read in any church or chapel, unless licensed by a bishop, under the penalty of three months' imprisonment for each offence.' 'In every church or

college-hall in which there was not in use a copy of the amended Prayer-Book, the person presiding over or otherwise responsible for the building should be liable to a fine of three pounds a month, as long as such church or college-hall was unprovided with it.' By this Act 'every Presbyterian in possession of a living was required to be ordained by a bishop,' and to make the prescribed declarations, or be ejected from it. When the Bill was brought into Parliament, many of the more moderate members expressed great disapproval of its severity, and great resistance was made in the Houses to its passing, but it was carried in both of them by small majorities. Its provisions were cruel. 'It was to have effect,' says Bishop Burnet, 'on the twenty-fourth day of August, in order that the deprived clergy might lose the tithes for the year, which were commonly due at Michaelmas.' No provision whatever was made for the maintenance of any who might be ejected. When, by the original Act of Queen Elizabeth's reign, many clergymen were deprived of their livings, and when they who were Royalists were driven out by Cromwell, a fifth part of the proceeds of the benefices was reserved for their support." [1]

The number of the Puritan and Presbyterian clergy who were deprived of their cures, after the investigation of all trustworthy evidence, may be estimated at little less than two thousand. Many of those who were driven out, deserved well of the king, for they had actively promoted his restoration, and were among the most devout, loyal, and peaceful of his subjects. Some of them after rejection attended the parish churches, and received the sacraments according to the Anglican rite. The sudden withdrawal of so large a number of eminent public teachers produced for many years a disastrous diminution in the spiritual life and active power of the Church. Able successors to such men as Marston, Bates, Baxter, Owen, Clarkson, Calamy, Poole, Caryl, Philip Henry, Charnock, Howe, Flavell, and many more, could not easily be found. The author of the "Five Groans of the Church," a rigid Anglican, and hostile to the Puritans, complains of the impossibility of filling the pulpits vacated by men of such power and reputation. He laments that "above *three* thousand ministers were admitted into the Church, who were unfit to teach because of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained, and that of twelve thousand Church livings or thereabouts, three thousand or more being impropriate, and four thousand one hundred and sixty-five sinecures, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honest ministry."

The victories gained by the Parliamentarian armies had led to the expulsion and persecution of many of the Anglican clergy, and to the occupation of their parishes by persons who were nominated to them by the republican rulers. When those rulers fell, and the death of Oliver

[1] *Life of Baxter*, by Rev. J. H. Davies, Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester.

led to the return of Charles II., the benefices would necessarily revert to the Church restored by the re-establishment of the monarchy. Nothing could justify the tyrannical deprivation of clergymen by the Protector simply on the ground that they were Royalists, and many of those whom he placed in their cures were not in a true sense ministers of the English Church. Upon their restoration to power, the bishops therefore were legally right in recovering the benefices of those surviving Anglican clergymen who had been unlawfully and violently thrust out; but they were morally wrong in doing it vindictively, and with a determination to have nothing to do with men who, in numerous instances, had done good service in the parishes to which they had been appointed, either by Parliament or the Protector, and whose former incumbents in many cases were dead; and especially were the prelates culpable in sanctioning their deprivation, and in bringing terrible sufferings upon their wives and children.

"It is unquestionable that the Anglican Church has been far more injured by the Act of Uniformity than were the Puritans or Presbyterians against whom it was framed."[1]

Many of the Presbyterian clergy conformed for the sake of their families. Some of them applied themselves to the study of medicine, and became eminent as physicians; and others were received into the houses of noblemen and gentlemen, who pitied their calamities, and abhorred the profligacy of the king and his Court, which every day became more public and more shameless. Some of them became chaplains in country-houses, many of the great City Companies placed their great halls at their disposal, where they gathered large congregations; others went to the Continent, or found a welcome and a home among their expatriated brethren in New England. Collections were made for them in various towns and districts of the country, and it is alleged as a singular fact in their sufferings after ejectment, that none of them in all their poverty were ever imprisoned for debt. Bishop Burnet says of them:—"They cast themselves upon the Providence of God, and the charity of their friends. This begot esteem, and raised compassion."[2] But they were soon placed in circumstances of increasing misery. "They were attacked by some of the younger Anglican clergy in their sermons. They were ridiculed in comedies. Profligate men, and still more abandoned women, who crowded the benches of the new theatres to see the king and the wanton ladies who wasted his money, degraded his dignity, and injured his reputation, laughed at the clever mimicry upon the stage of the tones in which it was said the Puritans prayed and preached; were infinitely amused at their imagined temptations to vice, and at the hypocrisy they were charged with assuming; at the goblets they drained in the houses of citizens, and at the fair

[1] *Life of Baxter.* [2] *History of His Own Times.*

cheeks they kissed in secret. The king was not ashamed to hear some of his most loyal and peaceful subjects ridiculed and dishonoured by false representations, amid the uproarious laughter and the frightful blasphemies of the foulest and vilest of mankind."[1]

It was under these painful circumstances that William Rathband commenced his ministrations at Highgate, being just beyond the operations of the odious Five Mile Act, to which it is necessary to make a passing allusion.

Bishop Burnet, alluding to the flight of some of the clergy in the time of peril, says :—"A great many of the ministers of London were driven away by the plague, though some few stayed. Many churches being shut up, when the inhabitants were in more than ordinary disposition to profit by good sermons, some of the Nonconformists upon that, went into the empty pulpits and preached ; and, it was given out, with very good success ; and in many other places they began to preach openly, not without reflecting on the sins of the Court, and on the ill-usage they themselves had met with. This was represented very odiously at Oxford."[2]

Great anger was expressed by the Court at Oxford that the deprived Puritans had dared, during the ravages of the plague, to reflect upon the virtue of the king; and Archbishop Sheldon, and Ward, lately appointed to be Bishop of Salisbury, were determined to provide some more stringent means of repressing them. On the 31st day of October, 1665, *before the pestilence had ceased*, an Act was passed, "To restrain Nonconformists from inhabiting corporations." It was enacted that all Nonconformist ministers should take the oath, that it was not lawful under any pretence to take up arms against the king, and that each of them should depose that "I will not at any time endeavour to effect any alteration of government, either in Church or State." And "all such Nonconformist ministers shall not after the 24th March, 1666, unless in passing the road, come or be within five miles of any city, town, corporation, or borough that sends burgesses to Parliament; nor within five miles of any city, town, or place, wherein they have since the Act of oblivion been parson, vicar, or lecturer; or where they have preached in any conventicle, on any pretence whatsoever, before they have taken and subscribed the aforesaid oath, upon forfeiture for every offence the sum of forty pounds, one-third to the king, one-third to the poor, and a third to him that shall sue for it; and such as shall refuse the oath aforesaid shall be incapable of teaching in any public or private school, or of taking any boarders or tablers to be taught or instructed under pain of forty pounds, to be distributed as above. Any two justices of the peace, upon oath made before them of any offences against this Act, are empowered to commit the offenders to prison for six months."

[1] *Life of Baxter.* [2] Burnet's *History of His Own Times.*

Many peers, and one or two of the wiser and more temperate bishops, opposed this Act, well knowing how injurious it must ultimately prove to the Church, which unhappily at that time had furious and indiscreet defenders; but Clarendon urged on Archbishop Sheldon and others to carry the Bill, and it became law.[1] Burnet states that Sheldon and Ward were the bishops that argued most for the Act, which came to be called the "Five Mile Act." "All that were secret favourers of popery promoted it; their constant maxim being, to bring all the sectaries into so desperate a state, that they should be at mercy, and forced to desire a toleration on such terms as the king should see fit to grant it on." The historian Hallam, with that philosophical discrimination which distinguishes him, says of this Act: "The Church of England had doubtless her provocations, but she made the retaliation more than commensurate to the injury. No severity comparable to this cold-blooded persecution had been inflicted by the late powers, even in the ferment and fury of the civil war."[2]

It was therefore due to the operations of the Act of Uniformity and the provisions of the Five Mile Act that William Rathband, late vicar of South Weald, having been ejected from the Church of England for conscience' sake, commenced his ministrations at Highgate.

"He was a son of William Rathband, who wrote 'A most grave and modest refutation of the errors of the sect commonly called Brownists;' a brother of Nathaniel Rathband, sometime preacher at the Cathedral, York, and whom Heywood speaks of as preaching a sermon in John Angier's study, on the occasion of the betrothal of that good man's daughter to a Yorkshire minister; and a relative probably of Abel Rathband, of Writtle. He was educated at Oxford, but where he had been previously settled, if anywhere, we have not been able to discover. The entry in the Visitation Book of the Archdeaconry in 1662 is, 'Will. Rathbone (*sic*) vacat. rat. stat.'"[3] "After many removes, he settled at Highgate, where he continued to his death, in October 1695."[4] His funeral sermon was preached at Highgate, on the 13th of October, by his friend and fellow collegian, Samuel Slater.[5]

This sermon, which is in existence, dated A.D. 1695 (a good old-

[1] Davies' *Life of Baxter.*
[2] Hallam's *Constitutional History.*
[3] David's *Essex.*
[4] Calamy.
[5] Slater succeeded Samuel Charnock as minister of the congregation meeting at Crosby Hall; he was ejected from St. Katherine's, Tower of London, and founded the Congregational Church at Walthamstow.

fashioned one, consisting of *nineteen* heads and an application), was "*printed by Thomas Cockerill, senr. and junr., at the Three Legs in the Poultrey, over against the Stocks Market.*" It says of the deceased, "He was a learned man, and, as I am persuaded, truly godly; one that denied himself, and suffered much for conscience' sake. I care better to do you good, not to commend him, for that is needless—you having known his doctrine and manner of life."

The Church so founded has seen great changes—drifting, as so many of the Presbyterian Churches did, from causes difficult to comprehend, into unitarianism, but in this instance ultimately merging into congregationalism.

The original meeting-house was on the site of the building now occupied by the Baptist Church in Southwood Lane.

During the ministry of Abraham Gregson, or after his decease, for he died young, a secession took place of those members of the Church who were dissatisfied with unitarian doctrine. That this separation took place before the ministry of Samuel Tice is plain from the following letter, which appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1798).

"Mr. Urban,—I wish to correct a small inaccuracy in my last, where I have said the separation of the Presbyterian meeting at Highgate was during the residence of Mr. Tice; but the fact is, it was *before* that gentleman came to Highgate.

"The Methodist meeting is nearly opposite, built on a fine site of ground, commanding a very rich and luxuriant view in front. It was opened in 1778, by Mr. Brewster, of Stepney.

"In addition to what I have said of the ministers of the Presbyterian meeting, I would add, that Mr. Rochmont Barbauld, who married the celebrated Miss Aiken, officiated also for some time at this meeting. He has of late years been settled at Hampstead.

"During Mr. David W——'s ministry, the meeting was admirably attended; and Highgate Chapel being shut up for repairs, the greatest part of the members of the Establishment attended, during the interim, at the dissenting meeting.

"Philalethes."

The following is the letter referred to as "my last," which also appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1798:—

"Mr. Urban,—Your account of Mr. Wilkes is, on the whole, very correct. His mother was a dissenter; and I know it for an undoubted fact that his father also constantly attended, at the time of his death, the dissenting meeting in Southwood Lane, Highgate. That Presbyterian congregation, which was formerly very respectable, has been of late years much on the decline, and is now *totally dissolved.* I preached to that congregation nearly two years, and buried two of the oldest members of that society. From them, and from the clerk of the place, who had been in that situation nearly forty years, I learned that old Mr. Wilkes[1] used to come to

[1] A curious anecdote is related of the father of John Wilkes. One of his daughters married against his wish, and he declared she should "not have a penny of his money as

that meeting in his coach and six; his son, when a young man, has been occasionally there.

"I will now, Sir, add the names of some of the ministers who had the care of that Society.'

"Rev. Dr. Sleigh.

"Mr. Hardy, who died at Highgate.

"Dr. Towers, so well known for his various writings.

"Rev. David W——, since dignified with the title of High Priest of Nature.

"Rev. Samuel Tice.

"The most spirited exertions were made by this gentleman to restore the society to its former respectability, but without avail. Few persons have been more respected than Mr. Tice, both by the Episcopalians and Dissenters; during his ministry at Highgate, a separation took place, and part of the congregation subscribed to build a place nearly opposite, which is now totally in the Methodists' connection.

"Rev. J. Baptist Pike, M.D.

"Rev. Alexander Crombie, LL.D., author of *A Defence of Philosophical Necessity*.

"PHILALETHES."

The site of the second church alluded to was near the corner of Castle Yard, Southwood Lane, now occupied as a builder's yard; the school house then adjoining is still standing, being No. 47, Southwood Lane. This chapel was taken down in 1834, after the third building had been erected, also in Southwood Lane, during the ministry of the Rev. John Thomas. This building is now known as the "Science Rooms," adjoining, and occupied by the Cholmeley School.

It is somewhat singular that both the second and the third churches were erected on the ground originally belonging to the Cholmeley School, which for some reason had become alienated.

In 1859, the accommodation having become too straitened for the congregation, the fourth and present existing church was erected in South Grove during the ministration of the Rev. Josiah Viney.

The cost of this building, with schoolroom and ten other rooms used as class rooms for the Sunday School, and additions, was about £7,000. It has now become too small for the growing requirements of the congregation gathered by the popular ministration of the present pastor, the Rev. J. M. Gibbon, and considerable additions are contemplated.

The Rev. Edward Porter seems to have been the first stated minister of the second church. He was one of the travelling preachers of the Countess of Huntingdon, and settled in Highgate, where it is interesting to note that his daughters, Mrs. Challis, of North Hill House, and her sister, Mrs. Lynch, the widow of the Rev. Theophilus T. Lynch (the minister fifteenth in succession), are still residents.

long as he had a *head on his shoulders*." He was afterwards reconciled to her, and left her some property by his will, which contained a proviso that after death *his head should be removed from his shoulders*. So much for consistency!

The following is the succession of ministers :—

	Pastorate commenced A.D.		A.D.
William Rathband . .	About 1662,	died	1695.
Thomas Sleigh	1701,	,,	1747.
George Hardy	1755,	,,	1770.
David Williams	1773,	,,	1774.
Rochmont Barbauld, D.D. . .	1774,	,,	1775.
Joseph Towers, LL.D. . .	1775,	,,	1778.
Abraham Gregson . . .	1778,		—
Samuel Tice	—		—
John B. Pike, M.D.	—		—
Alexander Crombie, LL.D. . .	1798.		—
Edward Porter	1778,	died	1812.
John Thomas	1816,	,,	1830.
Robert Blessley	1831,	to	1841.
William Foster	1842,	,,	1846.
Theo. T. Lynch	1847,	,,	1849.
Henry Townley[1] . .	1849,	,,	1852.
Edward Cornwall	1852,	,,	1857.
Josiah Viney[2]	1857,	,,	1883.
James Morgan Gibbon[3] . .	1885		

At the termination of Dr. Crombie's ministry the old building seems to have been closed, but it was re-opened September 28th, 1806, under the auspices of the Unitarian Fund; the pulpit was supplied for some time by preachers in connection with that fund; and, about 1809, the lease was disposed of, to the Baptists.

THE BAPTIST CHURCH.

There is a drawing of the building about 1809, in an illustrated copy of "Prickett" in the British Museum; it represents a considerable elevation crowned by a pediment supported by Grecian columns having a projecting lobby on either side.[4]

[1] Rev. H. Townley was never elected pastor of the Church, but, being a man of considerable means, gave his services as "a supply" until a permanent minister was elected.

[2] A sum of £720 was subscribed as a valedictory gift to Rev. J. Viney, the whole of which sum he requested might be appropriated in founding scholarships at the Caterham College for Sons of Congregational Ministers.

[3] Author of a volume of sermons on *The Gospel of Fatherhood*, which has attracted considerable attention.

[4] This was the old Presbyterian Church, then leased by the Baptists.

Although the building was opened for worship by the Baptists in November 1809, the Church (*i.e.*, the body of believers) was not formed till 1812.

In 1836 the freehold was purchased, and the old building, having stood about a hundred and seventy years, was pulled down, and the present fabric erected.

In 1867 the building was enlarged, galleries erected, and new pews constructed, at a cost of £700.

The following are the ministers in succession :—

	A.D.		A.D.
J. Mileham	1814	to	1819
E. Lewis	1819	,,	1840
— Orchard	1843	,,	1848
Samuel S. Hatch . . .	1848	,,	1862
J. H. Barnard . . .	1862		

ST. JOSEPH'S ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

The first Superior of this monastery was the Hon. and Rev. George Spencer, brother of the Lord Althorp of Reform celebrity, and himself formerly a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, but who had thrown up his preferment on becoming convinced of the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. He had been educated at Eton and at Cambridge, and as the brother of a Cabinet Minister he enjoyed the fairest prospects of advancement in his profession; but these he abandoned in order to assume the cowl and coarse gown and open sandals of a Passionist, and adopted instead of his hereditary title the name of "Father Ignatius." He died in 1864. The author of the *Life of Father Ignatius* writes, shortly before his death :—"In 1858 we procured a place in Highgate now known as St. Joseph's Retreat. Providence guided us to a most suitable position. Our rule prescribes that our houses shall be outside the town, and yet near enough for us to be of service in it. Highgate is wonderfully adapted to all the requisitions of our rule and constitution. Situated on the brow of a hill, it is far enough from the din and noise of London to be comparatively free from its turmoil, and yet sufficiently near for its citizens to come to our church. The grounds are enclosed by trees ; an hospital at one end, and two roads meeting at the other, promise a freedom from intrusion and a continuance of solitude which we now enjoy."

The new monastery, designed by Mr. Francis W. Tasker, and erected in 1875-6, was solemnly blessed and opened, in the latter year, by Cardinal Manning. It forms three sides of a square, and is built in a

broad Italian style, after the fashion of the monastic buildings of the Romagna and of Central Italy. The walls are faced with white Suffolk bricks with stone dressings, and the roofs, which project in a remarkable manner, are covered with large Italian tiles. The building contains guests' rooms, a choir or private chapel for the "religious," a community-room, library, refectory, kitchen and kitchen offices, and infirmary, with forty "cells" or rooms for the monks. The chapel is on the north side of the monastery, and adjoining it is a room for the meeting of the members of religious brotherhoods or confraternities connected with the Passionist order.[1]

The Retreat occupies the site of the "Black Dog" tavern; and we may add here that the dog, in one of its varieties, has always been a common sign in England, and of all dogs the "Black Dog" would appear to have been a favourite,—possibly, it has been suggested, because it means the "English" terrier, a dog who once "had his day" among us, just as the "Scotch" terriers and the "pugs" have now. The "Black Dog" here may have been chosen on account of his being the constant companion of the drovers who frequented this house. Be this as it may, the Passionist fathers now own not only the old "Black Dog" and its out-premises, but the adjoining property, a private house and grounds, and on the conjoined properties have constructed a monastery and chapel from which all traces of the "Black Dog" have been thoroughly "exorcised."

Judging from the magnitude of the educational establishments surrounding it, and the large number of attendants at the numerous services, the position of the church and monastery seem to have been very happily selected.

THE THEATRE.

Highgate once boasted of its theatre—probably a barn fitted up for that purpose; it went by the name of "Larne's Theatre," and stood nearly opposite "The Limes," on a portion of the old bowling-green of the Castle Tavern, Southwood Lane.

It was patronized by Mrs. Coutts, who was always willing to assist "the players;" but this seems to have been something more than a company of strollers, as Marston acted there, and also at the "White Lion Tavern Assembly Rooms" in Highgate, before the theatre was opened. Other well-known actors were of the same company,—W. H. Tilbury (who had an uncle residing at Highgate) and Mrs. Glover. The following song was sung there on 10th September, 1810, by Mr. Thompson,—a wretched doggerel, worthy of the Poet of Seven Dials, but which in consequence of its local allusions was immensely popular.

[1] Walford's *Old and New London.*

HIGHGATE SIGNS, OR NO ACCOMMODATION FOR BUONAPARTE.

"All the world's in a fright, and thinks Boney is coming,
But, bless you, good folks, I'm sure he is humming;
If such are his thoughts let him come if he dare;
When he starts, why to drub him we'll quickly repair.
Tol de rol, etc., *ad lib.*

"If to Highgate should come, then, the poor simple soul,
At the *Gate House*, I'm sure, they'd make him pay toll;
And the folks at the *Castle* he'd find were no lubbers;
If he must play at bowls, he must even take rubbers.
Tol de rol, etc.

"At the *Angel*, the *Bull*, the *Bell* or *Green Dragon*,
He'll find that his quarters are nothing to brag on;
It won't do at the *Nelson* his liquor to sup,
For he'll find that the landlady's "Prime" and bang up.
Tol de rol, etc.

"At the *Lion* I'm sure he'll find a "Goodman,"
And the *Crown*, we all know, he'll grasp if he can;
The *Cooper's Arms* and the *Mitre* would tease him, I fear,—
For two English widows can match one Mounseer.
Tol de rol, etc.

"He'd be wrong at the *Flask*, the *Fox* or *Rose and Crown*,
And "Dutton's" stout *Wrestlers* would soon have him down;
If he gets in the *Sun*, it's all over, we know,
And at the *Duke's Head* he'd be lost in the "Snow."
Tol de rol, etc.

"The *Coach and Horses* have drawn me near the end of my song,
With sledge hammer the landlord Boney's pate would lay on;
He'd find in these quarters he made a wrong choice,
For he'd meet with his match in fat, gouty "Dick Joyce."
Tol de rol, etc.

"But, my very good friends, away with your fears,
You know we are guarded by brave volunteers:
Should Boney once land, it would not be long
Ere we stop his career, sirs,—and here stops my song.
Tol de rol, etc.

"THE GOOD OLD TIMES,"

Early records of felony and violence connected with Highgate and its neighbourhood, extracted from the Middlesex County Records—Sessions Roll.[1]

"10*th December*, 14 *Elizabeth*.—True bill that at . . . . co. Midd., on the said day of December, John Jarrett, alias John Slaney, late of Highe Holbourne, yoman, stole a black woollen cloth cloak worth ten shillings, of the goods and chattels of John Tuppris. Putting himself 'Guilty,' the prisoner pleaded his clergy; where-

[1] Edited by J. C. Jeaffreson.

upon William Pyckering urged that the prayer should not be granted, as, by the name of John Jarard, late of London, yoman, for a certain felony by him in former times committed at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., the said John Jarrett, alias Slaney, was convicted a clerk, and after being burnt on the left hand, was, as a convicted clerk, delivered to the custody of the Bishop of London, the Ordinary of that place; to which the aforesaid John Jarrett pleaded that he was not the same person as the clerk so convicted under the name of John Jarard. At the ensuing Gaol Delivery, held on 15th February next following, a jury chosen and sworn to discover the truth of the matter, having found the prisoner was the same person as the clerk in former times convicted under the name of John Jarard, it was decreed by the Court that he should be hung.

"1*st April*, 14 *Elizabeth*.—Coroner's inquisition-post-mortem, taken at Hornesey, co. Midd., on view of the body of Hugh Moreland, late of *Hornesey*, yoman, there lying dead; with verdict that on 29th March last past, between three and four p.m., the said Hugh Moreland and a certain Henry Yonge of the same place, yoman, were together in the yard of the house of Thoman Aglyonby of *Hornesey* aforesaid, gentleman, when they quarrelled and fought, the said Hugh Moreland having in his hands a shovel, and the said Henry Yonge being armed with a 'shackfork;' when in the affray had between them, Henry Yonge with the 'shackfork' gave Hugh Moreland in his left eye a blow of which he died on the present 1st day of April.

"11*th January*, 15 *Elizabeth*.—True bill that, at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., on the said day, Jane Jones, late of London, spinster, stole a 'kerchief' worth fivepence, and a 'neckercher' worth fourpence, of the goods and chattels of William Danyell. She confessed the indictment; it was adjudged that she should confess her offence in *Hornsey Church* on the next Lord's Day, in the presence of the parishioners.

"5*th March*, 16 *Elizabeth*.—True bill that, at the parish of St. Giles-without-Criplegate, co. Midd., on the said day, William Tyler, late of London, labourer, a lazy and cunning fellow, cosened Thomas Weare of the said parish out of two several sums of money, by representing that he was in possession of certain acres of wood growing near Tottenham, which he had bought of Lord Compton, who, out of his goodwill to the deponent, had himself measured and marked out the wood for him; that further, to get Thomas Weare's confidence, the same William Tyler represented himself as staying and living in the house of Sir Hugh Cholmondeley, Knt., at *Harnsey*, alias Harryngay, co. Midd.;[1] that by these false representations, the said William Tyler induced Thomas Weare to give him an order for a hundred cartloads of the said wood, to give him fourpence 'nomine finis, viz., in earnest' on the bargain for the wood, and yet further to give him twenty shillings in partial pre-payment of the price agreed upon for the hundred loads of wood; whereas it appeared on enquiry, that William Tyler had no wood to sell, and was not living at Harnesey, but was a cheat. Having put himself 'Guilty,' William Tyler was sentenced to the pillory at Fynnesbury.

"29*th July*, 16 *Elizabeth*.—True bill that at *Highgate*, co. Midd., on the said day, Francis Jackson and Robert Gillingham, both late of London, yomen, stole a calf worth six shillings, of the goods and chattels of Rose Howson. Putting themselves 'Guilty,' both thieves were sentenced to be hung.

[1] Not to be mistaken for Sir Roger Cholmeley of Highgate.

"*3rd February*, 26 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., on the said day, William Jones, late of London, yoman, stole a pair of buff hose valued at ten shillings, a silk doublet worth forty shillings, a pair of hose worth ijs, and a pair of taylors sheeres worth twelvepence, of the goods and chattels of Thomas Key.

"*22nd April*, 29 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that, on the said day, in the highway at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., Edward Pygott, late of London, gentleman, assaulted John Robertes, with the intention of robbing him, saying to him, 'Godes woundes delyver thy purse,' and beating and maltreating him so that his life was despaired of.

"*27th April*, 30 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that, at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., during the night of the said 27th April, Rowland Bellyn, and George Bold, both late of London, yomen, broke burglariously into the dwelling-house of Thomas Ardern, Esq. (Cecilia the wife of the same Thomas Ardern being then in the same house with her family then at rest), and stole therefrom 'a cheyne of golde of small linkes' worth twenty pounds, another gold chain worth twelve pounds, a pair of gold bracelettes worth nine pounds, thirty-two gold buttons worth six pounds, a pair of gold 'tablettes' worth eight pounds, two gold rings set with 'diamondes' worth seven pounds, another gold ring set with a 'turkys' worth four pounds, 'an emerald' worth five pounds, twelve gold rings called 'hoope ringes' worth six pounds, a jewel called 'a border of perle' worth three pounds, a jewel of silver called 'a bodkyn of silver' worth two shillings, twelve pieces of coined gold called 'angelles' worth six pounds, one piece of coined gold called 'a piece of thirty shillings,' three pieces of coined gold called 'duble duckettes' worth forty shillings, two pieces of coined gold called 'Englisshe Crownes' worth ten shillings, one piece of coined gold called a 'Frenche Crowne' worth six shillings, one piece of silk worth forty shillings, a silk purse worth twenty shillings, of the goods, chattels, and moneys of the said Thomas Ardern. Confessing the indictment, Rowland Bellyn was sentenced to be hung. Against George Bold's name appears the note 'extra prison.'

"*4th February*, 33 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that at *Hyghegate*, co. Midd., on the said day, John Halle, late of London, yoman, stole a black velvet coat 'faced with shagge silk' worth five pounds, 'a blake silke groyrane' cloak 'lyned with Taffatye' worth four pounds, a pair of satin breeches 'of seawater grene' color worth thirty shillings, a beaver hat worth twenty shillings, and a 'bridle of velvett' worth ten shillings, and a 'velvet jerkyn' worth forty shillings, of the goods and chattels of Evered Dygbye, Esq., found at *Hyghegate*. At the head of the bill a memorandum that John Halle put himself 'not guilty,' but was sentenced to be hung.

"*4th May*, 39 *Elizabeth.*—Coroner's inquisition-post-mortem, taken at Islington, co. Midd., on view of the body of William Thomas, late of London, yoman, then lying dead: with verdict that on the night of the 3rd inst., between eleven and twelve p.m., the said William Thomas, in a certain highway at Islington leading towards *Highgate*, lay in wait for a certain John Cornelius, late of London, cowper, and with a sword drawn made an assault on him with the intention of murdering him, whereupon the said John Cornelius having in his hand a weapon called 'a birding piece' charged with gunpowder and haleshott, in self-defence and for the preservation of his life discharged the said piece in the breast of the said William Thomas, thereby giving the same William a mortal wound of which he died instantly.

"10*th December*, 44 *Elizabeth*.—True bill that in the highway at *Hygate*, co. Midd., on the said day, Bartholomew *Turpin*,[1] late of London, yoman, assaulted Simon Fielder, and robbed him of a leather purse worth two pence, and a piece of gold worth three pounds.

"13*th*, 17 *James I*.—Recognizances, taken before Sir Richard Baker,[2] Knt., of Henry Ascue of *Highgate*, co. Midd., gentleman, and Robert Longe of St. Albone's, co. Hartford, gentleman, each in the sum of forty pounds, and William Rowe of Wreste, co. Bedford, gentleman, in the sum of one hundred pounds; for the said William Rowe's appearance at the next Session of the Peace for Middlesex, to answer for his part in an affray, recently fought with drawen swordes between him and a certain Raphell Neale of Woollestone, co. Northampton, gentleman. G.D.R., 12th May, 17 James I.

"17*th January*, 22 *James I*.—True bill that, at Islington, co. Midd., on the said day, Robert Atkins, late of *Highgate*, yoman, and at that time sub-bailiff to Thomas Bancrofte, gentleman bailiff of the Right Reverend George by God's permission Bishop of London, within the said Bishop's manor of Barnesbury, assaulted and arrested Richard Hylton, and by colour of his said office extorted from him two shillings and fourpence. Putting himself 'Not Guilty,' Robert Atkins was acquitted. G.D.R., 17th Jan., 22 James I.

"22*nd June*, 6 *James I*.—True bill that, at *Hyhgate* in Hornesey, co. Midd., on the said day Dorothy Androwes, Sisely Musgrave, and Margaret Cockeyne, all three late of London, spinsters, broke foloniously into the dwelling-house of Thomas Williams, and stole therefrom a red wollen pettycoate worth five shillings, a linen apron worth sixpence, a linen kercher worth sixpence, a linen shirt worth two shillings and sixpence, and five shillings of numbered moneys, of the good chattels and moneys of the said Thomas Williams at *Hygate* in the parish of Hornesey. Sisely Musgrave and Margaret Cockeyne put themselves 'not guilty' and were acquitted. Dorothy Androwes stood mute and was committed to the peine forte et dure; the memorandum over her name being 'Stat mut' h'et judiciu' pene fort' et dur'.'[3] G.D.R., 6 James I.

"4*th January*, 7 *James I*.—True bill that, at *Hornesey*, co. Midd., in the night of the said day, Thomas Sowthwell, late of London, yoman, broke burglariously into the dwelling-house of Robert Symons, and stole therefrom a silver goblett worth thirty shillings, a dagger worth ten shillings, a woollen cloth apron worth sixpence, three linen handkerchiefs worth sixpence, three linen guoyfes worth threepence, 'unum par manicarum panni lanei vocat' a payre of cuffes' worth twopence, a green silk girdle worth twelvepence, 'unum horologium vocat' a litle hower glasse of pearle' worth sixpence, a copper ringe worth a penny, 'unum capitale panni linei vocatum a calle' worth a penny, and a bone comb worth a penny, of the goods and chattels of the said Robert Symons. Found 'Not Guilty' of burglary, but 'Guilty' of breaking into the house, etc., Thomas Sowthwell was sentenced to be hung. G.D.R., 17th Jan., 7 James I."

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[1] A suggestive name for a highwayman.

[2] Baker the historian.

[3] For not pleading the penalty was to be pressed to death, but as there was no conviction, it was not a felon's death, and consequently was free of forfeiture of goods, etc.; "peine forte et dure" (strong prison and hard) being the equivalent of that dreadful sentence.

Among the information furnished by these interesting records is an item that on 16th November, 5 Elizabeth, a coroner's inquisition was held at Hackney on the death of Henry Goslinge, a *servant of Sir Roger Cholmeley, Knt.*, who was slain in his master's service. The prisoner seems to have been discharged, having "produced" the Queen's pardon under the great seal.

A further record may be quoted, although rather wide of Highgate, as a case in point of the law which exempted clerks in holy orders from criminal process before a secular judge, and to show that the ability to read in a clerkly manner was accepted as sufficient proof of the reader's clerical quality; but this privilege was so greatly abused, punishment being thereby practically abolished, that to prevent the rogue getting off a second time it was enacted in 1540[1] that the "braun of the thumb be branded," "M" for murderer, "T" for any other felony. This mark was popularly known as the Tyburn T (the gallows T). The statute further provided that the person who successfully pleaded "benefit of clergy" should be delivered up to the "Ordinary;" which seems to have meant some detention in prison, for a longer or a shorter time, for the benefit of the Ordinary's advice,—a somewhat questionable advantage in De Foe's time, as in his description of the horrors of Newgate he mentions that the Ordinary was usually drunk by the middle of the day.

"*5th July, James I.*—Coroner's inquisition-post-mortem taken at Willesden, co. Midd., on view of the body of Robert Vincent there lying dead, with verdict that on the 3rd inst., in a place called Willsden Marshe, the said Robert Vincent and a certain Edward Carrell, late of Willsden aforesaid, quarelled and made an affray, fighting with their fists, when the said Edward struck the said Robert to the ground, and then kneeling on his stomach did punche him, and so bruise and crushed him, that he died at Willsden on the following day. On his arraignment Edward Carrell confessed the indictment, asked for the book, read like a clerk, was marked with the letter T, and delivered according to the form of the statute. G.D.R., 15th February, 1 James I."

The Sessions Records of a later date are in course of arrangement, and therefore not available, but some of the following extracts from old newspapers, from 1697 to 1830, will vividly illustrate the "good old times" in Highgate and its neighbourhood.

May 1679.—An advertisement appears relative to a horse that had strayed or been stolen from the grounds of Jeffry Thomas, Esq., of Hornsey Lane. (Many members of this family lie in the vaults of the old churchyard.)

Sept. 1721.—"One Isaac Drew, a drover, was lately taken at Highgate and committed to New Prison, being suspected to be one of the three footpads that assaulted,

[1] Froude. See also some very interesting remarks by the editor of the Midd. County Records; also Palgrave's *Merchant and the Friar.*

robb'd and murther'd Philip Potts, Esqre., Surveyor of the Window Lights, near Pancras Church."

June 1722.—"Last week an Apothecary, as he was riding to Moussel-hill, in Devil's lane met with two lusty fellows, who siezed his Bridle, at which he was not a little surprised: They told him they intended him no Hurt; that they were poor men, reduced to the utmost Penury and want, and beg'd something of him for their present support: He offered to give them 5 Shillings, but they would not take so much, telling him that two were sufficient, for they hoped by the time that was spent *God would send them more;* so they parted."

June 1722.—"On Saturday Night last, a Highwayman mounted on a blaek Horse, and in a blue Rugg coat, robb'd several Passengers in Hampstead Road; from one of which he took five Guineas. The night following, two officers were stript of 40 shillings, between Tyburn and Paddington, by one Highway-man whose Garb and Horse bespoke him to be the same person that had been so busy in Hampstead Road. The same night, two citizens that had been pleasuring it in a chaise, on their return home, were robbed in the lower Road of Islington. And three of these vermin were at the same time employ'd near Tyburn, where several Robberies were committed. We hear, that new Measures are *actually* concerting for the more effectually preventing the designs of these desperate wretches."

1723.—"The Duke of Newcastle hath appointed Marmaduke Bealing of *Highgate*, Esq., Lieutenant Colonel to the Regiment of Foot of the county of Middlesex, under the command of the Earl of Tankerville in the room of Colonel Alexander deceased."

July 14*th*, 1730.—"Mr. John Clarke, a Cadiz merchant, returning homeward in a chair with his Lady, was attacked by a single Highwayman between *Muswell Hill* and *Highgate*, who being desired not to frighten the Gentlewoman, he very civilly promised he would not, and Mr. Clarke giving him a Moidore and Three Half-crowns he returned thanks and rode off."

1732.—"A large meeting of Members at their new Lodge and grounds near *Highgate Hill*" (Archery).

August 1737.—"In the Hurricane of the 3rd inst., Mr. Pultney had a house near *Mussel-Hill at Highgate* blown down to the ground."

August 1740.—"On Tuesday John Shorter was committed to Newgate by Sir Edward Hill for robbing Mrs. Evans on the Highway between *Highgate and Caen Wood*."

October 1740.—"On Wednesday night two Gentlemen coming from *Highgate* in a Chaise were robb'd by two footpads in sailor-habits with masks over their faces, who took from them their watches, and about £7."

26th July, 1741.—"On Sunday evening as a Gentleman belonging to the Custom House and his friends were coming from *Highgate*, they were accosted at the bottom of the hill by a single highwayman with the usual ceremony; they endeavour'd to overthrow him and his horse by theirs in the chaise, which the fellow observing, dextrously avoided, and at the same time fir'd his pistol, lodg'd two slugs in one of the Gentlemen, and then rode off."

14*th May*, 1748.—"A gentleman's servant was stopped on the road between *Highgate* and Finchley by two footpads; on demanding his money and catching the horse's bridle, he knocked one down, on which the other shot him through the hat, and he escaped from them."

Jan. 1751.—"On Saturday night a Gentleman was robbed of his watch and five guineas near *Highgate* by a single Highwayman with a crape on his face. A journeyman carpenter, with his bag of tools on his shoulder, seeing the action, told the gentleman that if he would lend him his horse he would pursue and take him; to which the Gentleman consented. The carpenter came up with the Highwayman at the entrance of Gray's Inn Lane, and with the butt end of the whip knocked him off his horse and secured him. He was afterwards sent to the Gate House."

Dec. 20*th*, 1753.—"A young couple who had set off post, on their way to Scotland, were stopt by the lady's relations at *Highgate*, and after a struggle brought back to town."

Jan. 1756.—"Died at his house at *Highgate*, Richard Draper, Esq., one of His Majesty's Sergeants at Law."

Jan. 23*rd*, 1756.—"Yesterday the constables were very busy at *Highgate* and other towns along the northern road in impressing men for land service" (enlisting).

March 12*th*, 1759.—"On Monday as two Gentlemen belonging to the Temple were coming to town from *Highgate* they were stopped by six footpads armed with pistols, who swore if they did not immediately deliver their money they were dead men: having got what cash they had, demanded their watches, which were accordingly delivered to them. They then obliged them to dismount, cut the girths of their saddles, turned their horses loose, and then ran off in the fields towards Hampstead. There seemed to be a desperate gang of them, as there were more at a distance."

Oct. 1759.—"Last week died at his house at *Highgate*, Jonathan Ewer, Esq., of Hatton Garden, an eminent West India merchant."

June 6th, 1762.—"*Highgate.* This morning between twelve and one a post-chaise in which was a lady was drove through this town very furiously by two postillions, and attended by three persons who had the appearance of gentlemen, from which she cried out, Murder! save me! oh save me! till she was almost spent; but there was no possibility of relief, and they hastily drove towards Finchley Common."

July 16*th*, 1762.—"Friday, died at *Highgate*, Frederic Lason, Esq., aged 88, formerly a considerable Turkey merchant."

1763.—"Yesterday died at his house in Hornsey Lane, *Highgate*, Samuel Wilson, Esq."

March 14*th*, 1763.—"Died at her house at *Highgate*, in the eighty-first year of her age, Mrs. Elizabeth Bonfoy, widow of Nicholas Bonfoy, of Abbot's Ripon, Esq."

March 31*st*, 1763.—"Saturday last died at *Highgate*, Miss Roberts, daughter of Mr. Roberts, an eminent Spanish merchant."

April 20*th*, 1763.—"Yesterday morning a Porter walked from the conduit in Cheapside to *Highgate* for a wager of £5 and a leg of mutton and caper sauce; he was allowed an hour, but performed it in 56 minutes."

April 9th, 1766.—"On Wednesday two footpads attacked and robbed several persons near Whittington's stone, *Highgate Hill*, particularly a Post-chaise, and a Gentleman on horseback, of a considerable sum and his watch; they returned him two shillings to pay his expenses to London. They remained on the spot some time, and obliged several persons to dismount."

1770.—"On Monday towards evening as Robert Jackson, Esq., his Lady and Daughter were coming to town, they were stopped at the bottom of *Highgate-hill* by two highwaymen; one held a pistol to the servant behind, while the other presented a pistol to Mr. Jackson and demanded his money; at which Mrs. Jackson was much alarmed, whereupon the highwayman took his pistol away, when Mr. Jackson delivered his purse with ten guineas, Mrs. Jackson gave hers without being asked for, and the young lady was feeling for her money, but some horsemen coming along, the highwaymen rode off full speed up the hill."

1770.—"This morning a small parcel of letters was brought to the General Post Office, having been found in a wood near *Highgate;* they are thought to be some of the letters that were taken out of the mail that was robbed *last* near Highgate Hill, but they are so wet and the directions so defaced by the rains that it is impossible to find out who they are for."

February 1770.—"Died at his apartments in Hatton Garden, — Sheeoy, Esq., a gentleman possessed of an *immense* estate at *Highgate*."

1770.—"Lord Sandys was upset in his coach coming down *Highgate Hill*, from the effects of which accident he died 21st April."

August 24th, 1770.—"This morning the Post Boy carrying the Chester Mail was robbed at the foot of *Highgate Hill* by a single highwayman, who took out of his cart a small mail containing twelve bags; £200 reward are offered for the discovery of the robber."

1774.—"Mr. Burden, of St. John's Lane, walked from that place to *Highgate* and back again, being nine miles and eighty yards, for a bet of five guineas, which he won by performing it in one hour and twenty-five minutes."

17th May, 1777.—"Sunday evening a gentleman returning to town from *Highgate*, was attacked by three footpads near Kentish Town, who carried him out of the road into a field, where they robbed him, stripped him quite naked, and then made off."

1779.—"Friday evening about seven o'clock Mr. Hart and his wife were returning to town from Hatfield; three footpads stopped their post-chaise at the bottom of *Highgate Hill*, when the villains obliged them to get out, took what money they had, and examined the inside of the chaise, where they found a turkey and a hare, which they carried off, saying they should have a good Sunday's dinner."

1779.—"Yesterday as — Nendick, Esq., and his lady were returning from a visit from Hornsey Lane, they were attacked in their chariot at half-past nine at night, in the middle of the town of *Highgate*, by two highwaymen, who each with a case of loaded pistols demanded their money, and after robbing them of their purses, watches, etc., rode off."

1779.—"Tuesday night about nine o'clock a gentleman coming to town from St. Albans was stopped at the bottom of *Highgate Hill* by three footpads, who robbed him of about £20 in gold and silver, cut the bridle and girth of his saddle, turned the horse loose, and ran off across the fields."

1782.—"The number of robberies lately committed on the roads near the metropolis, some of which have been marked with cruelty and murder, prevent many from travelling in the evening, however pressing their occasions may be, and create a general alarm. To exterminate those desperate wretches, who infest all parts of the roads round London, requires resolution and vigilance.

"It is much to be wished that the laudable example of the gentlemen of the *Highgate* and *Hampstead* trust may be followed by the trustees of the other neighbouring roads; they have employed a considerable number of horse and foot patroles, well armed with powder and ball, with instructions to apprehend robbers, so stationed and under such regulations that the traveller may pass unmolested.

"While the public are protected, there cannot be any who would not cheerfully pay the toll."

1782.—"John Prince, one of the horse patroles employed by the trustees of the *Highgate* and *Hampstead* roads, whilst on his duty at Holloway on Saturday last, had his horse shot under him, by a man who was in company with three more, and who afterwards surrounded him with cutlasses, but some more of the patrole coming up, the fellows made off."

Jan. 16th, 1782.—"This morning the postboy who drives the Chester mail was stopped near *Highgate* by three footpads, who led the cart down a lane, took such bags as they chose, tied the boy in the cart, let the horses loose, and went off in a single horse chaise that was waiting for them."

29th Aug., 1782.—"A gentleman returning from Whetstone was stopped on *Highgate Hill* by two footpads, from whom he attempted to ride away, but one held the bridle, and they robbed him and cut him with a knife."

July 1783.—"A party of sailors passing through *Highgate*, one of them saw standing at a farrier's shed a small white pony. He instantly vociferated to his companions, 'Shiver my timbers, if that is not the little white pony that Prince William used to ride upon in Jamaica!' So without enquiring to whom the pony belonged, they cast off his *painter*, as they termed it, took him up in their arms and carried him to the nearest public-house, procured a quartern loaf and a couple of pots of porter, which were messed together in a large earthen dish, and presented to the little favourite, who greedily devoured it, to the no small diversion of the onlookers.

"One of the honest tars, eager to show a greater zeal for his Prince, . . . threw into the dish a half-pint of gin, when with three cheers they drank to the health of the *Royal Midshipman and his little white poney*. They then tossed down some silver without counting it, and conducting the pony back to the farrier's shop, proceeded on their journey."

1785.—Six men on horseback one night entered the farmyard of Mr. Turner at *Crouch End* (the father of Mr. Charles Turner, member of the Hornsey Local Board) and demanded £20; they were eventually satisfied with £10 and rode off, promising to repay it,—which they forgot to do!

July 1790.—"A very corpulent man ran for a wager of £20 from a public-house at *Highgate* to the Horse Guards, which is computed to be six miles. He was allowed forty minutes to perform it in, but did it in thirty-four!"

1792.—"On Sunday evening the Earl of Burford was stopped on *Highgate Hill* by three footpads, who robbed him of a gold watch and a few guineas."

June 2nd, 1794.—"A grand Cricket Match was played on *Highgate Common* between Highgate and Hampstead. Highgate 203, Hampstead 73."

1795.—"Mr. Thwaites, who was robbed a few evenings ago on the *Highgate* road, had unsuspectingly rode two miles in company with the highwayman, with whom he exchanged some conversation, when the latter suddenly turned round, put a pistol to Mr. Thwaites' breast, and demanded his property. Mr. Thwaites was obliged to surrender a very valuable timepiece."

October 10th, 1795.—"H. P. Kuhff died at *Highgate:* buried in St. Helen's Church; described as an eminent London merchant."

1797.—"On Wednesday in the afternoon, as Mr. Huntley of Hatfield was coming to town, he was stopped at the bottom of *Highgate Hill* by two footpads, who pulled him from his horse, turned him loose, and robbed him of four guineas, some silver and his watch, then ran off over the fields towards Hampstead Heath."

1797.—"On Sunday evening at ten o'clock, as Mr. Heaviside of George Street, Hanover Square, was returning from the Duke of Leeds' in Hertfordshire, to whom he had been sent for in the afternoon, he was stopped at the bottom of *Highgate Hill* by three footpads, one of which held a pistol to the post-boy while the other two opened the chaise doors. Before they asked for his money, one of them knocked down Mr. Heaviside's son, who was in the chaise with him, with the barrel of the pistol, and the other attempted to fire at Mr. Heaviside, but fortunately the pistol did not go off. They then robbed him of his watch and purse, and made off."

1800.—"Thomas Williams and Henry Nerod were sentenced to death for robbing Michael Hodgson, Esq., of Symond's Inn, in Maiden Lane, *Highgate*, when Mr. Rumley, and a servant on behalf of Miss Dominicus, gave evidence that they had been robbed in the same lane by the same men. Townsend, 'the Bow Street runner,' proved that they were brothers, and that Nerod was an assumed name."

1800.—"On Thursday evening, as David Scott, Esq., the Deputy Chairman of the East India Company, was returning to his villa at *Highgate*, he was stopped by four footpads, two of whom held a pistol to his head. Mr. Scott, unluckily, had nothing valuable about him, but having presence of mind enough to state that he was going to his master's house with some coffee, of which a large quantity was in the carriage, the fellows, after stripping him of every article in his pockets, suffered him to depart with a whole skin."

1804.—"Yesterday Their Majesties in a post chariot, and followed by the Princesses and Duke of Kent, in two coaches and four, took an airing in the neighbourhood of Hampstead and *Highgate*."

1804.—"On Sunday evening two young men riding for a wager down *Highgate Hill*, one of the horses stumbled, and the rider broke his neck."

September 23rd, 1806.—"William Hamilton was found guilty of a highway robbery near *Caen Wood*."

1806.—"William Hawkins was found guilty of a highway robbery in *Hampstead Lane*."

September 30th, 1814.—"A gentleman was stopped in *Maiden Lane* by a footpad with crape over his face; assistance being near, he was apprehended and taken to the nearest public-house, when the robber was found to be the nephew of the person he had attempted to rob."—*European Magazine*, October 1814.

1818.—"James Lackington, of the Temple of the Muses, Finsbury Square, an eminent bookseller, resided in *Highgate* in 1818."

October 4th, 1814.—A murder was committed in *Millfield Lane;* the victim was Mrs. Dobbins, wife of a man employed by the Hampstead Water Company. The murderer, Thomas Sharpe, a tramp, fractured her skull with a poker, and was hung 31st October.

1821.—"On 25th August, Edward Sell, a private watchman in the employ of Thomas Hale, Esq., of *Hornsey Lane*, *Highgate*, was murdered under very barbarous circumstances. A man named Barrett and his wife were apprehended on suspicion; upon searching their house a vast quantity of valuable property was discovered, enough to fill a waggon, the linen alone being valued at £100, which, it was proved, had been stolen from Mr. Rothschild's house on Stamford Hill, where Barrett's wife has been employed as a servant for two years, and was afterwards an occasional visitor."

In the result the prisoners were not found guilty of the capital charge, but were convicted of the robbery. The following is a more circumstantial account of this barbarity:—

"Between the hours of two and six o'clock on the morning of Friday, the 24th August, 1821, Edward Sell, private watchman to Thomas Hale, Esq., of Hornsey Lane, *Highgate*, was wilfully murdered. The deceased and the premises of Mr. Hale[1] were robbed, on the night of the murder, of the following articles:—An old-fashioned silver watch, the outer case worn through, the maker's name Uphohn; an old-fashioned metal chain, and two metal keys; one white cambric muslin dress; six white jaconet muslin frocks; three white pocket-handkerchiefs."

The following notice appeared in the *London Gazette* for Sept. 4th:—

"Whereas it hath been humbly represented unto the king that on the night of Thursday, the 23rd inst., or early on the following morning, Edward Sell, a private watchman in the employ of Thomas Hale, Esq., of Hornsey Lane, in the County of Middlesex, was inhumanly murdered:

"His Majesty, for the better apprehending and bringing to justice the person or persons concerned in the said atrocious murder, is hereby pleased to promise his most gracious pardon to any one of them (except the person or persons who actually

[1] Mr. Peter Poland's late residence, Farquhar House, now site of New River reservoir.

perpetrated the same) who shall discover his, her, or their accomplice or accomplices therein, so that he, she, or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof.

"SIDMOUTH.

"As a further encouragement, a reward of twenty guineas is hereby offered by the said Thomas Hale; and a further sum of one hundred guineas by the inhabitants of the parish of Highgate, to be paid on conviction, by the Rev. Dr. Owen, to any person except as aforesaid, who shall make such discovery as aforesaid."

So great was the consternation at the time of the murder, that the inhabitants of Highgate formed themselves into a committee, and in rotation two of them went out to watch every evening. The perpetrators of this foul and atrocious deed were never brought to justice, notwithstanding the large rewards that were offered for their apprehension.

April 5th, 1829.—"Mr. L. Neumegen of *Highgate*, who kept a school for Jewish boys [in the house now occupied by the Literary and Scientific Institution], was concerned in a curious case relating to a valuable emerald ring, which had been stolen from him, and found in the possession of a young Jewish lady, to whom, it was said, it had been presented by Lord Audley."

1831.—"Bishop [Bishop and Williams, the notorious burkers and body-snatchers], hung in December 1831 for murdering an Italian boy for the sake of his teeth, was a *Highgate* carrier. Cokeham of North Hill was the successor to the business. Bishop confessed to two other murders, and the sale of some *five hundred bodies* to the surgeons, for which his carrier's cart gave him great facility for removal."

The murder of the Italian boy was in Nova Scotia Gardens, Bethnal Green,—the spot now covered by Columbia Market.

In allusion to the desolate appearance of Finchley Common and the outskirts of Highgate a few years since, the following extract from the *Times* of August 25th, 1842, will perhaps not be uninteresting :—

"*Discovery of the Relics of a Highwayman.*—At the latter end of last week, as a labouring man was engaged in digging up some grown potatoes, upon one of the side slips of ground which have been taken out of the waste, and which border upon Highgate Woods near the village of Finchley, he turned up an old rusty bit, an iron bit, similar to a martingale brace, an old pistol-lock, and a silver coin of the reign of King George II.

"It is rumoured by persons living in the neighbourhood, that this spot about a century ago was a noted rendezvous for hordes of desperate highwaymen, who infested these parts, more especially Finchley Common, upon which, when convicted and executed, they were gibbeted in chains. From time to time, several relics of highwaymen have been found near this place, and not long since, as some woodmen were grubbing up the roots of timber, they alighted upon an oaken chest, which was found to contain old pistols, rusty steel buttons, and other like perishable relics of bygone highwaymen."

From the traditions which have been handed down by old inhabitants who recollect Finchley Common before it was enclosed, and when it was a dreary waste and dangerous to traverse without attendants, for fear of highwaymen and footpads, this quotation from the *Times* is amply confirmed; and there is another place near Highgate which took its name from a notorious robber who infested it, and committed numerous atrocious deeds, viz., Duval's Lane, now called the Hornsey Road. Duval's house, surrounded by a moat, was in existence a few years since, but many years have elapsed since he expiated his crimes at Ring Cross, Holloway.

And in further confirmation Townshend, the celebrated Bow Street officer, in his evidence states: "There is one thing which appears to me most extraordinary when I remember that very likely in *one week* there would be from *ten* to *fifteen* robberies. We have not had a single highway robbery lately,—I speak of persons on horseback; formerly there were two, three, or four highwaymen on Hounslow Heath, on Wimbledon Common, on Finchley Common, and on the Romford Road."[1]

The following are returns of Cornelius and Forey, the "learned" supervisors of the watchmen of the Hamlet of Highgate in 1779-80:—

Sept. 28th, 1779.—"A Return of the Watch. The same men I reterned last Tuesday, is all well and abell. We have 10 carbines, 11 hangers, 11 ratels compleat."

"Their was a dispute betwixt 12 o'clock and 1 on Mund morning at the Green Dragon dore. But without any difequlty I soon put them to rites."

January 4th, 1780.—"A Return of the Watch and Lamps in the Hamlet of Highgate. The lamps have burnt prety well since last commity night until the frost came, since they have failed much. Last night thirty lamps out by 4 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bell lamp out by 11 o'clock, Mr. Gipsons and Mr. Jones lamps out at 1 o'clock. Verey fue lamps burnend at 4 this morning."

"Munday night Wilm Younge got his lamness. That knight, William Hariss—did his duty. Tusday night I imploide John Floid, being a superenumerey man and an ould watchman."

"The watch box near Lady Hodgers out of repare.

"We have furedgd a bout for wood for to light our fiers and sum times subscribed a mong our selfs. We do hope you will alow us about four pence in a fortnight to by wood.

"I think these dark nights everey watch should be obliged to carey a lanthorn, for if a dore or a winder is left or breke open they cannot see it.

"CORNELIUS AND FOREY, *Su.*"

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[1] *Penny Magazine*, vol. vi., p. 37.

The following is the Act under which Highgate was empowered to employ its own watchmen and light its own roads :—

Decimo Quinto, Georgii III.

"An Act for Lighting and Watching the Hamlet of Highgate, in the County of Middlesex. Preamble.

"Whereas the Hamlet of Highgate within the Parishes of Hornsey, Saint Pancrass, and Saint Mary Islington, in the County of Middlesex, is large and populous, and it would be a great convenience and benefit to the inhabitants thereof if provision was made for lighting the same, and establishing a nightly watch therein : And whereas the inhabitants and owners of houses within the said Hamlet are willing and desirous that a rate should be raised upon themselves to defray the charge thereof ; but the same cannot be done, and the good purposes aforesaid effected, without the aid of Parliament."

After nominating forty-eight gentlemen by name it provides that they with—

"The Minister and Chaplain belonging to the Chapel of the said Hamlet of Highgate for the time being, shall be and they are hereby appointed Trustees for causing the said Hamlet to be lighted and watched in the night, from and including a house known by the sign of the Crown, in the occupation of John Saunders, on the east side of the road leading from London through Islington, and from and including a house nearly opposite the same, in the occupation of William Callon, Esquire, on the west side of the said road, through the said hamlet, on the great road to and including the house known by the name of the Lower Wrestlers, in the occupation of William Roberts, on the east, and another house nearly opposite the same, known by the name of the Black Bull, in the occupation of James Williamson ; and from and including a house in the occupation of William Offley, Esquire, on the road from London through Kentish Town, and from thence to the south side of the hamlet, including all the houses to the public house known by the sign of the Angel, and occupied by Jeremiah Lister, and on the north side all the houses opposite thereto, beginning at the house occupied by George Daniel ; and from thence to and including Pemberton Row, to the public-house known by the name of the Gate House, occupied by James Baggally, including also all the houses in the centre near the ponds, and also the house in the Grove occupied by Stephen Beckingham, Esquire, and the houses in the lane leading by the side of the Grove towards the door of the stable-yard of the said Stephen Beckingham, Esquire ; and down a certain lane called Kenn or Cane Wood Lane ; to and including a house in the occupation of Major General Charles Eitzroy ; and down Hornsey Lane to and including a house in the occupation of Robert Langford, Esquire, on the south, and a house nearly opposite the same, in the occupation of Thomas Richards, brickmaster, on the north side of the road leading to Hornsey ; and down Southwould or Chapel Lane to and including a house in the occupation of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, Esquire, on the road leading to Muswell Hill ; and down the lane leading to Highgate Common, ending at the back door of the said house occupied by Richard Wilbraham Bootle, Esquire ; and for putting this Act in execution.

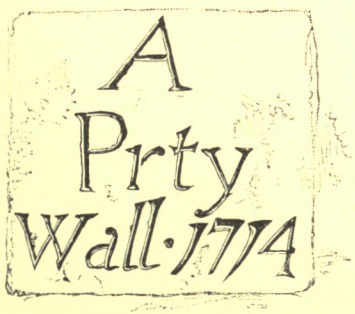
"Provided always, That nothing in this Act contained shall compel the said Commissioners to light the said lane called Kenn or Cane Wood Lane, but only to cause the said lane to be watched.

"Provided always, That no rate or assessment directed to be made as aforesaid shall exceed in the whole the sum of two shillings in the pound in any one year, of the yearly rent of such houses, shops, warehouses, or other buildings, gardens, tenements, or hereditaments, as aforesaid.

"Provided also, That all persons who occupy tenements under the yearly value of six pounds improved rent, and who subsist only by their manual labour, and do not keep an open shop for the sale of goods, wares, or merchandises, shall be freed and exempted from the payment of the said rates, or any part thereof; anything contained in this Act to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

"*Dated 29th November*, 1774."

The remaining clauses provide for the administration of the Act.



A STONE IN THE BOUNDARY WALL OF BISHAM HOUSE.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HOUSES AND THEIR RESIDENTS.

Highgate an attractive place of residence—Perambulation of the parish—Notes of some of the houses and their residents—Winchester Hall—Lauderdale House—Sir John Pennethorne—Andrew Marvell—Fairseat House—Cromwell House—Arundel House—Betchworth House—Channing House—Sir John Wollaston—Sir Thomas Abney—Dr. Watts—Charles Knight—Bisham House—Sir John Hawkins—General Harcourt—Dr. Coysch—Sir E. Gould—The Old Hall—The Mansion House—Dr. Sacheverell—Leigh Hunt—Holly Terrace—Holly Lodge—The Hermitage—Fern Lodge—Charles Mathews—West Hill—West Hill Place—Joseph Payne—Merton Lodge—Highgate Lodge—West Hill Lodge—H. T. Buckle—N. T. Wetherell—Professor Tomlinson—T. T. Tatham—Dr. Moxon—Dr. Henry Kingsley—Marshal Wade—Hillside—Southwood Lawn—Oak Lodge—The Priory (Highgate)—Park House—The Bull Inn and George Morland—Green the Aëronaut—Thomas Challis—Joseph Clarke—Grimestone (eye snuff)—McDowall—Toulmin Smith—Brettles Hill—Alderman Rowe—Bath House—The Grove—Grove Lodge—Mr. Clay—Rookfield—*Lalla Rookh*—The Priory (Hornsey)—Mr. Collingridge—Haringey House—Ferne Park Manor House—Crouch Hall—Crouch Hill—Stroud Green—Stapleton Hall—Hornsey Wood House—Finsbury Park—Hornsey Lane—Charles Wesley—Michael Faraday—Farquhar House—Dr. Grainger—Linden House.

" LD NORDEN," speaking of Middlesex, says:—"This shire is plentifully stored, and as it seemeth beautified, with manne faire and comely buildings, especially of merchants of London, who have planted their houses of recreation, not in the meanest places, which also they have cunningly contrived and curiously beautified with divers devices, neatly decked with rare invencions, invironed with orchards of sundrie delicate fruites, gardens with delectable walks, arbers, allees, and great variety of pleasing danties."

Norden further alludes to Highgate as being "most pleasant dwelling," and its position crowning with its woody uplands the long and gentle rising ground from the Thames, must have marked it at a very early date as one of the most beautiful and commanding residential sites within a reasonable distance of the City.

From the long list of its aristocratic and influential residents it is clear that its attractions were fully recognised, and there are doubtless very many names of families once resident in it, of equal importance to those the records of whose residence have by some fortuitous circumstance been preserved. Amongst its old residents were members of

LAUDERDALE HOUSE
THE MANSION HOUSE.
ANDREW MARVELL'S HOUSE
Dr COYSH'S HOUSE
CROMWELL HOUSE.
FITZROY HOUSE.
DORCHESTER HOUSE.
THE GATEHOUSE.

the historic families of Arundel, Cholmeley, Dorchester, Lauderdale, St. Albans, Argyle, Bute, Hobart, Mansfield, Southampton, Russell, Cornwallis, Huntingdon, etc., etc., besides many persons of literary and social distinction, such as Sir Edmund Gould, Sir Alan Chambré, Sir William Ashurst, Sir John Hawkins, Sir John Wollaston, General Ireton, Andrew Marvell, Sir Richard Baker, Sir Thomas Abney, Sir James Harrington, Sir Francis Pemberton, Sir William Bond, Nicholas Rowe, Mrs. Barbauld, Sir Robert Chester, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Dr. Sacheverell, Leigh Hunt, and many others.

In alluding to these and other names of interest, it will be desirable to deal with them in connection with the old houses, but references to names that cannot be identified with any distinct residence will be found in a few biographical notes in another chapter. It will further be convenient to extend these remarks to houses and their residents beyond the limits of Highgate proper, taking the wider area of the parish of Hornsey.

In the perambulation of the parish, we propose commencing at the corner of Hornsey Lane, proceeding northwards through Highgate, and, by way of Muswell Hill, through Hornsey and Crouch End, returning to the point from which we start, making brief remarks on such of the houses as have known associations of any interest.

Winchester Hall, formerly De la Pole House. This fine old red-brick mansion, dating from about the time of George I., stood on the northern side of the entrance to Hornsey Lane; it had an imposing elevation, and being surrounded by some very fine old elm trees, it gave considerable character to the entrance of the village of Highgate proper. It stood in well-cultivated grounds of some fifteen acres, covering the slopes to the western side of the Archway Road. In the garden was a well-known grotto formed of shells and minerals.

Sir William Poland resided here; afterwards John Hurst, the well-known publisher, who ended his days a pensioner in the Charterhouse. Amongst other occupiers was Mr. Redmayne, the first treasurer of the Literary Institution (1837); its last tenant was Colonel Jeakes, J.P., brother of the present rector of Hornsey, a popular and public-spirited man, whose sudden death was much lamented by his neighbours. At his decease the property was sold by auction to the Imperial Property Investment Co. in July 1881, and the whole site is now covered by the houses of the Cromwell Avenue estate.

Lauderdale House, opposite Cromwell House, is supposed to have been built about 1600, and was for a time the residence of the Duke of Lauderdale. It has no pretensions to architectural style, probably having undergone very considerable alterations during the occupation of its numerous successive residents.

The most interesting aspect of the house is the one overlooking the quaint old garden, the frontage to the main road being very insignificant.

The Duke of Lauderdale who is best known in connection with the old house was John the second Earl and first Duke, and Earl of Guilford in England, sole Secretary of State for Scotland A.D. 1661, an active and detested minister of Charles II. He seems to have been a Covenanter in the reign of Charles I., and figures as one of the negotiators for the sale of his king. He ratted under Charles II., and with the notorious Archbishop Sharp became the diabolical persecutor of his old coadjutors, and as Lord Deputy of Scotland, "nothing," it is said, "could surpass his cruelty *but* his rapacity." Macaulay thus draws him :—

"Lauderdale, the tyrant Deputy of Scotland at this period, loud and coarse both in mirth and anger, was perhaps, under the outward show of boisterous frankness, the most dishonest man in the whole cabal! He was accused of being deeply concerned in the sale of Charles I. to the English Parliament, and was therefore, in the estimation of good Cavaliers, a traitor of a worse description than those who sat in the High Court of Justice. He often talked with noisy jocularity of the days when he was a canter and a rebel. He was now the chief instrument employed by the Court in the work of forcing episcopacy on his reluctant countrymen ; nor did he in that cause shrink from the unsparing use of the sword, the halter, and the boot. Yet those who knew him, knew that thirty years had made no change in his real sentiment ; that he still hated the memory of Charles I., and that he still preferred the Presbyterian form of government to any other."

If to this picture we add Carlyle's touch "of his big red head," we have a sufficient portrait of this red-handed scoundrel, whose doings with his renegade comrade, Archbishop Sharp, are so vividly set forth, with all their fearful accompaniments of the rack, thumbscrews, fire and slaughter, by Scott in *Old Mortality* and the *Tales of a Grandfather*. Whilst Lauderdale was in Scotland on this devil's business, it is surmised that his house at Highgate was borrowed by his royal master and "most Christian king" for one of his troop of mistresses. It is but tradition that associates Nell Gwynne with Lauderdale House, but it is a very general and persistent one, and a good bit of evidence is the reference made by Andrew Marvell, whose house was next door, and here as they walked in the garden he describes the king as

> "Of a tall stature and of sable hue,
> Much like the son of Kish that lofty grew ;"

and Nelly as—

> "That wench of orange and of oyster."

This was an allusion to her early employment as vendor of oysters in

the streets and oranges at the theatres. It was like the grim humour of the king, to flourish Nell off under the very eyes of the indignant patriot, and the fact that Marvell resided in the next house might have been the *special* inducement which influenced the king to borrow the Duke's residence.

Mistress Gwynne seems to have been of a kindly disposition, and although often insulted, she not only freely forgave, but induced the king to show a magnanimity, in some cases, which was certainly foreign to his nature. Howitt quotes the following incident, and remarks that "had it happened to any one of the other royal mistresses, the result would have been very different."

"On a visit to Winchester, Charles wished one of the clergy, Rev. Thomas Ken, to allow Nell to lodge at his house, but Ken positively refused, however much it might offend the king. His friends considered all preferment at an end; but some time after, on the death of the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Charles asked, 'What was the name of that little man at Winchester who would not let Nell lodge at his house?' and on being told, to the astonishment of the whole Court conferred on him the bishopric."

A tradition which connects her residence at Lauderdale House is the title bestowed on her eldest son. The king delayed to give him the expected title; his mother, seeing the king in the garden, brought the infant to the upper window, and cried out, "Unless you do something for him, here he goes!" On which the king replied, "Save the Earl of Burford!" Whether the tale is true or not, the boy *was* created Earl of Burford, and ultimately Duke of St. Albans. It is a curious coincidence that Highgate should in after times be associated with the fortunes of the wife of one of the duke's descendants, viz., the Duchess of St. Albans—formerly Miss Mellon, the step-grandmother of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts, she having become the second wife of Thomas Coutts, of Holly Lodge, grandfather of the Baroness, at whose death she married the Duke of St. Albans.

"We are much indebted to the memory of Barbara Duchess of Cleveland, Louisa Duchess of Portsmouth, and Mrs. Eleanor Gwynne. We owe a debt of gratitude to the Mays, Killigrews, the Chiffinches, and the Grammonts. They played a serviceable part in ridding the kingdom of its besotted loyalty. They saved our forefathers from the Star Chamber and the High Commission Court; they laboured in their vocation against standing armies and corruption; they pressed forward the great ultimate security of English freedom, the expulsion of the House of Stuart."[1]

The king never endowed Nell with the wealth he lavished upon

[1] Hallam.

others of his unworthy favourites, possibly because she did not worry him; but on his death-bed he is said to have whispered, "Don't let poor Nelly starve." The old marble bath in the house is still called "Nell Gwynne's Bath."[1] The house seems to have been previously inhabited by Sir Henry Hobart, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and ancestor of the Earls of Buckinghamshire, whose grandson Nathaniel was baptized in Highgate Chapel, 27th September, A.D. 1636.

An armorial shield of John Duke of Lauderdale, and Anne his first wife, daughter and co-heiress of Alexander Earl of Home, was discovered during repairs at the house. And at the same time was discovered an epistle, of which the following is a literal copy, addressed to Lady Dorothy Hobart.

"*To the honourable and my most noble and singular good Lady the Lady Dorothy Hobarte at Highgate.*

"MAY IT PLEASE Y^R^ LADISHIPP.—I received y^r^ La: lre w^h^ Mr. Burtons lre inclosed upon my retorne home from Westridghill about two of the clocke this afternoone, it being the last day of the terme w^ch^ occasioned the Judges to sitt somewhat the longer.

"I presently wayted on my Lady Fraunces & prsented y^r^ La. Love unto her & yo^r^ earnest desire to heare to her health; She recommends her love to y^r^ La: and gives y^u^ very many thankes for sending to her and sayes she has not ben well theise three or fower dayes and had a very ill night this last night And this day she had taken some phisicke & is very ill all this day, but whether it be her disease or the operation of her phisicke that is the cause thereof she knowes not—I found her sitting up in her chamber and w^h^ D^r^ Hervey w^h^ her who desired me to comend his humble service to y^r^ La:—

"Sr—Richardson was this day sworne Chiefe Justice of the Comon Pleas: my Lord Keeper in his Speech tould him that he was now to succeed one in the place who was as noble just, upright honest and as worthy a Judge & as patient hearer as ever satt in that place and therefore he had a good example to follow w^h^ many other good speeches w^h^ were to longe to relate & to tedious for y^r^ La: to read wherefre w^h^ tendder of my humble duety and service to y^r^ La. I take my leave & rest

"Y^r^ La. most bounden Servant
"R. GLOVER.

"ST. BARTHOLLOMEWES
"28 Feb. 1626."

The Lady Dorothy Hobart to whom this letter was addressed was the daughter of Sir Robert Bell, of Beaupre Hall, Norfolk, Knt., Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and widow of Sir Henry Hobart, of Plomstead and Blickling, Norfolk, Bart., Lord Chief Justice of the

[1] A shilling of Charles II., in excellent preservation, was found in this house a few years since.

Common Pleas. The Lady Frances alluded to was their youngest daughter, Mrs. Hewet, who died 21st May, 1632, and was buried at Highgate.

After Lady Hobart's occupancy of the house, it seems to have passed into the possession of the Countess of Home, and ultimately by right of his wife to Lord Lauderdale, he having married one of the daughters of the Countess; but, according to the journals of the House of Lords, he had some difficulty in obtaining possession of the property, it having been seized by Sir John Ireton, brother of General Ireton, whose house was on the opposite side of the way. The following are extracts from the journals in question, respecting the house.

"1660, July 30th. Petition of John Earl of Lauderdaill. The late Countess of Home, petitioner's mother-in-law, left certaine copy-hold messuages and lands in Highgate and Aldersgate Street to her daughter for life; and after the death of the Countess, petitioner and his wife entered into all the houses and enjoyed the same. In 1651 Alderman John Ireton, pretending that the lands in Highgate belonged to the petitioner, who for his loyalty was then deemed a delinquent, obtained a grant of them from the Usurper, and has ever since enjoyed the same. * * * The whole of the furniture of the houses was sold * * * the petitioner prays to be restored to the possession of the messuages and lands at Highgate, and any of the furniture he can discover."

"1660, November 27th. Petition of John Earl of Lauderdaill, and Dame Anne his wife, who pray to be put into possession of a copyhold house and land at Highgate, the cause respecting which has been often appointed for hearing.

"The property is claimed through Mary Countess of Home, who died in 1644, leaving two daughters, Anne Countess of Lauderdaill, and Margaret Countess of Murray; the property was taken possession of in 1649 by John Ireton, Alderman of London, who as Lord of the Manor would not permit Lady Lauderdaill to proceed in claiming her property, but tore up her plaint, saying 'her husband was a traitor to the State, and should have no lands there.'"

There are references to previous petitions in 1648, respecting the Aldersgate Street property, but no reference is made to Highgate.

There seem to be no further entries, but as the position of the great parties in the state was now reversed, Lord Lauderdale's petition was of course successful.

Sir John Ireton was Lord Mayor 1659, Sheriff 1651. He was the son of German Ireton, of Attenborough, county Notts, and a younger brother of Henry Ireton, who married Bridget, eldest daughter of Oliver Cromwell, and died Lord Deputy of Ireland, November 1651.

Sir John represented the City of London in Parliament (1653), and was knighted by the Lord Protector in 1657. He walked in the funeral procession of Cromwell, and underwent much trouble at and after the Restoration on account of his republican principles. He was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, but not as to life.[1]

His son Henry Ireton is buried at Quonnington, county Gloucester, where there is a monument to his memory. He died 4th December, 1711, aged sixty.

One of the later tenants of Lauderdale House was the Rev. James Yarrow, to whom there is the following curious reference in Gallenga's English experiences.

"I also found on my first arrival in London a profitable engagement as a literary assistant to Mr. James Yarrow, a retired Unitarian minister, an amiable elderly gentleman, and a rusty old scholar, who had devoted the latter end of his life to the compilation of a work on *The Art of Weaving among the Ancients*, a ponderous work crammed with Greek, Latin, and Hebrew quotations, in which the co-operation of an ordinary amanuensis and copyist would have been unavailing. Mr. Yarrow was a wealthy man, or had married a wealthy wife; and the latter, still youngish, made her hospitable home in Highgate, formerly the abode of Charles II.'s Nell Gwynne, a quaint old mansion unaltered for two centuries,—the centre of a social circle, where she delighted in bringing together the young of both sexes, trusting to the instincts of natural selection, and the power of music, dancing, and champagne suppers for results in which she declared she neither 'marred nor made.' In spite of all disclaimers, the house at Highgate was immensely popular as a matrimonial mart of the most honourable description.

"And there was another house in Hampstead, belonging to a Mr. Tweed, also a divine of the same Socinian persuasion, equally at rest from his pulpit work, where every young couple, fresh from their wedding tour, were expected to accept a dinner given in their honour, to which it was the rule, that none but other happy pairs, within the twelvemonth from their wedding, should be asked to meet them.

"It had thus become a common saying among the friends of these benevolent people, that in a glass of Mr. Yarrow's champagne there was a foretaste of Mr. Tweed's port wine."[2]

Lauderdale House was occupied by Mr. Gittins, who kept a large school, and afterwards by Richard Bethell, Q.C. (Lord Westbury); the last tenant being James Yates, F.R.S, under whose genial auspices and ripe scholarship many a goodly gathering of literary and scientific celebrities was held therein. Mr. Yates was an early advocate of

[1] Bailey's *Annals of Notts.*

[2] *Episodes of my Second Life.* A. Gallenga.

popular education, and was the first treasurer, if not the promoter, of the Highgate British Schools, now merged into the Board Schools.

In A.D. 1872 Lauderdale House was appropriated for a short term of years as a temporary convalescent home in connection with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, by Sir Sydney Waterlow, M.P., the then treasurer of the hospital, and was opened for that purpose by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales on 8th July in that year.

At the present moment the house and adjoining property are for sale for building purposes, and this relic of old Highgate will probably soon disappear.

In an old house which stood back from the road between Lauderdale and Marvell's house, which was originally a portion of the outbuildings of the former, lived SIR JOHN PENNETHORNE, a well-known architect of his time. He was a pupil of Nash, and amongst other works he designed the Ordnance, Stationery, and Record Offices, the south front of Buckingham Palace, and the London University. Sir John was also an authority on landscape gardening; he altered St. James's Park, and laid out the designs of Battersea and Victoria Parks. The house was pulled down before the property came into the possession of Sir Sydney Waterlow.

ANDREW MARVELL'S HOUSE stood next to Lauderdale House, higher up the hill; it was removed in consequence of dilapidation in September 1868. The exact spot is marked by one of the stone steps by which the garden was entered being built into the wall *in situ*. Andrew Marvell was the son of a clergyman of Hull, the master of the Grammar School, who was drowned in crossing the Humber in 1640. Andrew was Member of Parliament for Kingston-upon-Hull for some twenty years, and from the date of the Restoration, when Parliament was in session, he wrote a weekly news-letter to his constituents.

The inscription on the engraved portrait by Basire states that "he was the last Commoner who received allowance from his constituents, and was the friend and protector of John Milton." The uncertainty of the cause of his death is thus alluded to on the engraving :—

> "But whether fate or art untwined his thread
> Remains in doubt; Faim's lasting register
> Shall leave his name enrolled as great as those
> Who at Philippi for their country fell."

His life had been repeatedly attempted; in one of his letters, dated from Highgate, he states "his foes are implacable, and that he was frequently threatened with murder on his proceeding to and from Highgate."

He was so stern in his rebukes of the profligacy and extravagance of Charles II. that a proclamation was issued offering a reward for his apprehension; this caused him to retire to Hull, where he died in A.D. 1678, not without a suspicion of poison.

The profligate king had often tried to win him over by offers of wealth and promotion. Howitt thus relates a well-known incident:—"The king sent the Lord Treasurer Danby to wait upon Marvell with a particular message. His lordship with some difficulty found his elevated retreat, which was on a second floor in the Strand. Lord Danby, from the darkness and narrowness of the staircase, abruptly burst open the door where Mr. Marvell was writing. Astonished at the sight of so noble and unexpected a visitor, he asked his lordship with a smile, 'if he had not mistaken his way?' 'No,' replied his lordship with a bow, 'not since I have found Mr. Marvell;' continuing, that he came with a message from the king, who wished to do him some signal service to testify his high opinion of his merits. He replied with his usual pleasantry that 'kings had not the power to serve him: he had no void left aching in his breast," but becoming more serious he assured his lordship that he was highly sensible of His Majesty's affection, but he knew too well the nature of Court favours, which were expected to bind a man in the chains of their interest, which his spirit of freedom and independence would not suffer him to embrace. These royal offers proving vain, Lord Danby informed him 'the king had ordered him a thousand guineas, which he hoped he would receive till he could bring his mind to accept something more durable.' 'Surely,' said Marvell with a smile, 'you do not, my lord, mean to imply my poverty by these munificent offers; pray, my Lord Treasurer, do these apartments wear the air of need? and as for my living, you shall hear that from my servant,' whom he called. 'Pray, Jack, what had I for dinner yesterday?' 'A shoulder of mutton, sir.' 'And what do you allow me to-day?' 'The remainder hashed, sir.' 'And to-morrow, my Lord Danby, I shall have the sweet blade bone broiled; and when your lordship makes honourable mention of my cook and my diet, I am sure His Majesty will be too tender in future to attempt to bribe a man with golden apples who lives so well on the viands of his native country.' Upon the Lord Treasurer's withdrawal Marvell went to his bookseller for the loan of a guinea!"

Marvell was a writer of satirical and religious poetry, and was a most uncompromising exposer of the corruptions of the Court. His works fill three large quarto volumes; the chief work is *An Account of the Growth of Popery and Arbitrary Government in England;* and *The Rehearsal Transposed,* in which he very unsparingly castigates Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, for his base time-serving and his fierce persecution of the Nonconformists. Bishop Burnet says that "Parker went on publishing

his virulent abuse, till Marvell not only put *him* down, but his whole party;" and Dean Swift, in noticing the generally short existence of answers to books, excepts that of Marvell as a work of "great genius," and says: "It continued to be read though Parker's writings had sunk in oblivion long ago."

In the same manner he disposed of Dr. Turner, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in an essay called *The Divine Mode*, and wrote a treatise on "General Councils," in which he ruthlessly handles the squabbles of bishops of all ages, saying that the very first Council, that of Nice, had, according to Eusebius, "nine creeds," and "in fact it had a dozen." He adds a sarcasm which happily the intervening years have deprived of its sting, that "as bishops grew worse and worse, bishopricks grew better and better."

If we are to accept the statement of Thompson, Marvell's biographer, the patriot had claims on poems universally admired, which have been attributed to other writers. Two of these are paraphrases of the Psalms generally attributed to Addison, probably because they first appeared in *The Spectator*. They are the compositions beginning,—

"The spacious firmament on high,
With all the blue ethereal sky;"

and—

"When all Thy mercies, O my God,
My rising soul surveys."

His biographer also claims the ballad of "William and Mary" (ascribed to Mallet) for Marvell, on the ground that "he finds these in the manuscript of his unpublished poems, with his own corrections of them."

Marvell alludes to his little garden at Highgate in a few charming lines commencing—

"I have a garden of my own,
But so with roses overgrown,
And lilies, that you would it guess
To be a little wilderness."

From the close friendship which existed between Marvell and Milton, with whom he was associated during the Commonwealth as co-Latin secretary to the Protector, there is but little doubt Milton was not an unfrequent visitor to Highgate. In 1650 Marvell became tutor to Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General of the Parliament, and it was probably through this engagement that he became personally known to Milton, who in 1659 recommended him to Bradshaw as Assistant Secretary to the council of State—speaking of him "as a man of good

family, well versed in French and Italian, Spanish and Dutch, a good scholar in Greek and Latin, and a man of so much capacity and so many accomplishments, that if he had had any feeling of jealousy or rivalry, he might have been slow to introduce him as a coadjutor." It was not until Cromwell's Protectorate that Marvell received his appointment.[1] "I must find room," says Mary Russell Mitford,[2] "for a few stanzas of Marvell's Horatian ode upon Cromwell's return from Ireland. Fine as the praise of Cromwell is, it yields in grandeur and beauty to the tribute paid by the Roundhead poet to the demeanour of the king upon the scaffold, by far the noblest of the many panegyrics upon the martyred king :—

"'That thence the royal actor borne
The tragic scaffold might adorn,
While round the armed bands
Did clasp their bloody hands.

"'He nothing common did, or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try:

"'Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down, as upon a bed.'

"And *he* who wrote this was Cromwell's Latin Secretary! and Cromwell's *other* Latin Secretary was Milton!

"There have been many praises of the Lord Protector written latterly, but these two facts seem to me worth them all."

There is no spot in Highgate of happier memory than the little plot of ground, the site of the modest cottage of the patriot Marvell.

It is no wonder that Marvell made many enemies, as in his *Flagellum Parliamentarium*, being sarcastic notices of nearly two hundred members of the First Parliament after the Restoration (1661-78), the following is a specimen of the manner in which they are chronicled: —"Sir J. Trelawney—a private foresworne cheat in the Prize Office, with the profit of which he bought the place of Comptroller to the Duke of York."

His poems were collected and published by his wife, as set forth by the following title-page to the original edition. This volume also contains his portrait, which being thus vouched for, may be considered authentic.

[1] *The Merrie Monarch; or, England under Charles II.*, by W. H. Davenport Adams.
[2] *Notes of a Literary Life.*

MISCELLANEOUS POEMS.

BY

ANDREW MARVELL, Esq.,

LATE MEMBER OF THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR ROBERT BOULTER, AT THE TURK'S-HEAD, IN CORNHILL, M.DC.LXXXI.

TO THE

READER.

Theſe are to Certifie every Ingenious Reader, that all theſe Poems, as alſo the other things in this Book contained, are Printed according to the exact Copies of my late dear Huſband, under his own Hand-Writing, being found since his Death among his other Papers. Witness my Hand this 15th day of October, 1680.

MARY MARVELL.

In the reading room of the Highgate Institution will be found the old hall table, which is stated to have been in the cottage some two hundred years. It was presented by DR. FORSHALL, who purchased it at the sale of the fittings before the house was demolished in 1868.

FAIRSEAT HOUSE was originally (although not known by that name) a comfortable old family house in the occupation of Mr. Bloxam, a Governor of the Grammar School and a member of a very old resident family, still happily represented amongst us, whose associations with Highgate extend over a century, and to whom the village is indebted for many acts of considerate liberality.

Amongst its tenants were Mr. Blunsden, the father of Lady Lyndhurst; Mr. Chance, the well known plate glass manufacturer; Mr. Thomas; Mr. Malins, Q.C., afterwards raised to the Bench; Colonel Irvine; and Mr. Leech, a solicitor in very extensive practice during the great "railway mania;" and lastly, Alderman Sir Sydney Waterlow, M.P., whose additions to the house were so considerable that all outward traces of the older building have disappeared.

In November 1872, during the repairs of the Mansion House, the Lady Mayoress, Lady Waterlow, held her receptions at this house.

CROMWELL HOUSE was erected by a family of the name of SPRIGNELL, several members of which lie buried in the old churchyard. Sir Richard Sprignell was created a baronet in 1641,[1] but as the red hand did not appear in the armorial devices on the old ceiling, the inference is that the old house was built before that date; other evidences warrant that it was erected between 1603—25.[2] It is more than probable that an old boundary stone let into an adjoining wall, once the boundary of the garden, fixes the exact date.

On the obverse — the side next to Cromwell House—the stone is defaced and almost illegible, and it is not unlikely it was altered on the change of ownership in Ireton's time; it *seems* to bear a monogram, being the letters "I. C." surmounted by an "O" $(I^{O}C)$; which would doubtless mean "Ireton" and "Cromwell," with the initial of the Protector "Oliver," who is said to have presented the house to his daughter Bridget on her marriage.

The records of the Sprignells in the Highgate registers are as follows :—

Baptisms.—"Maria D^ni^ Richardi Sprignell, ex Anna, sep. 7 Julii 1638" (before the title was conferred). "Hester, daughter of Sir Richard Sprignell," Dec. 1, 1646; Judith, July 23, 1648.

[1] Lysons.
[2] *Parish Magazine*, February 1865.

Burials.—Daniel, June 11, 1602;[1] Sir Richard,[2] Jan. 19, 1658; Sir William, Sept. 8, 1691; Mrs. Judith Sprignell, spinster, Feb. 8 1721-2.[3]

On the ceiling of the drawing-room (which was, with the upper floor, almost entirely destroyed by a fire on 3rd January, 1865) the arms of General Ireton were displayed, and the whole of the internal ornamentation of the house is evidently that of the taste of a military occupant, especially the staircase, which is of handsome proportions, decorated with carved figures of soldiers of the army of the Commonwealth, and the balustrades filled in with devices emblematical of warfare.

There is but little doubt that this beautiful old house was the residence of General Ireton, son-in-law of Cromwell, by whom it is not improbable it was decorated in accordance with his own martial taste; Ireton certainly resided in Highgate, and his signature appears three times as one of the acting Governors of the Grammar School.

In the marble mantelpiece of one of the smaller rooms is a monogram cypher, elaborately intertwined, of what looks like, and most probably is, I.C. (Ireton, Cromwell), and from one of the vaults is an entrance to a subterranean passage, which emerged on the lower ground at the back of the house, near to the present Archway Road.

In this old passage, which was utterly destroyed during the trenching of the ground for building operations, some old-fashioned silver spoons were found some years ago. Such passages were by no means uncommon in old mansion houses as a means of escape under circumstances of sudden danger, and are very suggestive of the conditions of life in the "good old times."

Ireton was an able and determined man, and those who aimed at Cromwell's life aimed at Ireton's too, not thinking themselves safe while he lived, even were Cromwell killed. "The Protector himself related that in A.D. 1647, at the time when they were endeavouring to accommodate matters with the king, Ireton and he were informed that a scheme was laid for their destruction, and that they might convince themselves of it by intercepting a secret messenger of the king's who would sleep that night at the Blue Boar, in Holborn, and who carried his despatches sewn up in the skirt of his saddle. Cromwell and Ireton, disguised as troopers, waited that evening, examined the saddle, and

[1] By these dates it seems probable that the family resided in Highgate before building Cromwell House, and lingered in it long after it was disposed of.

[2] It appears by a collection of Middlesex pedigrees in the British Museum (Harl. MSS, 1551), that he was descended from a Buckinghamshire family, and by the alphabet of arms at the Heralds' College, married Anne, daughter of Sir R. M. Livesey, of the Isle of Sheppey.

[3] See Baptisms.

found letters from the king confirming all they had heard. From that hour, convinced of Charles's incurable treachery, they resolved on his death."[1]

In Lord Hatherley's MSS. there is a cavalier parody on "the Belief," which shows how closely the popular imagination associated Cromwell with Ireton:—"I believe on Cromwell, the father of all schism, heresy, and rebellion; and in his only son Ireton."

There is a portrait of Ireton by Walker in the National Portrait Gallery, which was formerly in the Lenthall collection.

Ireton, who was one of the most active agents in accomplishing the death of King Charles I., was born A.D. 1610, and was the son of German Ireton of Attenborough, in the county of Nottingham. He was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1626, and took his degree of Bachelor of Arts on the 10th June, 1629. From Oxford, Ireton removed to the Middle Temple, where he entered as a student on the 24th November, 1629, but was never called to the Bar.

In A.D. 1642, after the battle of Edge Hill, he was raised to the rank of a Major in the Parliament Army, and employed his pen in drawing up the celebrated proposals of the Army for the king's restoration and the settlement of a plan of future government. On the 15th January, A.D. 1647, he married Bridget, the eldest daughter of Cromwell, by whom he had one son and four daughters.

In A.D. 1648 Ireton was engaged in reducing Canterbury, which was in the hands of the Kentish insurgents. The city surrendered on the 8th June, when Ireton rejoined Fairfax in Essex. In A.D. 1649 he was made Major General of the Forces. In A.D. 1650 he succeeded Cromwell as Lieutenant-General and Governor-General of Ireland, with the title of Lord Deputy, where he remained till his death.

Ireton died of the plague at Limerick on the 26th November, 1657, and the records of Trinity College, Dublin, speak of his "humanity. His property was confiscated in 1660, and his body was disinterred, drawn on a hurdle to Tiburne, there hung in a coffin and buried under the gallows."[2]

Major General Harrison afterwards resided in this house, where he was visited by Ludlow after he had fallen into disgrace with the Protector. He was the son of a grazier at Newcastle-under-Lyme; he came to London young, and was placed under an attorney in Clifford's Inn; he served in the body-guard of Essex, and obtained the office of a cornet, and by diligence and sobriety was promoted to a captaincy, and served as a major at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644. In 1646 he was one of the commissioners to receive possession of the palace of

[1] Morrice's *Life of Lord Orrery*.
[2] Duke of Sutherland's MSS.

Woodstock, which had been surrendered to the Parliamentary army. In 1647 he was a Colonel of the horse, when the king's person was seized at Holdenby House by Joyce. On December 16th, 1648, Harrison was despatched by the Council of War to conduct the king from Hurst Castle to London, for his trial. In 1649 the degree of Master of Arts was conferred upon him by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford. In 1650 he was raised to the rank of Major General, and served with Cromwell and Ireton in Ireland. On the 22nd October, in the same year, he reviewed in Hyde Park 8,000 troops of the regiments of Middlesex and the city train bands. On the 11th February he was one of the new members balloted into the executive of the State, and on the 18th March following he was sent with a force of horse and foot to repress the conspiracies in Lancashire and the northern counties, in aid of the Scots. He commanded a brigade of horse at the decisive battle of Worcester, and wrote to the Parliament a spirited account of the pursuit. In A.D. 1654, when Cromwell took the violent measure of excluding from the House all the members who refused to sign his "instrument of government," Harrison was considered an object of suspicion, and was arrested. In 1655 he was concerned in the conspiracy of Colonel Overton (Milton's friend), and was confined at Pendennis Castle in Cornwall; upon his release he went to live at his house at Highgate, where Ludlow visited him, and the following singular conversation is recorded.

"Divers conspiracies that had been formed against the government of the Usurper, being already defeated, and the authors of them for the most punished, he was prevailed with to permit Major General Harrison, and Mr. Carew, whom he had sent to remote confinements, to be prisoners at their own habitations, and accordingly he ordered Major Strange to go to Carisbrook Castle, and to bring the Major General from thence to his house at Highgate, where, when I was acquainted with his arrival, I went to make him a visit, and having told him I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved him to join with Cromwell, in the interruption of the civil authority, he answered that he had done it, because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and His people. Then said I, 'Are you not now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power?' To which he replied, 'Upon their heads be the guilt who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing.' I answered, I conceived it not to be sufficient in matters of so great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there be also probable means of attaining those ends by the methods we enter upon; and though it should be granted that

the Parliament was not inclined to make as full reformation of things amiss as might be desired, yet I could not doubt they would have done as much good for us as the nation was fitted to receive, and therefore that extraordinary means ought not to have been used, till it had clearly been evident that the ordinary failed, especially as it could not but be manifest to every man who observed the state of our affairs, that upon the suppression of the civil authority, the power would immediately devolve upon that person who had the greatest interest with the Army.

"His second reason for joining with Cromwell was, because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he approved of any persons or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs; reminding him that the generality of the people that had engaged with us having acted on no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner, from any pretences whatever. The Major General then cited a passage of the prophet Daniel, where he said that 'the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it.' To which he added another to the same effect, that 'the kingdom shall not be left to another people.' I answered that the same prophet says in another place that 'the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High,' and I conceived that if they presume to take it before it was given, they would at the best be guilty of doing evil, that good might come from it. To deprive those of their right in the government who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us. That such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable at least for the present, because we cannot perceive that the saints are clothed with such a spirit as those are required to be, to whom the kingdom is promised, and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretentions in the sight of God or men; for proof of which we need go no further than to these very persons, who had drawn him to assist them, in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretext of advancing the kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself not able to answer the arguments I had used, yet said he was not convinced that the texts of Scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them, and therefore desired other conference with me at another time, when each of us might be accompanied with some friends to assist us in the clearing of this matter.

"I consented to his proposal, and so we parted; but from that time forward we had not an opportunity to discourse farther upon this subject."[1]

The following is the copy of the order from Cromwell to the Lieutenant of the Tower to seize Major Harrison :—

"SIR,—I desire you to seize Major General Harrison, Mr. Portman, Mr. Carew, etc. Do it speedily, and you shall have a warrant after you have done.

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Major Harrison was afterwards pardoned by Cromwell, but as soon as the Restoration took place, he was again confined and brought to trial; at which he was distinguished for staunchness to the cause in which he had taken so active a part, namely, in signing the warrant for the death of King Charles.

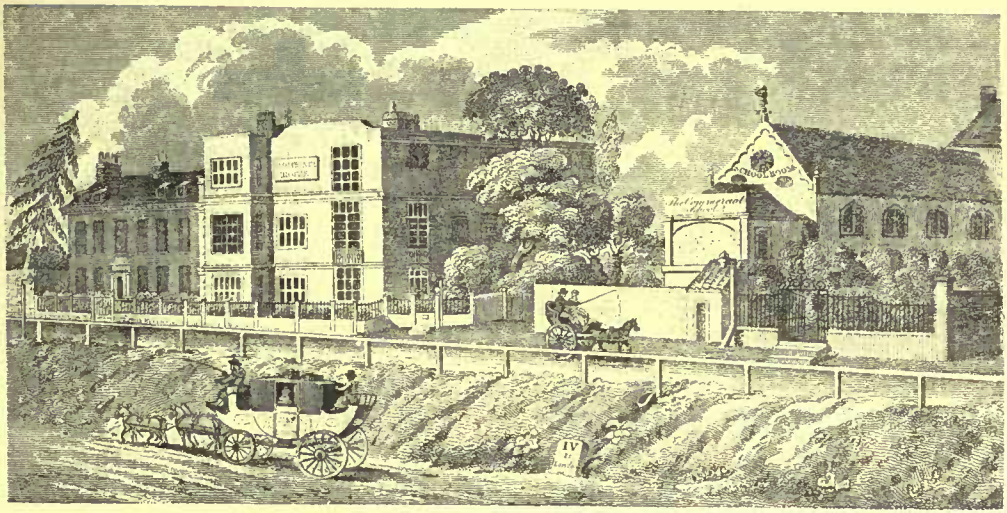
Ludlow states that "when asked whether he was guilty, he not only pleaded not guilty, but justified the sentence passed upon the king, and the authority of those who had commissionated him to act as one of his judges. He plainly told them, when witnesses were produced against him, that he came not thither with an intention to deny anything he had done, but rather to bring it to light, owning his name subscribed to the warrant for executing the king, to be written by himself; charging divers of those who sat on the bench as his judges, to have been formerly as active for the cause in which he had engaged, as himself, or any other person. I must not omit to state that during his trial the executioner, in an ugly dress, with a halter in his hand, was placed near the Major General, during the whole time of his trial; which action I doubt was ever equalled by the most barbarous nation. After the sentence had been pronounced against him, he said aloud as he was withdrawn from the court, that he had no reason to be ashamed of the cause in which he had been engaged."[2]

The sentence was so barbarously executed that he was cut down alive, and saw his bowels thrown into the fire.

A Ralph Harrison of Highgate was a considerable purchaser of lands sold by order of the Parliament.

In 1830 Cromwell House was occupied by a school conducted by the Rev. G. Van der Linde Monteuuis, whose successor was Rev. H. Stretton, during whose occupation the disastrous fire occurred. It is now a convalescent home in connection with the Great Ormond Street Hospital for sick children, for whom it provides fifty-two beds.

[1] Ludlow's *Memoirs*. [2] *Ibid.*



THE LAST REMAINING WING OF ARUNDEL HOUSE.

This famous old house, which is very closely associated with Highgate, both by tradition and history, is said to have occupied the site of the two pairs of villas next below Channing House on the "Bank." Prickett makes this statement "upon the authority of his grandfather, who was born in Highgate, and who received the information from *his* father."

He further states: "It was a building in the Elizabethan style, which even in later days afforded a tolerable idea of the disposition of the roomy apartments, and its former decorations; the projecting walls of the west front, and the stone mullions of the spacious windows, were objects of pleasing interest."

The building seems originally to have been flanked by two wings fronting a courtyard; the last wing of the old house was taken down in A.D. 1825, after having been in the occupation of Dr. Duncan, a schoolmaster of some note, as its last tenant.

Before dealing with the incidents connected with the house, it may be convenient to set them forth chronologically.

Events connected with Arundel House.

1548. Sir Thomas Cornwallis, of Arundel House, Comptroller of the Household of Queen Mary, is knighted.

1554. The Princess Elizabeth lodges here on her way to Court.

1558. Queen Elizabeth receives the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Bishops on her accession.

1587. Letter from Sir Thomas Cornwallis, dated Highgate.
1589. Queen Elizabeth visits Sir Thomas at Highgate.
1593. Another visit.
1594. Another visit.
1596. Norden states that "Cornewalleys, Esq., hath a faire house at Highgate," etc.
1603-4. James I. visits Highgate.
1610. Lady Arabella Stuart arrives here.
1617. A dinner given to the Judges by Lady Arundel.
1624. James I. sleeps at Highgate, prior to a hunting excursion.
1626. Lord Bacon dies.
1614. Date of a stone in a party wall which seems to denote the division of the property from that of the Cromwell House estate.
1825. Remaining wing of the old house is pulled down.

There are reasons for the belief that Queen Mary had some thoughts of putting to death the youthful Princess Elizabeth, her sister, for Fox[1] has given a description of "The myraculous preservation of Lady Elizabeth, now Queen of England, from extreme calamities and daunger of lyfe, in the tyme of Queene Marye hir Sister," which runs thus :—

"The Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with false suspition of Syr Thomas Wyatts rysing, whereupō Queene Marye, whether for that surmise or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the saide Elizabeth hir Sister, at that time lying in hir house at Ashridge, the next day after the rising of Wyatt sent to hir three of her counsaylours, to wit Syr Richard Southwell, Syr Edward Hastings, then Maister of the Horse, and Syr Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and troup of horsemen to the number of two hundred and fifty, who at their sodaine and unprouided commyng found her at the same tyme sore sicke in her bed and very feeble and weake of body, whither when they came ascendyng up to her graces priuie chamber they wylled one of her ladyes whom they met to declare unto her grace that there were certaine come from the court which had a message from the Queene.

"Her grace hauyng knowledge thereof was right glad of their commyng: howbeit being then very sicke and the night farre spent (which was at 10 of the clock) she requested them by the messenger that they would resort thyther in the mornyng. To this they answered and by the said messenger sent worde againe, that they must needes see her and would so doo, in what case so ever shee were; whereat the Lady being agast, went to shew hir grace their wordes, but they following hir, came rushyng as soon as she, into her graces chamber unbydden. At whose so sodaine commyng into her bed chamber her grace being not a little amased, said unto them, Is the haste such that it might not have pleased you to come to-morrow in the mornyng? They made answere that they were right sory to see her in that case; And I (quoth shee) am not glad to see you here, at this tyme of night. Where unto they answered, that they came from the Queene to doo their message and dutie, which was to this effect, that the Queenes pleasure was that shee should be in London the seuenth day

[1] *Acts and Monuments*, 1576.

of that present moneth. Where unto she saide: Certes no creature more glad than I to come to her Majestie, beyng right sorye that I am not in case at this tyme to wayte on her, as you yourselves doo see and can well testifie. Indeed we see it true (quoth they) that you do saye, for which we are very sorye. Albeit we let you to understand that our commission is such, and so strayneth us that we must needes bryng you with us, either quicke or dead. Whereat shee beyng amased sorowfully saide, that their commission was very sore: but yet notwithstanding she hoped it to be otherwise and not so strayt. Yes verily, sayd they; whereupon they called for 2 Physitions, Doctour Owen and Doctour Wendye, demanded whether shee might be remoued from thence with life, or no, whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment to their judgement, to the contrary that she might trauaile without daunger of lyfe.

"In conclusion they wylled her to prepare agaynst the mornyng at nyne of the clocke to goe with them, declaring they had brought with them the Queenes Lytter for her. After much talke the Messengers declaring how there was no prolongyng of tymes and dayes, so departed to their chamber, beyng enterteyned and cheared as apperteyned to their worships. On the next morowe at the time prescribed, they had her forthe as shee was very faynt and feeble, and in such case that she was ready to swound three or four tymes betweene them. What should I speake here that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy house there was to beholde the unreuerend and doulefull dealyng of these men, but especially the carefull feare and captiuitie of their innocent Lady and Maistresse.

"Now to proceede in her journey from Asheridge al sicke in the Lytter, she came to Redborne, where she was garded al night: from thence to St. Albones to Syre Rafe Rowlets House, where shee larged that night both feeble in body and comfortles in mynd. From that place they passed to Maister Doddes house at Mymmes, where also they remained that night: and fro hence came to Highgate, where shee beyng very sicke larged that night and the next day.[1] Duryng which tyme of her abode there came many Purseuantes and messengers from the Court.

"From that place she was conveyed to the Court, where by the way came to meet her many Gentlemen to accōpany her highnes which were very sory to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of people there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her lytter, lamented and bewayled greatly her estate.

The next event of interest to us is the public entry of Queen Elizabeth into London upon the decease of Mary; her meeting with the citizens at Highgate, and the splendid pageants made upon that memorable occasion. Eachard,[2] speaking of Queen Elizabeth's entry into London, states: "She was at *Hatfield* when she received the news of her sister's death, and that she herself was proclaimed Queen; upon which 'tis said she fell down upon her knees and after a short silence broke out in the words of the Psalmist, '*It is the Lord's doing, and wonderful in our eyes*,' which words in Latin she afterwards took for her motto on some of her gold coins: she soon removed from thence to

[1] As Sir Thomas Cornwallis was Comptroller of the Household to Queen Mary, and one of the messengers upon this occasion, there is little doubt but the Princess Elizabeth lodged at the mansion occupied by him, he being a resident in Highgate at that time.

[2] *History of England.*

London; and on the 19th November she was met at *Highgate* by all the Bishops, whom she received with great sweetness excepting Bonner, who being polluted with so much blood, she thought that common civility to *him* would give some countenance to his crimes. She was received into the City with such numerous throngs as was almost incredible, and surrounded with the loudest acclamations of overflowing joy."

Sir Richard Baker[1] (himself resident in Highgate) gives the following version:—"The Queen Elizabeth was then at Hatfield, from whence on Wednesday, the 23rd November, 1558, she removed to the Lord North's house in the Charter House, where she stayed till Monday, the 28th November, and then rode in her chariot through London to the Tower; where she continued till the 5th December, and then removed to Somerset House in the Strand, from whence she went to her Palace at Westminster, and from thence on the 12th January to the Tower, and on the 14th January to Westminster, to her coronation, where as she went she said this prayer:—'O Almighty and Everlasting God, I give Thee most hearty thanks, that Thou hast spared me to this joyful day; and acknowledge that Thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me as Thou didst with Thy faithful servant Daniel, whom Thou deliveredst out of the Denne, from the cruelty of the raging Lions; even so was I overwhelmed and only by Thee delivered: to Thee only therefore be thanks, honour, and praise for ever.' And it is incredible what pageants and shewes were made in the City."

Harrison[2] gives the following account:—"On the death of Queen Mary, her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, was on the 7th November proclaimed Queen in London; with the usual formalities, at which the citizens expressed such demonstrations of joy, as perhaps never before were seen on the like occasion.

"At the time of her sister's death, the Princess Elizabeth was at Hatfield in Hertfordshire, from whence she repaired the next day to London, and was met at *Highgate* by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, who conducted her Majesty in great pomp to the City; where she was received with equal acclamations both from Protestants and Papists, who seemed to vie with each other in their demonstrations of joy."

It is an interesting historical fact that the meeting of the Bishops and citizens with their youthful Queen took place in our secluded little hamlet, especially as it was the period when the bright lustre of one of the most glorious epochs of English history was about to commence, and when the people with almost universal consent hailed with joy a queen of the Protestant faith; for there is evidence that even the Papists were tired of the enormities of the bloodthirsty reign of Mary. It may be said that

[1] *Chron. of Kings of England.* [2] *History of London.*

the sun of the reign of Elizabeth commenced to shine at *Highgate;* that she was partial to the village or the villagers is certain, for the Queen visited Sir Thomas Cornwallis at *Highgate* on the 11th June, 1589, as it is recorded that "the bell ringers of St. Margaret's, Westminster, were paid 6d. on the 11th June, when the Queen's Majesty came from *Highgate;*"[1] and again in 1593 and 1594, as appears by the following extracts from letters in the Frere MSS.

June 7th, 1593. Letter from Philip Gawdy of Clifford's Inn to his brother:—"The Queene is now in her progresse; she hath been to Lambeth, at Wimbledon and at Osterley; she dynes this day at Mr. Peynes, and comes to-night to *Highgate*, from thence to Mr. Warrens and so to Tebolds to stay without any wemyne."

1594. "The Queene is now at *Hygate*; many a drye eye for the Byshopp of London, who is deade and buried, and I fear me, not ascended into heaven."

1601. Shroven Monday. "There were six *gentlemen* hanged this day for robbing Sir William Cornwalleys" (Highgate).

In 1596 Norden states[2] that "Cornewalleys, Esquire, hath a verie faire house (in Highgate), from which he may with great delight beholde the stately Citie of London, Westminster, Greenwich, the famous river of Thamyse, and the country towards the south verie farre."

Sir Thomas Cornwallis died at Brome on 24th December, 1604, aged eighty-five; and it is most probable that his son, Sir William, then removed from Highgate to the Suffolk mansion, letting the former to Sir William Bond, and afterwards to Lord Arundel, who seems to have purchased it, although there is a reference to Sir William Cornwallis in connection with Highgate at a later date.

Sir Charles Cornwallis, Knt., second son of Sir William Cornwallis, was a man of superior abilities, and was employed by James I. as his Ambassador to Spain. He wrote the life of Henry, Prince of Wales, to whom he had been secretary; and died about 1630.

Sir William Bond was residing in Highgate in 1610, of which the letter from the Lords of the Council to him respecting Lady Arabella Stuart affords ample evidence; and indeed seems to have resided there for some time previously, as on the 23rd July, 1603, when he received the honour of knighthood, he is described as of "*Highgate.*" He was the eldest son of Sir George Bond, Lord Mayor of London in 1587, who was the third son of William Bond of Buckland, in the county of Somerset, the first of this family who is mentioned in the pedigree at the visitation of London, in 1633.[3]

[1] Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth.*
[2] *Speculum Britanniæ.*
[3] Burke's *Extinct Baronetcies.*

Sir George Bond amassed a large fortune in trade. One of his daughters (sister to Sir William) married Sir Henry Winston of Standish, county Gloucester, whose daughter and co-heir married John Churchill of Minton, county Dorset, father of Winston Churchill, and grandfather of John Churchill the great Duke of Marlborough.[1] She was also the ancestress of the Duke of Leeds and the Duke of Berwick. Her sister married William Hall of London, grocer, from whom have descended Viscount Melbourne, Lady Palmerston, and Earl Cowper.[2] The uncle of Sir William Bond was William Bond, alderman and sheriff, who died in 1576. His epitaph in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, may be thus translated :—

> "Behold, under this tomb William Bond, 'the flower of the merchants' which the land of Britain has produced, lies buried. He having suffered much amongst waves and rocks, enriched the shores of his country by means of foreign merchandize. Grecian poets admire the mighty Jason, for his having brought the golden fleece from the icy Phasis. O learned Greece, be silent! O Grecian poets, yield the palm! Here lies a merchant far greater than the Grecian Jason. He carried away many fleeces more golden than those of Phryxis, and passed over many seas more rough than the waves of Phasis.
>
> "Alas that Death cannot be bribed by gold!
> The Flower of Merchants—William Bond—is buried."[3]

This William Bond resided at Crosby Hall, to which he added a turret. His son was Captain Martin Bond, whose epitaph states, "He was Captaine at y^e^ camp at Tilbury, and after remained *Cheief* Captaine of y^e^ trained bandes of this cittiy until his death." He too was buried in St. Helen's, and his monument is very interesting, as displaying to perfection the costume of the times

Returning to Sir William Bond of Highgate, there is a record (Sept. 8th, 1611,—James I.) of authorization to George Weymouth of London, Gentleman, by Sir William Bond of *Highgate*, in the county of Middlesex, Knight, to make the purchase, and other arrangements necessary for building, victualling, arming, and manning with a crew of twenty, a ship of forty tons, and for victualling it for a year.[4]

Lady Arabella Stuart. There is but little doubt as to Arundel House being the residence of this unfortunate lady at *Highgate;* one authority states that she resided in "Mr. Conier's house,"[5] another "her own house,"[6] and a document signed by six of H.M.'s Ministers, and the Master of the Rolls, states "Sir William Bond's house."[7]

[1] Collinson's *History of Somerset.*
[2] Orridge's *City of London.*
[3] *Annals of St. Helens*, by Dr. Cox.
[4] Duke of Manchester's MSS.
[5] Lodge.
[6] Wilson's *Life and Times of James I.*
[7] Harleian MSS., 7,003.

This document is sufficient to identify Sir William Bond as her host at Highgate. Mr. Conier's house, to which she was afterwards removed, in April 1611, "and twenty shillings a week paid for her house rent," was at East Barnet, and from this house she seems to have made her escape.[1]

The Lady Arabella Stuart was the daughter of Charles Stuart, younger brother of the father of King James I., her mother being Elizabeth Cavendish. She had been secretly married to Sir William Seymour, grandson to the Earl of Hertford, and therefore both husband and wife were allied to the Crown.

It is stated that the Pope had some project, in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, of raising Arabella to the throne of England and marrying her to the brother of the reigning Duke of Parma. Henry IV. of France was said to be in favour of the plan, because he was apprehensive that England would become too powerful if it were united to Scotland under the same king.

After the death of Elizabeth, some English lords concerted a scheme to make Arabella queen, "as they were afraid lest King James, being a foreigner, should prefer the Scots before them, and confer all the posts of honour and profit upon the former. They therefore conspired to kill the king and crown Arabella."[2] This conspiracy being discovered and defeated, there was ample reason for keeping Lady Arabella under at least, gentle restraint.

D'Israeli states[3] that when the secret correspondence of Arabella and Seymour was discovered, it was followed by a sad scene, and the king resolved to consign the unhappy lady to the stricter care of the Bishop of Durham. The lady fell ill and could not travel but in a litter, accompanied by her physician; she only reached *Highgate*, a short stage on her wearisome journey, when she could proceed no farther. The physician returned to town to report her state, and declared "that she was assuredly very weak, her pulse dull, melancholy, and very irregular, and her countenance very heavy, pale, and wan," and it was upon this occasion the following letter was sent to Sir William Bond at *Highgate*.[4]

"Sir William Bond,—Forasmuch as there is some occason to make provision for one nygte Lodginge for the La Arbella, in respect that she cannot convenientlie reach Barnett, some things being wanting for hir iourney this afternoone contrarie to hir expectacon; wee haue thought good to entreat yo[u] not to refuse for hir such a courtesie as the lending of a couple of chambers for hir La, because wee doubt the

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[1] Thorne's *Environs.*
[2] Thaunus.
[3] *Curiosities of Literature.*
[4] 7,003 of the Harleian MSS.

Innes there are full of Inconvenience. By doing whereof, you shall give us cause to report well of you to his Matie. And so we commit you to God.

"Att Whitehall the day of March 1610,

"Your loving friends,

"R. Salisbury. H. Northampton.
Nottingham. T. Suffolk.
E. Worcester. G. M. Shrewsbury.

"Jul. Cæsar.

"To our loving friend Sir William Bond, Knight, or in his absence, to the Ladye his wife att Highgate."

Although the above request was for one night only, the king with unusual indulgence appears to have consented to Lady Arabella remaining for a month at *Highgate*, in confinement, till she had sufficiently recovered to proceed to Durham, to which place the bishop had posted to await her reception.

The following letters appear to have been written from *Highgate*, to Lady Jane Drummond, beseeching her to obtain their Majesties' favour and pardon.

"Good Cousin,—I pray you to do me the kindnesse to present this letter of mine in all humility to hir Matie and w^h all my most humble and dutifull thanckes for the gratious commisseration it pleased hir Ma^ty to have of me, as I hear to my great comfort.

"I presume to make suite to his Ma^ty because it please hir Ma^ty to intercede for me, and I cannot but hope to be restored to hir Mat^y service and his Mat^ys favour, whose just and gratious disposition I verily thincke would have binne moved to compassion er this, by the consideration of the cause in itself honest and lamentable, and of the honor I have to be so neare his Mat^y and his beloud, but that it is God's will hir Mat^y should have a hand in so honorable and charitable a worke, as to reobtaine his Mat^ys favour to one that esteemeth it hir greatest worldly comfort.

"So wishing you all honour and happiness,

"I take my leave and remain,

"Your very loueing cousin,

"Arabella Seymoure.[1]

"To Lady Jane Drummond."

"Good Cousin,—I pray you present hir Mat^y my most humble thanckes for the continuance of hir Ma^tys favour towards me; that I received in your letter, which hath so cheered me, as I hope I shall be better able to passe over my sorrow till it please God to move his Ma^tys heart to compassion of me, whilst I may thearby assure myself, I remain in hir Ma^tys fauour, though all other worldly comforts be w^hdrawn from me, and will not cease to pray to the Almighty to reward hir Ma^ty for hir gratious regard for me in this distresse, w^h all happen else to hir Royall selfe and hirs. I pray you likewise present hir Ma^ty this peece of my work, which

[1] Harleian MSS., No. 7,003.

I humbly beseeche hir Ma^ty^ to accept, in remembrance of the poore prisoner hir Ma^yts^ most humble Servant that wrought them, in hope those Royall handes will voutchsafe to weare them, which till I haue the honor to kisse, I shall live in a great deal of sorrow. I must also render you my kindest thankes for your so friendly and freely imparting your opinion of my suite. But whereas my good frendes may doubte my said suite will be more long and difficult to obteine, then they wish by reason of the wisdom of the state in dealing with others of my quality in the like cause, I say that I never heard or read of any bodies case, that might be truely and justly compared to this of mine; which being truely considered will be found so far differing as theare can be no true resemblance made theareof w^h^ any others; and so I am assured that both they'r Mat^ys^ (when it shall please them to examine it in they'r Princely wisdomes) will easily discerne. And I do earnestly intreate you to moue hir Ma^ty^ to vouchsafe the continuance of hir so gratious a beginning on my behalfe, and to perswade his Ma^ty^ to weigh my cause aright, and then I shall not doubt to receive that Royall Justice and fauour that my owne soule witnessethe I have ever deserued at his Ma^ts^ handes, and will euer endeauor to descrue of him and his whilest I have breath, and so w^h^ many thanckes to your selfe for your kind offices I take leave and rest,

"Your very louing Cousin,

"ARABELLA SEYMOURE.

"TO LADY JANE DRUMMOND."

It appears that Lady Arabella, by the extension of the king's permission, remained at *Highgate* some thirteen months, from March 1610 to April 1611. In June 1611 her friends contrived her escape in the following fashion, from Mr. Conier's house at East Barnet, to which she had been removed.

"Having induced her keepers into securitie by the fayre show of conformity and willingness to goe on her journey towards Durham, whither she was to be conducted by Sir James Crofts, and in the mean tyme disguising herselfe by drawing a great pair of French-fashioned hose over her petticotes, and putting on a man's doublet, a man-lyke perruque with long locks, over her hair, a black hat, black cloke, russet bootes, with red tops, and a rapier by her side, walked forth, between three and four of the clock, with Mr. Markham. After they had gone on foote a myle and a halfe to a sorry inn, where Crompton attended with their horses, she grew very sicke and fainte, so as the ostler that held the styrrop said that gentleman would hardly hold out to London. Yet being on a good gelding, astryde in an unwonted fashion, the stirring of the horse brought blood into her face, and so she rid on towards Blackwall, where arriving about six o'clock, and finding there in readiness two men, a gentleman, and a chambermaid, with one boate, full of Mr. Seimour's and her trunks, and another boat for their persons, they hasted from thence towards Gravesend, but the way, they were fain to lie still at Tilbury, whilst the oares went a land to refresh themselves. They then preceeded to Lee, and by that tyme the day appeared, and

they discovered a shippe at anchor a myle beyond them, which was the French barque that waited for them. Then the ladye would have lyen at anchor, expecting Mr. Seimour, but through the importunity of her followers, they forthwithe hoisted saile to seawards. In the meanewhyle, Mr. Seimour, with a perruque and beard of blacke hair, and in a tauny cloth suit, walked alone without suspition from his lodging, out of the great weste door of the Tower, following a cart that brought him billets. From thence he walked along by the Tower wharfe by the wardens of the south gate, and so to the iron gate, where Rodney was ready with oars to receive him. When they came to Lee, and found that the shippe was gone, the billows rising very high, they hired a fisherman for 20*s.* to set them aboard a certain shippe they saw under saile. That shippe they found not to be it they looked for, so they made forwards to the next under saile, which was a shippe of Newcastle. This, with much ado, they hired for £40, to carry them to Calais; but whether the collier did perform his bargain or no, is not as yet known. On Tuesday, in the afternoon, my Lord Treasurer being advertized that the Ladye Arabella had made an escape, sent forthwithe to the Lieutenant of the Tower to set straight guard over Mr. Seimour, which he, after his usual manner, would thoroughly do that he would; but coming to the prisoner's lodgings, he found, to his great amaezment, that he was gonne from thence one whole day before. Now, the King and the Lords being much disturbed at this unexpected accident, my Lord Treasurer sent orders to a pinnace that lay in the Downes to put presently to sea, first to Calais Roade, and then to scour up the roade towards Dunkerke. This pinnace spying the aforesaid French barke, which lay lingering for Mr. Seimour, made to her, which thereupon offered to fly towards Calais, and endured thirteen shot of the pinnace before she would stryke. In this barke is the layde taken prisoner, and her followers taken back towards the Tower, not so sorry for her own restraynt as she would be glad if Mr. Seimour might escape, whose welfare she protesteth to affect much more than her owne."

There is a record of a search being made for her by Phineas Pette, a shipwright, who went out with the king's messengers and "twenty musqueteers to run out as far as the Noor head and search all shipps, barks and other vessels." The king's messenger, John Price, received £6 for making "haste post haste."[1]

The following proclamation was issued, which, together with the accompanying letter from the Lord Treasurer, was forwarded to the English resident at Brussels (Mr. Trumball), with instructions that it was to be presented immediately to the Archduke.

[1] Devon's *Pell Records*.

"De proclamatione tangente Dominam Arbellam et Willielmum Seymor.

"Whereas we are given to understand that the Lady Arbella and William Seymore, second son to the Lord Beauchamp, being for divers great and heynous offences committed, the one to our Tower of London, and the other to a special guard, have found the means, by the wicked practises of divers lewd persons, as namely Markham, Crompton, Rodney and others, to break prison and make escape on Monday 3rd of June, with an intent to transplant themselves unto foreign parts.

"We do hereby straightlie charge and command all persons whatsoever upon their allegiance and dutie, not only to forbear to receive, harbor, or assist them in their passage anie way, as they will answer it at their perilles; but upon the like charge and paine to use the best means they can for their apprehension and keeping them in safe custody, which we will take as an acceptable service.

"Given at Greenwich the fouerth daie of June 1611,

"Per ipsum regem."

From the Lord Treasurer Salisbury to Mr. Trumball.

"MR. TRUMBALL,—The copy of the enclosed to the Archduke, will fully acquaint you with the strange occasion of this sudden dispatch; it only remains for me to let you know, that his Majesties pleasure is you should presently demand audience of the Archduke, and having delivered him the letter, to represent unto him how sensible his Majestie shall be of the proceedings that shall be used towards them in a matter of this nature, wherein friendship ought not to be guided by that which is only visible, but by entering into judgment how far circumstances of persons and pretences may make things dangerous in consequence, though in other examples wanting some such considerations, that may be refused which ought to be granted. Upon which ground you shall do well to make this further instance; that the Archduke will not suffer the world to conceive that their friendship with his Majesty is so weakly grounded as not to demonstrate on such an occasion somewhat more of the ordinary rule of amity or treaty may directly tye them to. And therefore his Majesty doth now require of them that both the persons and their companys (if they come within their dominions) may be stayed untill upon advertisement of it, they may further hear from his Majesty. Though you may conclude, that excepting the scorn and example of so great pride and animosity were his only clemency hath bred his own offence, there is nothing in these persons relative to themselves to hold them other than contemptible creatures.

"This being the effect which his Majesty doth desire, the time admitting no particular relation of the fact nor any long discourse, the rest must depend upon your own discretion to amplify and enforce the same as you shall see cause.

"They had so good correspondency, and plotted their escape with such secresy, as though they were under several custodies, Mr. Seymour being in the Tower, but had the liberty of the prison, and the Lady Arabella committed to Sir James Crofts, who was to conduct her to Durham, yet they found means to escape much about the same time. The lady putting herself into man's apparell, and the other disguising himself with false hair and beard, and mean apparell. They embarqued themselves at Lee yesterday, about nine o'clock in the morning, so that if they make not the more haste than I think they can, and this messenger be not too slow, you shall have time enough to demand audience, and know the Archduke's answer before they come to Brussels. And so I commend you to God. Your loving friend,

"R. SALISBURY."

This adventurous and unfortunate lady ended her days in the Tower on 27th September, A.D. 1615, after an imprisonment of four years.

Mr. Seymour lived to become the Marquis of Hertford. Lodge observes[1] that "had the life of Lady Arabella been marked by the same criminal extravagances, as well as distinguished by similar misfortunes and persecutions, her character would have stood at least as forward on the page of history as that of her royal aunt, Queen Mary of Scotland, in whose vault in the Royal Chapel, Westminster Abbey, she is buried."

That her escape caused her friends great trouble is plain from the fact that "the Countess of Shrewsbury was committed to the Tower about the La Arabellay's escape";[2] and two folio volumes were published, entitled "My Lady Shrewsbury's Cause, touching the Flight of the Lady Arabella;"[3] there also exists in MS. an account of Lady Arabella's death.[4]

The first mention of the Earl of Arundel at *Highgate* is in A.D. 1617; and curiously enough it is connected with the name of Bacon. At that time the king was in Scotland, and Sir Francis, having recently been appointed Lord Keeper, was left at the head of the Privy Council in London, where, according to the satirical Weldon, "he occupied the king's lodgings at Whitehall, and assumed the state of royalty."

During the absence of the Court, the Lords were entertained in turn at each other's houses, and in Whitsun week, says Mr. Chamberlain in a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, the Countess of Arundel (the Earl had accompanied the king to Scotland) "made a grand feast at *Highgate* to the Lord Keeper (Bacon), the two Lords Justices, the Master of the Rolls, and I know not whom else. It was after the Italian manner, with four courses and four table cloths, one under another; and when the first course and table cloth were taken away, the Master of the Rolls (Sir Julius Cæsar), thinking all had been done, said grace (as his manner is when no divines are present), and was afterwards well laughed at for his labour."

In 1624 we find the king sleeping at this mansion. He "went on Sunday, June 2nd, toward evening to *Highgate*, and lay at the Lord of Arundel's to hunt a stag early the next morning.[5]

There is also a letter from the Earl of Arundel to the Earl of Shrewsbury, from which the following is an extract, relating to the purchase of Arundel House.[6]

"My Lo Haddington's weddinge with my Lo of Sussex his daughter is at Shrofetide, at the Court; and it is sayde that a mach is concluded between Sir Jarvis

[1] *Illustrations of British History.*
[2] Duke of Northumberland's MSS. Duke of Devonshire's library.
[3] Eshton Hall MSS.
[4] Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*
[5] *Talbot Papers*, vol. v.

Clinton's daughter and my Lo Daboguy, and Clifton shal be a baron, but when I heare not. Old Southampton I am sure you heare is dead, and hath left the best of her stuffe to her Sonne, and the greatest part to her husband, the most of which I think will be solde, and dispersed into the handes of many men, of which number I would be one, if the admiral were not damaged for making me pay four thousand pounds for this House as well as Sir Thomas Heneage is for that stuff, and so hopinge that sickness shall plead yo^r^ daughter's pardon for not writinge, and her not writinge myne for troublinge yo^r^ Lo with one so long a letter, instead of twoe, I rest

" Yo^r^ Lop^s^ affectionate Son to doe you all service,

" ARUNDELL.

"ARUNDELL HOUSE.

" *To my right honorable father the Earl of Shrewsbury.*"

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, was the only son of Earl Philip, whose mother, Mary Duchess of Norfolk, was sole heir of the Fitzalans. The eminent qualifications which ornamented this great man's character—his wisdom, his magnificence, his unbounded liberality, his taste for the fine arts (for he was among the first Englishmen who understood and cultivated the refinements, which have been since distinguished by that name), and his patronage of the useful arts—are justly celebrated by all historians. He was the friend and patron of Francis Junius, who was his librarian; of Oughtred the mathematician; of Hollar the engraver, whom he brought to England; of Vandyck, of Inigo Jones, La Sœur, and Fanelli.

For the collection of works of art he engaged both Evelyn and Sir William Petty. At his death his collection of sculpture alone, consisted of 37 statues, 128 busts, and 250 inscribed marbles, besides altars, sarcophagi, fragments, and gems! Part of this magnificent collection (the Arundel Marbles) was presented by his grandson to the University of Oxford.

The precise date of his birth is not known, but Sir Edward Walker says[1] that the Earl was seventeen years old when Queen Elizabeth died (which fixes it at 1586), and continues:—"He received his education at home, under the eye of his discreet and virtuous mother, with whom he lived the latter years of Elizabeth's reign, in a privacy better suited to the adverse circumstances of his family than to his rank, or, more properly, to his hopes, for he inherited no dignity; of four succeeding descents, of his immediate predecessors two had suffered death on the scaffold, one was strongly suspected to have been poisoned in the recess of his prison, and all were attainted. He had however at that time by courtesy the title of Lord Maltravers, a Barony derived from his great ancestors the Fitzalans."

In 1603, soon after James's accession, he was restored in blood by Act of Parliament to such honours as he had lost by his father's attainder as well as to the Earldom of Surrey, and to most of the Baronies which had been forfeited by the attainder of his grandfather, Thomas fourth

[1] *Historical Discourses.*

Duke of Norfolk. Soon after he came of age he married Alethea, third daughter and co-heir of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury; an advantageous marriage, for her two elder sisters, the Countesses of Pembroke and Kent, dying childless, the most part of her father's noble revenues in the end devolved on her.

Lord Arundel was sworn a Privy Councillor in 1607, and in 1611 he was chosen a Knight of the Garter. The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine happened soon after, and he was appointed to escort them to their dominions. Finding himself upon the Continent, he could not resist the temptation of visiting the great centres of Italian art, which resulted in the formation of his celebrated collection. When he returned to his country in 1614, he embraced the communion of the Church of England, although he had been bred a Roman Catholic, in the strictest austerities of that persuasion.

He experienced little favour in this reign. The familiar coarseness of James's manners, the immoralities of that prince's favourites, and the general corruption of the Court, were equally abhorrent to his nature and his habits. We find him therefore for several years not otherwise employed publicly than in the reception of Ambassadors, and other dignified ceremonies which suited his disposition as well as his rank, for no man better understood the exactness of propriety in such matters.

After the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham he came again to the Court. In 1631 he was appointed a Commissioner to examine into the extravagant fees exacted in Courts of Justice, and in 1633 attended the king at his coronation in Scotland; in the same year he was deputed Ambassador Extraordinary to the States General, and was made Chief Justice of the Forests of the North of Trent But his most important public service about that period was in an embassy in 1636 to the Emperor Ferdinand II., and the Imperial Diet, on the subject of the restoration of the Palatinate to the Elector, Charles's nephew, a measure which the king had so entirely at heart that he could not give a stronger proof of his confidence in the Earl's wisdom, as well as in his fidelity, than by entrusting it to his management. The mission, however, proved unsuccessful; and the Earl having passed nine months in Germany, during which he expended not less than £40,000 from his own private fortune in augmenting his already splendid library and cabinet, returned to London and was received by the king with peculiar marks of grace and approbation. A journal of the occurrences which took place in this voyage was published in the succeeding year by William Crowne, Gent, a book now of extreme rarity.

Lord Arundel held the high offices of Earl Marshal and Steward of the Household both in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. In June 1641 he presented a petition, supported by another from several peers of

great worth and power, petitioning the king to restore him to the Dukedom of Norfolk; but Charles, for some unknown reasons, would favour him no further than by the grant of a patent creating him Earl of Norfolk. Disgusted by this half measure, he retired to Padua. There he died on the 4th October, 1646, and his remains were brought to England, and buried at Arundel.

It is somewhat remarkable that Lord Arundel should have occupied the house in *Highgate* with which Lady Arabella Stuart was associated, and for whose sake his wife's mother, the Countess of Shrewsbury, was imprisoned in the Tower.

One of the most interesting incidents connected with Arundel House is the death within its walls of the great Lord Bacon, on 9th April, 1626, under the circumstances set forth in the following letters, which appeared in *The Gentleman's Magazine*:—

"LINCOLN'S INN, *July 9th*, 1827.

"MR. URBAN,—I have for some years been collecting materials for the life of Lord Bacon. May I request you to lay before your readers the subjoined statement, which I wish particularly to address to the inhabitants of Highgate? Lord Bacon died at that village; and the following account of his decease is contained in Aubrey's *Anecdotes*:—

"'His lordship was trying an experiment, as he was taking the aire with Doctor Witherborne, a Scotchman, physitian to the king, towards Highgate. Snow lay upon the ground; and it came into my Lord's thoughts why flesh might not be preserved in Snow as in salt. They were resolved they would try the experiment presently; they alighted out of the Coach, and went into a poor woman's House, at the bottom of Highgate Hill, and bought a hen, and made the woman exenterate it, and then stuffed the bodie with snow; and my lord did help to do it himself. The snow so chilled him, he immediately fell so ill that he could not return to his lodging (I suppose then at Gray's Inn), but went to the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, where they put him into a good bed warmed with a panne; but it was a damp bed, that had not been layn about a yeare before, which gave him such a cold, that in two or three days he died of a suffocation.'

"The following is a copy of Lord Bacon's last letter to the Earl of Arundel and Surrey:—

"'MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I was likely to have had the fortune of Caius Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of Mount Vesuvius; for I was also desirous to try an experiment or two touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well; but in the journey between London and Highgate, I was taken with such a fit of casting as I know not whether it were the Stone, or some surfeit or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three. But when I came to your Lordship's House, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your housekeeper is very careful and diligent about me, which I assure myself your Lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your Lordship's House was happy to me, and I kiss your noble hands for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it, etc.

"'I know how unfit it is for me to write with any other hand than mine own, but by my troth my fingers are so disjointed with sickness that I cannot steadily hold a pen.'

"I have endeavoured, but in vain, to discover the site of Lord Arundel's House. If any resident at Highgate can communicate any information upon this subject it will be gratefully received by

"BASIL MONTAGUE."[1]

In June of the next year the following letter appeared in the same magazine:—

"*June 20th*, 1828.

"MR. URBAN,—I much regret that Mr. Basil Montague's letter in your magazine for last August respecting the House of the Earl of Arundel at Highgate, in which the illustrious Bacon breathed his last, has received no satisfactory reply. Nor can I assist in determining that point to which your Correspondent's inquiry was particularly directed, namely, the site of the Mansion in question, but perhaps the following memoranda of events which took place within its precincts may prove of some interest, as well to your correspondent as to your readers generally.

"It is not until the middle of the reign of James I. that we hear of the Earl of Arundel having *a House at Highgate*. When Norden wrote his Survey of Middlesex, in 1596, the principal mansion was the one thus mentioned.

"Mr. Lysons has remarked that there is in the Harleian MSS., 6,994, fol. 43, a letter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, dated 'Hyghgat, 16 July 1587.' Sir Thomas, who was Lord Treasurer of Calais and Comptroller of the Household to Queen Mary, had been knighted as early as 1548, so that the 'Cornwalleyes, Esq.,' mentioned by Norden in 1596, was doubtless his son William, who had taken up his residence there, whilst Sir Thomas had retired to his Mansion at Brome in Suffolk. It is presumed that this House at Highgate was visited by Queen Elizabeth in June 1589; and on the 1st May, 1604, it was the scene of a splendid Royal festival. For this latter occasion Ben Jonson was employed to compose his dramatic interlude of *The Penates;* a private entertainment of the King and Queen[2] on May day in the morning, by Sir William Cornwallis, at his House at Highgate;'[3] and Sir Basil Brooke, of Madeley in Shropshire, was knighted there on the same day."

In confirmation of the preceding statement, the following account appears in Rawley's *Life of Bacon* (1671), and is confirmed by the Aubury MSS. in the Ashmolean Museum.

"He died on the 9th day of *April* in the year 1626, in the early morning of the day then celebrated for our Saviour's *Resurrection*, in the 66th year of his age, at the Earl of Arundel's house in *Highgate*, near *London*, to which place he casually repaired about a week before; God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle *fever*, accidentally

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1827.

[2] James I. seems to have been at Arundel House again on 2nd June, 1624, for a hunting excursion.

[3] This seems to intimate that the Cornwallis family had resumed possession of the house.

accompanied by a great *cold*, whereby the defluction of *Rheume* fell so plentifully upon his breast that he died by *suffocation*, and was buried in St. Michael's church at St. Albans."

Lord Bacon succeeded Sir Henry Hobart[1] as Attorney-General, and afterwards became Lord High Chancellor. He was subsequently accused of taking bribes in causes which depended before him. The following singular letter, addressed to the king about five years preceding his death, alludes to his expected disgrace :—

"To the King.

"It may please your Majestie,

"It hath pleased God for these three daies past to visit me with such extremitie of headach upon the hinder part of my head, fixed in one place; that I thought verily it had been some impostumation; and then the little physick that I have, told me that either it must grow to a congelation, and so to a lethargie; or to break, and so to a mortal fever, or sudden death; which apprehension (and chiefly the anguish of the paine) made me unable to think of any business. But now that the paine itself is asswaged to be tolerable, I resume the care of my business, and therein prostrate myself again by my letter to your Majestie's feet.

"Your Majestie can bear me witness, that at my last so comfortable access I did not so much as move your Majestie by your absolute power of pardon, or otherwise to take my cause into your hands and to interpose between the sentence of the House; and according to my desire, your Majestie left it to the sentence of the House by Lord Treasurer's report.

"But now, if not *per omnipotentiam*, as the divines say, but *per potestatem suaviter disponentem*, your Majestie will graciously save me from a sentence with the good liking of the House, and that cup may pass from me, it is the utmost of my desires.

"This I move with the more belief, because I assure myself that if it be reformation that is sought, the very taking away of the seale, upon my general submission will be as much in example for these four hundred years, as any further severity.

"The meanes of this I most humbly leave unto your Majestie; but surely I should conceive that your Majestie, opening yourself in this kind to the Lords Counsellors, and a motion of the prince after my submission, and my Lord Marquis using his interest with his friends in the House, may effect the spareing of the sentence; I makeing my humble suite to the House for that purpose, joined with the deliverie up of the seale into your Majestie's hands.

"This is my last suite that I shall make to your Majestie in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy seate, after fifteen yeares service, wherein I have served your Majestie in my poor endeavours, with an intyre heart; and, as I presume to say unto your Majestie, am still a virgin for matters that concerne your person or crowne, and now only craveing that, after eight steps of honour, I be not precipitated altogether.

"But because he that hath taken brybes, is apt to give brybes, I will goe further, and present your Majestie with brybe; for if your Majestie give me peace and leisure,

[1] A resident at Highgate.

and God give me life, I will present you with a good *History of England*, and a better *Digest of your Lawes*; and so concluding with my prayers, I rest *clay in your Majestie's hands*.

"FR. ST. ALBAN.[1]

"2nd May, 1621."

This appeal to the king did not at the time succeed, for it appears the Chancellor was impeached by the peers, and charged upon four-and-twenty articles of bribery. An ample confession, with some trifling extenuations, was signed by him, and a humble petition for a favourable sentence. He resigned the Great Seal on the 2nd May, 1621, and the Lords the next day, by the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice, their Speaker, *pro tempore*, pronounced the following sentence in his Lordship's absence, on account of sickness: "That the Viscount St. Alban, Lord Chancellor of England, shall undergo a fine or ransome of £40,000; that he shall be imprisoned in the *Tower* during the king's pleasure; that he shall for ever be incapable of any office, place, or employment in the state or commonwealth; that he shall never sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the Court."

The full sentence, however, was not carried into effect; the fine was abandoned, and through the intercession of the king, a pension of £1,800 a-year was promised him. This appears to have been soon discontinued; for, in a letter to his Majesty, he complained that the pension was in arrear. He ultimately became so reduced as to ask the Provostship of Eton School, which he was refused. York House and the Manor of Gorhambury having been sold to pay his debts, he was obliged to resume the same lodgings in Gray's Inn which he had inhabited whilst a practical lawyer, and which was his only home, at the period of his decease at Arundel House.

Buckle[2] thus sums up the character of Bacon:—"The truth is, that while his speculations were full of wisdom, his acts were full of folly. He was anxious to build up a fortune, and he did what many persons have done both before and since; he availed himself of his judicial position to take bribes from suitors in his court. But here again, his operations were so clumsy, that he committed the enormous oversight of accepting bribes from men against whom he afterwards decided. He, therefore, deliberately put himself in the power of those whom he deliberately injured. This was not only because he was greedy after wealth, but also because he was injudiciously greedy. The error was in the head as much as in the heart. Besides being a corrupt judge, he was likewise a bad calculator. The consequence was he was detected, and being detected was ruined. When his fame was at its height, when enjoyments of every kind were thickening and clustering around him,

[1] *Life of Bacon.* [2] See p. 271.

the cup of pleasure was dashed from his lips because he quaffed it too eagerly. To say that he fell merely because he was unprincipled is preposterous, for many men are unprincipled all their lives and never fall at all. Why it is that bad men sometimes flourish, and how such apparent injustice is remedied, is a mysterious question which this is not the place for discussing; but the fact is indubitable. In practical life men fail, partly because they aim at unwise objects, but chiefly because they have not acquired the art of adapting their means to their end. This was the case with Bacon. In ordinary matters he was triumphed over and defeated by nearly everyone with whom he came into contact. His dependents cheated him with impunity; and notwithstanding the large sums he received, he was constantly in debt, so that even while his peculations were going on he derived little benefit from them. Though, as a judge, he stole the property of others, he did not know how to steal so as to escape detection, and he did not know how to keep what he had stolen. The mighty thinker was in practice an arrant trifler. He always neglected the immediate and the pressing. This was curiously exemplified in the last scene of his life. In some of his generalisations respecting putrefaction, it occurred to him that the process might be stopped by snow. He arrived at conclusions like a cautious and large-minded philosopher: he tried them with the rashness and precipitancy of a child. With an absence of common sense which would be incredible if it were not well attested, he rushed out of his coach on a very cold day, and, neglecting every precaution, stood shivering in the air while he stuffed a fowl with snow, risking a life invaluable to mankind for the sake of doing what any serving-man could have done just as well. It did not need the intellect of a Bacon to foresee the result. Before he had finished what he was about he felt suddenly chilled: he became so ill as to be unable to return to his own house, and his worn-out frame giving way, he gradually sank, and died a week after his first seizure."[1]

Dr. Draper's estimate of Lord Bacon is still more unfavourable. He says: "Few scientific pretenders have made more mistakes than Lord Bacon. He rejected the Copernican system, and spoke insolently of its great author; he undertook to criticise adversely Gilbert's treatise *De Magnete;* he was occupied in the condemnation of any investigation of final causes while Harvey was deducing the circulation of blood from Aquapendente's discovery of the valves in the veins; he was doubtful whether instruments were of any advantage, while Galileo was investigating the heavens with the telescope Ignorant himself of every branch of mathematics, he presumed that they were useless in science but a few years before Newton achieved by their aid his immortal discoveries.

[1] H. T. Buckle's *Miscellaneous Works.*

It is time that the sacred name of philosophy should be severed from its long connection with that of one, who was a pretender in science, a time-serving politician, an insidious lawyer, a corrupt judge, a treacherous friend, a bad man."[1]

We have no further record of any importance of the old house, excepting that Mr. Schoppins, a benefactor to the parish, resided there; the probability is it was ultimately subdivided, as there is a drawing in an illustrated copy of Prickett in the British Museum, which is suggestive of several tenements. As already stated, the last wing was pulled down in 1825.

On the lower side of the site of Arundel House stands Betchworth House, now occupied by Mr. Pearson. This house is pointed out as the one described by Dickens in *David Copperfield* as Mrs. Steerforth's house, although the description does not altogether tally.

On the upper side is an old house which has recently been named Channing House, in which is conducted a large "High School for Girls." The house was purchased, enlarged, and fitted up, and indeed the whole responsibility of the enterprise accepted, by the Misses Sharpe of Highbury (the daughters of the well-known banker, scholar, and Egyptologist, the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe, nephew of the poet Rogers), in their most commendable desire to see their property bearing the best possible interest—that of helping others to help themselves—during their own lifetime.

On the site of Cholmeley Park formerly stood a mansion for some time in the occupation of Sir John Wollaston, best known locally as the founder of the almshouses in Southwood Lane, but "who in his time played many parts."

John Wollaston, afterwards a Knight, the second son of Edward of Perton, was a citizen and goldsmith of London, of great wealth and consideration. He married before 1616 Rebecca, the youngest of the four daughters and co-heirs of Edward Greene, goldsmith of London, but had no issue. Wollaston was well known at Court, and in August 1618 the wife of Sir Walter Raleigh was committed to his custody by the king's command. This onerous charge compelled him to reside in Sir Walter's house in Broad Street from 20th August to 10th September, 1618, when, on his representing to the Privy Council the "hindrance which it caused to his many great occasions and affairs," her safe keeping was transferred to another merchant, Richard Champion. The good-will of the Government towards Wollaston was further shown six years afterwards by an order of the Privy Council on 27th October, 1624, that he should be the sole Refiner of the Mint. Wollaston lived and carried on his business in Foster-lane in the parish of St. John Zachary in London, but like most of the wealthier merchants he had a country

[1] Draper's *Intellectual Development of Europe.*

house in the suburbs. His home for more than thirty years was at Highgate, where he was elected one of the six Governors of the Free School and Chapel on 28th May, 1630; and amongst his colleagues were Dr. Westfield, Bishop of Bristol, and Sir Thomas Gardiner, the well-known Recorder of London and Solicitor-General of Charles I. Wollaston took an active interest in the School and Chapel, and by his will gave £10 a year to improve the salary of the preacher. He also devised to the Governors six almshouses, which he had built near the Chapel in his lifetime, and which he endowed by his will.

He entered his pedigree at the Visitation of London in 1634, when the arms were allowed to him which had been granted to his uncle Henry in 1616.

Wollaston was one of the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex in 1638, and was elected in the same year an Alderman of London. His civic orders are recorded in the parish register of Womburne, "in grateful remembrance of his having presented in the preceding year services of communion-plate in silver to Womburne Church and Trysull Chapel," of which he was the patron. He had purchased these advowsons in 1631, and they are still held on the trusts of his will. He was knighted at Hampton Court by Charles I., on 3rd December, 1641, but when the civil war broke out he took an active part on the side of the Parliament, and at the review of the City train-bands, on 26th September, 1643, Sir John was the Colonel of the 3rd or Yellow Regiment, of which John Venn, M.P., was the Lieut.-Colonel. Sir John was Lord Mayor of London in 1644, and held afterwards several official employments under the Commonwealth. He was for some time Treasurer for War, and acted as one of the Commissioners for the sale of the lands which had belonged to the Crown and the Bishops. He became himself the purchaser of the estates of the See of London at Hornsey and Finchley, which were valued in 1647 at £224 16*s.* 3*d.* per annum, with improvements in reversion estimated at £884 11*s.* 4*d.* per annum, and timber worth £1,010. His purchases were made at different times. The manors of Hornsey and Finchley were conveyed to him on 24th September, 1647, for the sum of £4,391 5*s.* 4½*d.* Haringey Park, with "the little park" at Hornsey, was purchased on 18th September, 1648, for £1,030 5*s.* 10*d.* The Gate House at Highgate cost him £261 13*s.* 4*d.*, and was conveyed to him on 26th September, 1649, together with the Bishop's woods at Hornsey, for which he paid £1,022 18*s.* His last purchase was the tolls at *Highgate*, for which he gave £449, on 27th February, 1649-50. All these estates were restored to the bishopric of London at the Restoration, and the purchase-money was lost to Wollaston's heirs and legatees.

Sir John was eminently charitable and religious, and a member of the Church of England; but he was puritanically inclined, and was intimately

associated with Joseph Caryll and other Presbyterian divines of the New Covenant. His zeal for the godly party (as they styled themselves) betrayed him into some acts of oppression to the orthodox clergy. He was a consenting party to the deprivation of Thomas Carter, the Master of Highgate School, who was ejected from the Schoolhouse in 1644 under circumstances which have been set forth. He also concurred in the sequestration of Thomas Lant, the Rector of Hornsey, whose sole offence was his loyalty to the king; and by Sir John Wollaston's presentation John Dalton was intruded into the Rectory of Hornsey in 1654. Sir John was elected in 1649 President of Christ's Hospital, to which he subscribed £12 per annum during the rest of his life. He directed by his will that this subscription should be continued by his executors until his wife's death, when he gave an annuity of £100 per annum for ever to the hospital, charged upon the Gate House at *Highgate*, and the tolls taken there, and "the little park" at Hornsey. The £12 per annum was duly paid during Lady Wollaston's life, but the rent-charge of £100 per annum was lost to the charity on the resumption of the Bishop of London's estates. His foundation of six almshouses at *Highgate*, which he built in his lifetime and endowed by his will, is still in existence. They were devised by his will to the Governors of Highgate School, and the endowment was charged on the meadows at the back of his mansion, parts of which were taken by the Archway Company in 1831 to make their new road. The almshouses were rebuilt in the reign of George I., by Edward Pauncefort, Esq., Treasurer of the Excise, and one of the Governors of Highgate School, and now form one uniform building with the charity school for girls and six new almshouses of Mr. Pauncefort's foundation.

"Sir John was at first one of the Treasurers for the Plate, and a Treasurer at Warre, Treasurer for Loan Money, Say Master of the Mint, and Trustee for Sale of Bishops' Lands, and hath the Bishop of London's land at Highgate; and he was one of the City Militia, and shared with my Lord Say in Guildhall, Plate, whereby they much enriched themselves."[1]

Sir John Wollaston died without issue on 26th April, 1658, and was buried in Highgate Chapel on 29th April following.

Dame Rebecca Wollaston survived her husband two years; but the only incident of her widowhood which is recorded is that in 1659 she presented Samuel Bendy to the rectory of Hornsey. Soon after his induction, Bendy made petition to the Committee of Ecclesiastical Affairs that the rectory was only worth £92 per annum, out of which he had to pay £16 per annum to the wife and children of the late incumbent; whereupon they ordered that the pension should be made up to him out of other rectories. Bendy was ejected in the next year from his living as "an

[1] *Mystery of the Good Old Cause.*

intruding minister," and the old rector, Thomas Lant, was reinstated. Lady Wollaston did not live to see his ejectment, for she was buried at Highgate on 1st June, 1660.[1]

The house was afterwards inhabited by Sir Thomas Abney, who was descended from the Abneys of Wilsley, in the county of Derby. Sir Thomas was born in January 1639. In 1693 he was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and, before the expiration of his year, Alderman of Vintry Ward. He also received the honour of knighthood from King William.

In 1700 he was chosen Lord Mayor, some years before his turn; and the same year procured an address to the king against the Pretender, which gained him considerable popularity. In 1701 he was chosen a Member of Parliament for the City of London. He died February 6th, 1722, in the eighty-third year of his age.

The following advertisement appeared in the *London Journal*, 16th June, 1722:—

> THIS DAY WAS PUBLISHED. "The Magistrate, and the Christian; or the Virtues of Publick and Private Life; exemplified in some memoirs of the life and character of SIR THOMAS ABNEY, Knight and Alderman of London, who died February 6th, 1722. Introduced in a Funeral Sermon, preach'd on that occasion by the Reverend MR. JEREMIAH SMITH, and attended with an Elegiac Poem by the Reverend MR. ISAAC WATTS."
>
> Printed for John Clark, at the Bible and Crown in the Poultry, near Cheapside. Price 1*s*.

"Sir Thomas Abney, in early life, cast in his lot with the Nonconformists, and joined the Church in Silver-street, under the care of Dr. Jacomb, and afterwards of the learned Mr. John Howe. It was his custom to keep up the duty of prayer in his family, during the whole of his mayoralty. On the evening of the day he entered upon that office, he withdrew, without any notice, from the public assembly at Guildhall, went to his house, there performed family worship, and then returned to the company."[2]

Sir Thomas was one of the founders of the Bank of England.

The following extract from Wilson's *Life and Times of Defoe* is a confirmation that Dr. Isaac Watts was a resident at Sir T. Abney's at Highgate:—"But a lady now sits on the throne, who, though sprung from that blood which ye and your forefathers spilt before the palace gates, puts on a temper of forgiveness, and, in compassion to your consciences,

[1] *Genealogical Memoirs of the Elder and Extinct Line of the Woilastons of Shenton and Fenborough, their Ancestors and Connections*, by Robert Edmond Chester Waters. (Privately printed: London, 1877.)

[2] Jeremiah Smith's *Funeral Sermon for Sir T. Abney*, and Gibbon's *Life of Watts*.

is not willing that you should lose the hopes of heaven by purchasing here on earth. She would have no more Sir Humphreys[1] tempt the justice of God, by falling from his *true worship*, and giving ear to the *cat calls* and *back pipes* at *Paul's;* would have your Sir Thomases[2] keep to their primitive text, and not venture damnation to play at *longspoon* and *custard* for a transitory twelvemonth; and would have your Sir Tom sing psalms at *Highgate Hill*, and split texts of scripture with his diminutive figure of a chaplain,[3] without running the hazard of qualifying himself to be called a handsome man for riding on horseback before the City train-bands."

Dr. Watts was an inmate of Sir Thomas Abney's house, where for thirty-six years he was an honoured guest, removing with the family to Abney Park, now the site of the cemetery at Stoke Newington.

It is pleasant to think that some of his well-known hymns, which have ministered to the spiritual life of nearly all sections of the Christian Church, may have been written at Highgate.

The site of Wollaston's house is now occupied by the residences of Mr. Beauchamp, Mrs. Crossley, and Mr. T. B. Reed.

Ivy House, at the northern side of the entrance to Cholmeley Park, was the residence of Mr. George Crawshay, the ironmaster who gave the clock and bell to St. Michael's Church; and afterwards of Charles Knight, the well-known author and publisher. He was the founder of the *Penny Magazine*, the pioneer of cheap serials. He was publisher and editor of *The Penny Cyclopædia*, *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, *The British Almanac and Companion*, *Cyclopædia of the Industry of All Nations*, etc., etc.

Mr. Knight was the author of the *Life of Caxton*, *The Popular History of England*, which is in some respects one of the best histories we possess,—"*the* history," according to the *Times*, "for English youth," —and many other works; and the whole of his honourable career was devoted to the extension of popular literature, of which he was one of the earliest and most accomplished advocates.

Nearly opposite, on the site of "Bisham Gardens," stood an old mansion called Bisham House, the grounds of which were very finely timbered and extended through to Swain's Lane; it was the residence of Mr. Richard Gower, J.P., whose daughter married Sir Edmund Gould; and amongst the later tenants were Captain Hayward (who was a midshipman on the *Bounty* when the mutiny occurred), Mr. Pardoe, and Mr. Gardiner; the last resident was Mr. Scott.

[1] Sir Humphrey Edwin.
[2] Sir Thomas Abney, Mayor in 1701.
[3] Dr. Isaac Watts.

Proceeding up the High Street, and turning round to the left by the "Angel Inn,"—the sign of which, tradition says, was in pre-reformation times "The Salutation" (an angel appearing to the Virgin), a common sign in those days, of which but a part of the old sign, "The Angel," alone is retained,—there is seen a large red-brick house, almost at the corner of Swain's Lane, in which Sir John Hawkins resided.

Sir John, who claimed to be a descendant of the famous fighting admiral of Queen Elizabeth's time, one of her "sea dogs," as she called them, was a man of considerable note, being the author of *The Science and Practice of Music*, an editor of *Isaac Walton*, and one of the executors of Dr. Johnson. He was the chairman of the Middlesex magistrates, and drove to the sessions house in a carriage and four horses, which was, in those times, not so much a matter of dignity as of necessity—the heavy coach, the state of the roads, and the gradient of the hill being taken into consideration;[1] the premises now so happily adapted for the use of the Literary and Scientific Institution being originally the coach house and stables belonging to the mansion.

Sir John was born in 1719, and was at first educated as an architect, but he afterwards studied for the law. He had strong musical tastes, and was a constant attendant of the old Madrigal Society, and also the Academy of Ancient Music, where he met Mr. Peter Storer, of Highgate, and ultimately married his younger daughter Sidney, who brought him a considerable fortune, which at the death of her brother was so much increased that Sir John gave up the active pursuit of his profession. He refers to his father-in-law as a "sour Presbyterian, but a most honourable man," and it is mentioned incidentally that an ancestor of his mother-in-law was one of the ejected ministers, and that in consequence a valuable estate in Highgate called Sheldrakes Farm was lost to the family.[2]

Besides being a great collector of musical works, he gave a weekly concert at his own house, which was exceedingly popular in musical circles. He gave great attention to the state of the roads, and helped to draft a bill for Parliament relating to "Highways," which, it is said, did not require any amendment for thirty years! As a magistrate he took an active part in the suppression of the election riots of 1768, the Spitalfields riots of 1769, and the Lord George Gordon riots of 1790.

His *History of Music*, written at the instigation of Horace Walpole, was published in 1776, and dedicated to the king.[3]

[1] Pepys says, "My Lord Brouncker put six horses into his coach to climb Highgate Hill," and the father of John Wilkes used to drive to the old Presbyterian Chapel in Southwood Lane in a carriage and six horses.

[2] See p. 407.

[3] Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*.

He commenced his *Life and Works of Dr. Johnson* in 1784, but in consequence of a disastrous fire which burnt his library, it was not issued till 1789.

Both his sons, John Sidney, and Henry, as well as his daughter, Letitia Matilda Hawkins, were distinguished for their literary tastes.

Miss Hawkins relates that in her mother's diary there were entries stating that "from the windows of her father's house" (the house inherited by Sir John Hawkins, and which still remains in the family), which looked across the ponds down the North Road, "she saw the troops march towards Scotland at the rising of 1745, and was particularly struck with the number of sumpter mules which carried the baggage of the Duke of Cumberland." She further states that "the report gained ground that the Highlanders had been victorious, and when one day they were said to have reached Dunstable on their way to London, Highgate was in a panic—she fainted away, and her father dug a hole in the garden and buried his plate and two hundred guineas!" She afterwards saw the troops return with their prisoners, and says that "Lord Lovat got out of his carriage at 'The Angel' for refreshment, and walked up and down the road in front of her house," and bears testimony to the excellency of the portrait of Lovat taken by Hogarth, who travelled to meet him for that purpose; making the well-known sketch in which Lovat is counting the clans on his fingers, at the "Bell Inn" at St. Albans. Sir John obtained a good seat to witness the decapitation of Lovat, but at the "making ready" he fainted, and all was over when he recovered.[1]

"The last and most extraordinary personage that suffered for this rebellion was old Simon Frazer, Lord Lovat, who was executed on Thursday the 9th of April, 1747. This nobleman in 1692 was a captain in Tullibardine's regiment; and in 1695 he, with the assistance of his clan, violently forced the lady dowager of Lovat to marry him, for which he was tried and condemned, (although afterwards pardoned by King William,) he fled to France, and turning Papist accepted a commission under the late king, James. He was confined for some years in the Bastile for acting a double part between the two crowns of England and France, and at length obtained his liberty by taking the order of priesthood. He officiated as a Jesuit priest at St. Omer's till the rebellion of 1715, when coming over to England, he espoused the cause of the Government, and assisted in recovering Inverness from the rebels, for which he got the title of Lovat, and obtained the command of a company of Highlanders.

[1] Miss Hawkins states, upon the authority of the Chamberlain of London (1822), that the place of execution on Tower Hill was in front of a house near a passage leading to Mincing Lane, for which the sheriff had to pay £50.

"In this rebellion, however, he again fluctuated in his conduct, and while he endeavoured to preserve appearances himself, he sent his son with the greater part of his clan to join the Pretender, as appeared by an expostulatory letter sent to him from the Lord President. In answer to this letter, he not only endeavoured to exculpate himself, but was base enough to reproach his son in the most severe terms; and in a letter to the Duke of Cumberland used the most hypocritical flattery in vindication of his innocence. He was apprehended by Lord Loudon, from whom he made his escape, but was at last taken concealed in a hollow tree, while he was preparing to go abroad. He was tried by the House of Peers, before whom he preserved a jocund behaviour, and his defence was filled with the most satirical turns. His criminality, however, appearing sufficiently manifest, he was found guilty and received sentence of death.

"On the Monday preceding his execution the Major of the Tower went to see him, and asked him how he did. 'Do?' says he. 'Why, sir, I am doing very well, for I am fitting myself for a place where hardly any majors go, and very few lieutenant-generals.'"[1]

Miss Hawkins states that when Sir John Cope's tent was pillaged by the Highlanders after his defeat, a quantity of chocolate was found in it, of the use of which they were so ignorant that they used it for dressing wounds, under the name of Johnny Cope's plaister![2]

There is a considerable property still held by the Hawkins family in the neighbourhood of Mile End, which is connected with the following incident.

Sir John as a lad, after his day's engagement in the City, was walking in the fields adjoining Whitechapel, when, the evening being very sultry, a pond looked so inviting, that he could not resist the temptation to bathe; in he went, and after splashing about to his heart's content, looked in vain for his clothing—it had been stolen! He does not mention *how* he got home, but the incident seems to have induced him in after years, when an opportunity occurred, to purchase the very field that had the pond in it.

Referring to the portrait of Sir John taken for the Music School, much against his will, Miss Hawkins says:—"My father at length complied, and submitted to be painted as he *never* looked, dressed as he *never* dressed, and employed as he *never* was employed—for he is represented as smirking, in a velvet coat, over apparently a new novel."

Amongst the friends and acquaintance of the family were Handel, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Percy, Garrick, George Stevens, Dr. Foster,

[1] Harrison's *History of London.*
[2] *Anecdotes, etc.*, by L. M. Hawkins.

Dr. Gibbons, Goldsmith, Sir Edward and Horace Walpole, Jeremy Bentham, Mrs. Clive, John Wilkes, Boyce, Lord Mansfield, Dr. Johnson, Thomas Warton, etc., etc.

Sir John removed to Twickenham for the sake of the fishing, of which he was very fond, as became an editor of Isaac Walton; there he died on 21st May, 1789.

General Harcourt resided at the house near the pond which still bears his name, and is said to have displayed great taste in his equipage and its appointments.

Dr. Coysch is entered in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Cantlowes, in the parish of Pancras, as holding copyhold premises in Swine's Lane. The buildings were very ancient, of wood and plaster. The house was pulled down in 1760; the garden wall still remains. In the years 1665, 1666, he was much famed for his medical advice in plague cases, and many of the gentler sort of both sexes resorted to his residence. To many of the poorer classes he behaved in the most Christian-like manner at that dreadful time, and also after the fire of London.

"This high Dutch physician[1]—newly come over from Holland, where he resided all the time of the Great Plague in Amsterdam, and cured multitudes of people that actually had the plague upon them—was an experienced man, who had long studied the doctrine of antidotes against all sorts of poisons and infection, and had after twenty years arrived at such skill as did with God's blessing direct persons how to prevent being touched with this contagious distemper. He directed the poor gratis. Abundance of people came to him; indeed, crowds ran after him, and his door was more thronged than those of Drs. Brooks, Upton, Berwick, or any of those famous men of this dreadful time, and he was known to have made as much as £7 a day! and many lived in his house. He was indeed a most charitable man to the diseased poor, and sent round to them in the worst parts, as St. Giles's, Holborn, etc., the plague there being most severe. There is a case told of his goodness to thirteen poor people who were flying for their lives from London and Clerkenwell, and who intended to have gone north, away by Highgate, but were stopped in Holloway, as there the people would not let them pass, or not even suffer them to be in a barn for the night; so they crossed the fields towards Hampstead, when Dr. Coysch having heard of their distress, he had them brought to his barns, and there attended to and fed them for two days; he

[1] Account of Dr. Coysch and his House in (Swine's) Swain's Lane, in the Parish of St. Pancras, from notes in the possession of Mr. Heal, said to be copied from MS. notes in an illustrated Lysons, originally Lord Howard's.

then saw them got safe to Finchley Common, where they intended to wait until they were in hopes the cold weather would check the infection."[1]

Sir Edward Gould, Justice of the Common Pleas, resided in a house which stood next but one to the Congregational Church westward, the site of it now being covered by "Solsgirth House."

Sir Edward was descended from the ancient family of the Goulds of Staverton, Devonshire. Lady Gould was the daughter of Mr. Richard Gower,[2] a resident of Highgate for some forty years, and a much respected magistrate for the county, who died 1688.

Lady Gould during her lifetime, with the consent of her husband, created a trust for the benefit "of the poor inhabitants of the town and village of Highgate, as should not receive any public alms or collection from their respective parishes, and should appear to the trustees to be the most fit and proper objects of charity." The properties conveyed by the trust are the old houses on the west side of High Street, next above the Bisham House property.

Sir Edward died 1728, Lady Gould having predeceased him. They were both buried beneath the old chapel.

The adjoining house, lying considerably back from the road, is occupied by Mr. Casella, the well-known inventor of the clinical thermometer, which has rendered the most important assistance to medical science; and also of the deep-sea thermometer, by means of which the temperature of the sea depths has for the first time been accurately registered.

The Old Hall, next to St. Michael's Church eastward, was the residence of Sir William Domville, Bart., a native of St. Albans, who was Lord Mayor 1813-14, and in that capacity presided at the grand banquet given by the city to the Allied Sovereigns after the battle of Waterloo. He was elected Alderman in 1806, and served the office of Sheriff in 1809, but resigned his gown in 1821. The family resided in Highgate in 1822, as there is the record on June 22nd of the death of Maria, daughter of William Domville, the granddaughter of Sir William Domville.[3] Sir William must have died prior to 1830, as his son had then succeeded to the title, and was elected Alderman of Queenhithe Ward. The following occupier of the house was Sir Robert Chester,

[1] A view of the old house, copied from the original in the Stow collection, is to be found on the walls of the reading-room of the Literary and Scientific Institution.

[2] Mr. Gower lived in Bisham House.

[3] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1822.

who succeeded his cousin Sir Stephen Cottrell in the hereditary office of the Master of the Ceremonies. Sir Robert married Eliza, third daughter of Mr. John Ford, of the Chantry, Ipswich, and became thus connected with another old Highgate family, that of Mr. William Ford, of Millfield Lane.

Sir Robert's second son, Colonel Charles Chester, was killed in the Indian Mutiny, 1857. His third son, Harry Chester, resided in the house known as Dr. Sacheverell's, under the head of which some particulars will be found respecting him.

The Old Hall was afterwards occupied by the Rev. T. H. Causton, Vicar of St. Michael's, whose name is still remembered with affection by some of the older residents. His successor was Mr. Alderman Cotton, M.P. for London. It is now occupied by Mrs. Wark, the widow of the late Mr. Andrew Wark. An inscription in the cemetery alludes to the sad event which cast so deep a shade of sorrow over the Old Hall, and renders its occupant an object of deep sympathy to her neighbours. It is in sad remembrance of three children and their nurse killed in the railway accident at Wigan in 1873.

THE MANSION HOUSE. This house occupied the site now covered by the Church of St. Michael. It was erected by Alderman SIR WILLIAM ASHURST in 1694. The house commanded a magnificent view of the Metropolis. The staircase was of chesnut wood, designed by Inigo Jones, and the rooms were hung with tapestry; the grounds, which were very extensive, now form part of the cemetery.

Sir William Ashurst was Lord Mayor in 1693, M.P. for the City of London, and Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company. He was knighted by William III. He was the second son of Alderman Henry Ashurst, who was fined £500 for not serving as Sheriff, afterwards Sir Henry Ashurst, Bart.,[1] and the grandson of Henry Ashurst, the friend of Richard Baxter. Matthew Sylvester, in dedicating his *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ* to Sir Henry, says:—"'Tis well known to me and others how great a veneration he (Baxter) had for your deceased father, whom he took to be the liveliest instance and emblem of primitive Christianity that ever he was acquainted with."[2]

When Baxter, of whom Coleridge says, "I would almost as soon doubt the Gospel verity as Baxter's veracity," was on his trial before Judge Jeffreys, of infamous memory, with all the Court influence arrayed against him, Henry Ashurst had the courage to stand by his friend, and not only drove him to the court of law in his carriage, but retained some of the ablest members of the English bar for his defence, viz., Pollexfen,

[1] Herbert's *History of the Companies.*
[2] Earwaker's *Local Gleanings.*

Wallop, Williams, and Phipps; and when the packed and bribed jury gave their afore-determined verdict, Henry Ashurst carried Baxter back in his carriage to his own house.[1] It was a noble act, and becoming a Christian gentleman; and St. Michael's Church is the more hallowed, standing as it does on the site of the house, the seat of the Ashursts, for the memory of this gracious courtesy shown to a servant suffering for the sake of the Master.

The house was afterwards occupied by Thomas Walker, Esq., the Accountant-General.

A Mr. Shales seems to have been the owner in 1731, as it is advertised for sale "with seven acres of orchards and gardens."

Sir Alan Chambré, Justice of the Common Pleas, was its last private occupant;[2] it was afterwards a school, kept by Dr. Dowling; it was taken down in 1830, and the new church erected on the site, a most appropriate one.

The stone door-frame, with the arms carved on it, is still to be seen at No. 42, High Street, at a house best known as the late Dr. Oakeshott's.

"Sir Alan Chambré (1739—1823), Judge, descended from a family which had settled in Westmoreland in the reign of Henry III., and had acquired Halhead Hall in the reign of Henry VIII., was the eldest son of Walter Chambré, of Halhead Hall, Kendal, barrister, by his wife Mary, daughter of Jacob Morland, of Capplethwaite Hall, in the same county. He was born at Kendal on October 4th, 1739. After receiving an early education at the free grammar school of the town, he was sent to Sedbergh school, then under the care of Dr. Bateman. From Sedburgh he came up to London, where first he went into the office of Mr. Forth Wintour, solicitor, in Pall Mall. He also became a member of the Society of Staple Inn, and paid the customary dozen of claret on admission. His arms are still to be seen emblazoned on one of the windows of the hall. He removed from this Inn to the Middle Temple in February 1758, and in November 1764 from the Middle Temple to Gray's Inn. In May 1767 he was called to the Bar, and went the northern circuit, of which he soon became one of the leaders. He was elected to the bench of Gray's Inn 1781, and in 1783 filled the annual office of Treasurer. In 1796 he was appointed Recorder for Lancaster. On the retirement of Baron Perryn from the judicial bench he was chosen as his successor. In order to qualify for the bench it was necessary that Chambré should be made a sergeant. As Sir Richard Perryn had retired in the vacation just before the summer circuit, and sergeants

[1] *Life of Baxter*, Rev. J. H. Davies.

[2] When Sir Alan died, his carriage horses were shot and buried in the grounds, and when the cemetery was laid out they were dug up, and occasioned many surmises.

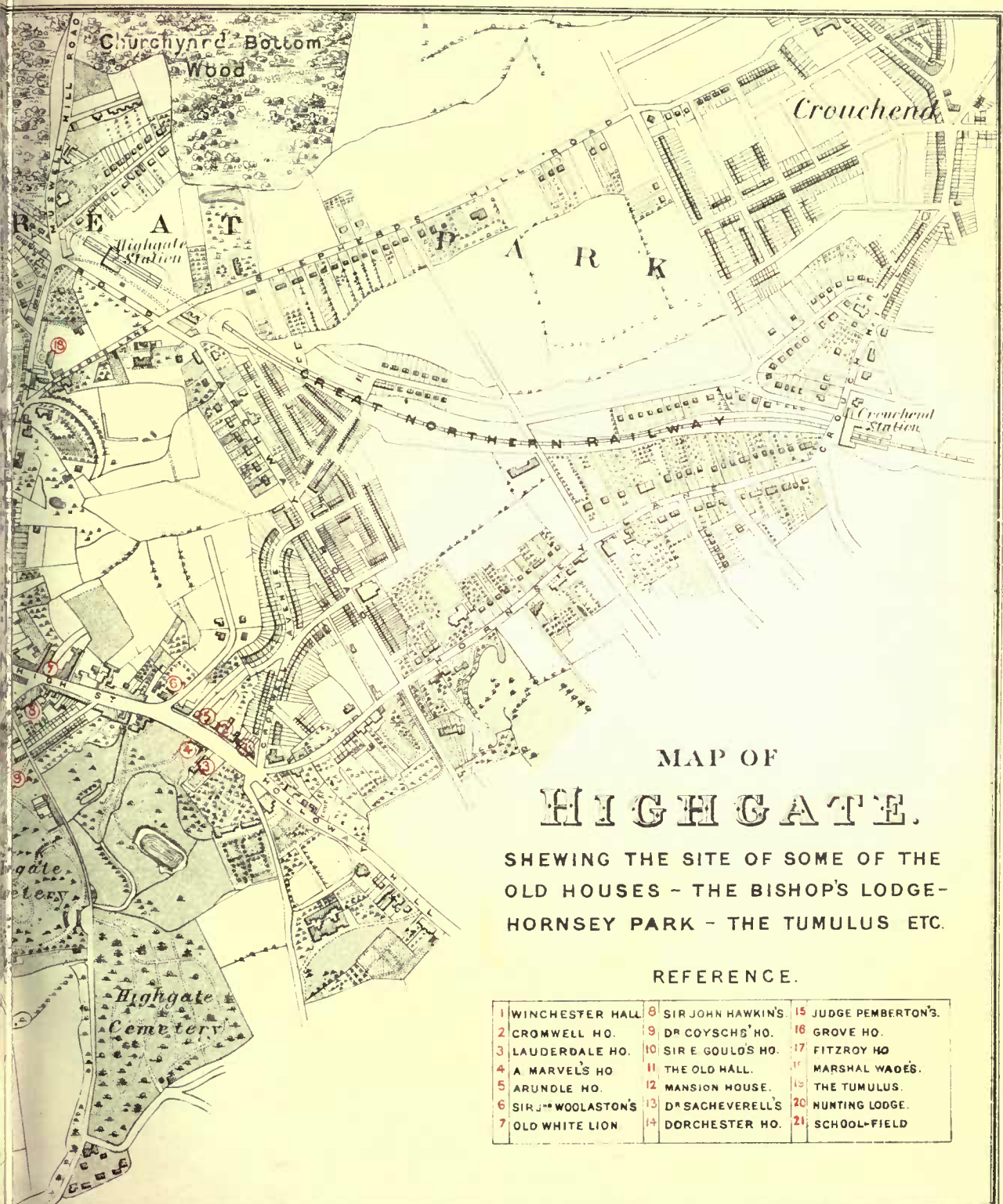
could only 'be called' in term, a special Act of Parliament (39 Geo. III., c. 67) was passed, authorising for the first time the appointment of a sergeant in the vacation. Under the provisions of this Act Chambré received the degree of sergeant on July 2nd, 1799, and on the same day was appointed a baron of the exchequer. Lord Chief Justice Eyre dying five days after the special Act had received the royal assent, the same difficulty again occurred, and a general Act (39 Geo. III., c. 113) was thereupon passed in the same session, authorising the appointment of any barrister to the degree of sergeant during the vacation if done for the purpose of filling up a vacancy on the bench. Lord Eldon was the first judge appointed under the provisions of this Act. On the 13th June in the following year Chambré was translated to the Court of Common Pleas, as successor to Sir Francis Buller. In this court he remained until December 1815, when he resigned his seat; and having sat on the bench rather more than fifteen years, became entitled to a pension of £2,000 a year, by virtue of an Act passed in the same year in which he had been appointed a judge (39 Geo. III., c. 110). He died at the Crown Inn, Harrogate, on 20th September, 1823, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried in the family vault in Kendal parish church, where a monument was erected to his memory. He was never married, and was succeeded in his estates by his nephew, Thomas Chambré. Sir Alan had a high reputation at the bar both for his legal knowledge and for the justice of his decisions. He is described by Lord Brougham in his sketch of Lord Mansfield as being 'among the first ornaments of his profession, as amongst the most honest and amiable of men.'[1] So extremely careful was he lest any of his actions should be misconstrued, that it is said he once refused an invitation to a house where the judges usually dined when on circuit, because the owner had been a defendant in one of the causes which had been tried at an assize at which he had lately presided. An excellent portrait of Chambré, by Sir William Allan, is in the possession of Mr. Alan Chambré, of South Norwood. It has been engraved by Henry Meyer."[2]

The house next but one below the church westward, South Grove House, was the residence of Dr. Sacheverell, and on account of several of its residents is closely associated with the history of the village.

Mr. Madan,[3] in his terse and able bibliography of Sacheverell, says: "Whatever has deeply touched the people of England must be worthy of close attention. The affair of Dr. Sacheverell occupied the greater part of a session of Parliament, caused indescribable enthusiasm, accompanied by popular riots, and, in the words of a great contemporary historian,

[1] *Historical Sketches*, 1839. [2] *Dictionary of National Biography*.
[3] Of the Bodleian Library.

Gravel Wood
20 Lodge Hill
HORNSEY
Bishops Wood
21
17
16
15
14
13
12
11
Caen Wood
FITZROY PARK
Highgate Ponds
19 Tumulus
SCALE
1000 500 0 1000 FEET



MAP OF
HIGHGATE.

SHEWING THE SITE OF SOME OF THE OLD HOUSES - THE BISHOP'S LODGE- HORNSEY PARK - THE TUMULUS ETC.

REFERENCE.

1	WINCHESTER HALL	8	SIR JOHN HAWKIN'S.	15	JUDGE PEMBERTON'S.
2	CROMWELL HO.	9	DR COYSCHS' HO.	16	GROVE HO.
3	LAUDERDALE HO.	10	SIR E GOULD'S HO.	17	FITZROY HO
4	A. MARVEL'S HO	11	THE OLD HALL.	18	MARSHAL WADE'S.
5	ARUNDLE HO.	12	MANSION HOUSE.	19	THE TUMULUS.
6	SIR J^no WOOLASTON'S	13	DR SACHEVERELL'S	20	HUNTING LODGE.
7	OLD WHITE LION	14	DORCHESTER HO.	21	SCHOOL-FIELD

CHAS MONTAGUE. LITHO. 4. BEDFORD SQ. LONDON. E

for three weeks 'took up all men's thoughts,' so that 'all other business was at a stand.' The great wave of feeling soon wholly passed, but in passing it deluged our libraries with a flood of the worst-printed books that English literature has known. The matter and sentiments of these volumes do not indeed wholly belie their outward garb, yet the questions involved were great; and if the central figure is unworthy of its place, the bystanders none the less saw in Sacheverell the champion of a great religious and a great political cause."[1]

A brief account of the circumstances leading up to and attending the trial will be necessary to explain the position. "Henry Sacheverell was born in 1672 at Marlborough, where he was educated at the grammar school, and whence he was sent in 1689 to Magdalen College, Oxford. At the university he does not seem to have distinguished himself, but for general merit was elected Fellow of his College in 1701, a position which he retained until 1713. There is not wanting, even thus early, evidence of that stubborn grain in the young Sacheverell's nature of which he gave more abundant proof in later years. In 1693 he was brought up before the President and admonished 'propter contumaciam et contemptum erga Decanum Arcuum.' While holding the vicarage of Cannock he was appointed by popular election preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, in 1705, but attracted no general attention until 1709.

"In that year, in an assize sermon at Derby on August 14th, and with still stronger language at St. Paul's Cathedral on Nov. 5th, he delivered opinions of an extreme kind. In three ways he challenged notice: as a High Churchman he declared the Church of England to be in danger from 'false brethren,' and declaimed against religious tolerance; as a Tory he upheld the principle of Non-resistance without acknowledging any possible exception to it; and as a strong partisan he attacked the Lord Treasurer, Godolphin. It requires but a small knowledge of the politics of the time to see how each of these positions involved peculiar difficulty, and placed its defender in thorny ways. In the first he challenged the opposition of Hoadly, as well as of the whole body of Dissenters; by the second he raised those delicate questions, whether Non-resistance was compatible with 'Revolution principles,' on what basis the Queen's right to rule was resting, and whether Jacobitism in any form could be entertained by loyal subjects; while the third could only be successfully carried through on the assumption of a Tory reaction —which had indeed set in, but of which the signs had hitherto been few and equivocal. Round these and similar points the speeches, debates, and pamphlets circled; and it is no wonder that the Queen herself hesitated in her line of action. The House of Commons, however, showed no such vacillation: they boldly did everything that was calculated

[1] Madan, *Bibliography of Sacheverell.*

to defeat their own ends. An impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell before the House of Lords was voted; and after much delay, during which the Church and the Tories were gathering round their champion, the trial began in Westminster Hall, on Feb. 27th, 1710. The Managers for the House of Commons opened the impeachment, Sacheverell's counsel followed, and he himself delivered a speech so different from his usual style, and so skilful and refined, that it was generally attributed at the time to Atterbury. When the Managers had replied, the debate was transferred to the House of Lords; and in the end, on March 23rd, 1710, Sacheverell was declared guilty by the Upper House by sixty-nine votes to fifty-two. The sentence suspended him from preaching for three years, and ordered the St. Paul's sermon to be burnt; but its lenity was only too evident, and it was accepted throughout the country as a victory instead of a defeat. Not only was Sacheverell fêted wherever he moved, but addresses poured in from all parts of the country to the Queen in support of his principles. In point of fact it was the affair of Dr. Sacheverell which turned out the Whig Ministry and brought in the Tories under Harley in November 1710. In 1713, when the term of three years had expired, the valuable living of St. Andrew's, Holborn, was given to the Doctor, who thenceforward disappears from public notice. He died in 1724 at Highgate. 'He stands alone,' says Burton, 'among the objects of great popular contests, as one who has had no historical vindicator': on the other hand, the merciless scrutiny to which his personal affairs were subjected during the agitation, even by his relatives, disclosed nothing that deserved public condemnation, much less the unmeasured abuse which he received. The fact is that he 'had greatness thrust upon him' by the force of circumstances which he could do little himself to control."[1]

The number of editions and issues quoted in Mr. Madan's *Bibliography* of the Sacheverell controversy is three hundred and sixty-three!

Dr. Henry Sacheverell is one of the many instances of the importance conferred upon an obscure individual by persecuting him. When the assailant is the national government, *that* at once elevates the assailed into the prominent character of a political martyr. Sacheverell, Wilkes, and Burdett are sufficient examples. "His prosecution is detailed at length in the State Trials, and though condemned, *his* was the triumph, and to his prosecutors it was, in effect, a defeat. He travelled in state through many parts of England; whenever he approached a town thousands of persons came forth to meet him, and he reached his Welsh living after a progress more suitable to a conqueror than a degraded priest. After his three years' suspension expired, his prosecutors, "the House of Commons," the Tories being

[1] Madan, *Bibliography of Sacheverell.*

then in power, ordered him to preach before them, and thanked him for his sermon. He was given the rectory of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and if his friends had remained at the head of affairs he probably would have been raised to the bishops' bench. The closing years of his life he devoted strictly to the duties of his profession, making no effort to obtain preferment, nor embroiling himself at all with politics. In private life he was eminently amiable."[1]

He left a legacy of £100 to Bishop Atterbury, who it is said prepared the able defence he read at his trial, and it may be, that it was in consequence of the brother of the Bishop being the preacher at the old chapel that Dr. Sacheverell fixed his residence at Highgate.

The following is Bishop Burnet's opinion of his character, which evidently Mr. Madan considers should be taken *cum grano salis*. "Dr. Sacheverell was a bold, insolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good sense, but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment by the most petulant railings at Dissenters and Low Churchmen in several sermons and libels, written without either chasteness of style or liveliness of expression: all was one unpractised strain of indecent and scurrilous language."[2]

Mr. Chester, who afterwards resided in the house formerly occupied by the Doctor, found the following recitals in his title-deeds:—

"That at a court held for the Manor of Cantlows alias Cantlers, on 15th September, 1720, Henry Sacheverel, S.T.P., was admitted customary tenant, on the surrender out of court of William Campion of all his customary messuages or tenements at Highgate within this manor, with the garden belonging to the same, with one piece or pareel of waste land lying before the messuage formerly in the possession of George Evett."

And further—

"On the 8th July, 1724, at a court held for the same manor, the widow of Dr. Sacheverel was admitted by her attorney Thomas Bayley, and a clause of Dr. Sacheverel's will is recited, by which he devises the before mentioned premises to his dear wife Mary, her heirs and assigns for ever."

Then follows this recital: "And whereas the said Henry Sacheverel soon after making the said will departed this life." The will is dated 10th February, 1724.

This house has further associations with several of the older Highgate families since the time of Dr. Sacheverell, viz., those of Bromwich, Isherwood, Chester, and Greening

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* See also *Gen. Biog. Dictionary.*
[2] *History of Own Times.*

It was originally the principal residence on the West Hill, its grounds extending over the present site of both Holly Terrace and Holly Lodge.

Mr. Thomas Bromwich—whose name is perpetuated by that of the path, Bromwich Walk, which, as previously stated, seems to have been an old church path from Green Street, and which he diverted from the east to the west side of the house, it having originally gained the summit of the hill more to the east—was a Governor of the Grammar School, and was buried in the old chapel in 1787.

Mr. Harry Chester (whose first wife was Miss Isherwood) was the third son of Sir Robert Chester of the Old Hall, and was Secretary to the Privy Council on Education. Mr. Chester was largely influential in the erection of the Highgate National Schools, one of the promoters, if not the originator, of the "allotment gardens," and was founder and first President of the Literary and Scientific Institution. He is said to have been the means of almost stopping Sunday trading, then very prevalent in Highgate, and of much mitigating the cattle-driving nuisance which, from the vast droves passing through Highgate for the Monday's market, was an annoyance and scandal on the Sabbath, of which present residents can form but a faint conception.

Mr. Chester lived in Highgate from 1838 to 1856, and in whatever direction work was to be done, he felt it his duty to do his part. Few residents of Highgate have left a happier remembrance. He was Governor and Treasurer of the Grammar School, succeeding Mr. W. C. Cooper in the latter office in 1854. He died at Rutland Gate on 6th October, 1868.

It is interesting to note that Mr. Chester had a family connection with a historical Highgate fact which possibly he himself was not aware of, viz., that he was a descendant of Sir Julius Cæsar, in whose arms the great Lord Bacon died in Highgate.

The life of Sir Julius Cæsar was a very interesting one, and is worth recording. His family name was Adelmere (an Italian family of some distinction), but this name Sir Julius dropped, keeping his Christian names only. He was the son of Dr. Adelmere, Physician to the Queen, who, represented by Lady Montacute, together with the Marquis of Winchester and the Earl of Arundel, stood sponsor for the young Julius. He was educated, in due time, for the Bar. His epitaph states: "He was Doctor of Law, and Judge of Supreme Court of Admiralty of Queen Elizabeth. One of the Masters of Requests to King James, of his Privy Council, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of Rolls."[1] Sir Julius was married

[1] There is a collection of MSS. made by Sir Julius in the British Museum, with Horace Walpole's book-plate. A memorandum states they were bought at the sale of Sir J. Cæsar's MSS., December 1757, and purchased for the Museum at the Strawberry Hill sale, April 1842.

three times, and one of his children, Richard, was born at Hornsey in 1595. His third wife was a niece of Lord Bacon, who at the time of the marriage was Attorney-General, and there seems to have been a strong attachment between the two learned judges, for, after Lord Bacon's disgrace, he retired to the house of Sir Julius, became almost dependent on his bounty, and when he was on his death-bed at Highgate, Sir Julius attended him with tender solicitude; in fact, Bacon "died in his arms." Sir Julius died April 18th, 1636, and is buried in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, the inscription on his monument being drawn up in legal form, sealed, signed, and delivered. His character is delineated as a "picture of integrity, sweetened and adorned by great mildness of temper and constant benevolence." Isaac Walton, in his Life of Sir Henry Wotton, states that "Sir Julius Cæsar was said to be kept alive beyond nature's course by the prayers of those many poor whom he daily relieved." It is therefore interesting to trace a connection of the amiable judge with a resident Highgate family of much later date. The second daughter of Charles Cæsar, great-grandson of Sir Julius, married Robert Chester, Esq., of the Middle Temple, afterwards Sir Robert, and their third son was Harry Chester, the subject of the above memoir.

At the lower corner of Bromwich Walk stands a house, now divided and considerably altered, once the residence of JAMES HENRY LEIGH HUNT generally known as Leigh Hunt, poet and essayist, the "Harold Skimpole" of Dickens. He was born in London, 19th October, 1784, educated at Christ's Hospital, and first attracted notice as a writer of theatrical and literary articles for the *Examiner* newspaper, which was started in 1805 by his elder brother, John Hunt. At the age of twenty-four he became joint editor and proprietor. He was a Liberal in politics, before Liberalism had become fashionable; and for one of his articles, reflecting on the obesity of the Prince Regent—"a fat Adonis of fifty," Hunt had called him—he was sentenced "to pay a fine of £500 and to undergo two years' imprisonment." He was happy enough in his confinement; he hid the prison bars with flowers, and received visits from Byron, Shelley, and Keats. On his release he published *The Story of Rimini*, which he had written in prison, and which gave him a place among the poets of the day. *Foliage* appeared in 1818; and about the same time he started the *Indicator*, a serial suggested by the *Spectator* and *Tatler*. In 1828 he published *Lord Byron and His Contemporaries*, the record of a brief and not very pleasant companionship in Italy with his lordship, which gave great offence to Byron's friends. In the same year he started the *Companion*, a sequel to the *Indicator*, both of which were published as one book in 1834. In 1833 he published a collected edition of his poetical works. His works include, besides those already mentioned: *Captain Sword and Captain Pen* (1835); *Legend of Florence* (1840); the

Seer, a publication similar to the *Indicator*; *The Palfrey* (1842); *Sir Ralph Esher*, a novel (1844); *Imagination and Fancy* (1844); *Wit and Humour* (1846); *Stories of the Italian Poets*, with lives (1846); *Men, Women, and Books* (1847); *A Jar of Honey from Mount Hybla* (1848); his *Autobiography* (1850); and *The Old Court Suburb* (1855). In 1847 he received from the Crown a pension of £200. A selection from his Letters and Correspondence was published by his son, Mr. Thornton Hunt, in 1862.

"Hunt's reputation rests upon his poems and essays. *The Story of Rimini* is, on the whole, perhaps one of the finest narrative poems which have appeared since Dryden, and his *Palfrey* is delightful from its good spirits and bright sunny glimpses of landscape and character.

"As an essayist he is always cheerful and fanciful, and he looks determinedly at the bright side of things. The sky may be gloomy, but if there is a bit of blue in it, he with an admirable practical philosophy constantly turns his eye to that. He delights to wreathe the porch of the human dwelling with roses and honeysuckles. Among his poems are to be found several translations, which are the best things of the kind we possess. He transports the wine of Greece and Italy to England, and its colour and flavour are rather improved than otherwise by the voyage."[1]

Leigh Hunt died at Highgate, 28th August, 1859.

Holly Terrace. A row of houses erected on a slip of land on a sharp curve of the West Hill. The appearance of the terrace is anything but ornamental, the backs of the houses facing the main road, and the fronts overlooking the beautiful greenery of the upper part of the grounds of Holly Lodge.

Among the past inhabitants of Holly Terrace were Mr. J. A. Roebuck, M.P., and Mr. Thomas Pringle, the first editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Mr. Pringle wrote *A Narrative of a Residence in South Africa*. It is recorded of him that, with a fully-developed and strong body, but, owing to an accident in childhood, with scarcely any legs, he used to hunt lions and elephants on horseback with enthusiasm!

Below Holly Terrace, on the east side of the West Hill, in most beautifully timbered and extensive grounds, extending to the foot of the hill, stands Holly Lodge, the residence of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts.

The house is by no means conspicuous either for its size or its architectural beauty, but no house is better known in the northern suburbs, for it is associated with the name of a lady whose deeds of active Christian benevolence live in the hearts of the people.

[1] Chambers's *Encyclopædia*.

Mrs. Cornwell Baron Wilson, in her *Memoirs of the Duchess of St. Albans*, published in 1840, speaking of Miss Mellon, states that "she became acquainted with Sir Henry Vane and Lady Tempest, with whom she was soon a great favourite, from her sprightly, artless manners. Sir Henry Tempest had just then built the villa called Holly Lodge; and as they frequently had the merry actress staying there, it may be supposed what delight she experienced, in leaving close dark little Russell Street for the pure, dry, bracing air of Highgate."

The wealth which has enabled Lady Burdett-Coutts to abound in beneficent works formed the fortune of her maternal grandfather, Mr. Thomas Coutts, the well-known banker of the Strand.

Mr. Coutts was twice married. By his first wife he had three daughters, the youngest of whom became in 1793 the wife of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart.

The second wife of Mr. Coutts was the Miss Mellon before alluded to, to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune. Mrs. Coutts afterwards married the Duke of St. Albans; but judging it right that the property thus left to her should return to the family of her first husband, she constituted the youngest daughter of Sir Francis Burdett her heir, on condition that she should assume the name and arms of Coutts.

The Duchess of St. Albans, whose many kindly acts are still traditions of Highgate, died in 1837, and on the decease of the Duke in 1849 Lady Burdett-Coutts came into full possession of the property, and very nobly has she made use of it.

"Baroness Angela Georgina Burdett-Coutts, 1871, daughter of Sir Francis Burdett, M.P., 5th Bart., born 21st April, 1814. Assumed the additional name of Coutts by royal license in 1837. Has the Turkish orders of the 'Chafakat' and the Medjidie (1st class), and has received the freedom of the cities of London and Edinburgh. Married, in 1881, William Lehman Ashmead Burdett-Coutts, M.P."[1]

"Amongst her ladyship's munificent acts are the endowment of the Bishoprics of Cape Town, of Adelaide, and of British Columbia; the erection of the splendid model lodging-houses for a thousand persons in Columbia Square (which replaced the *dens* then standing on the same site, known as Nova Scotia Gardens), with wholesome residences, baths, washing-houses, and an ample supply of water. On the plan of Columbia Square all the model lodging-houses from the fund of the late Mr. Peabody have been built. From the time that severe distress began in Bethnal Green some years ago, her ladyship may be said to have adopted that necessitous neighbourhood. She has done her utmost to relieve suffering and provide employment. For instance, she kept for many years a large number of poor needlewomen in almost

[1] Burke's *Peerage*.

constant work by taking contracts for needlework, etc., and giving it out at prices which would have ruined any ordinary contractor. The 'Brown's Lane Charity,' where the poor needlewomen get their meals as well as their work, is, however, only one outcome of her many forms of benevolence. From the establishment nurses are daily sent out among the sick with wine and other comforts, while outfits are provided for poor servants, and winter clothing for deserving women.

"The magnificent Columbia Market, opened in the presence of royalty on the 28th April, 1869, is a noble gift for the advantage and convenience of the Bethnal Green poor. It was erected at a cost of about £200,000, and has the picturesqueness of a richly-finished Gothic cathedral. For beauty of design and lavish ornamentation it may safely be said that no other market in the world equals it. One object of the seeming excess of elaborate decoration was, we understand, to give employment to skilled stone-cutters and carvers then out of work, as well as to present an object of artistic beauty to the constant observation of the frequenters of the market, with the view of improving their taste and habits. The address of the workmen presented to the then Miss Burdett-Coutts at the opening ceremony contains these words: 'We earnestly hope and pray that this edifice may realise the object of its design; that it may confer lasting benefit on this locality; that its utility may be established, and the lesson of its beauty appreciated; and that it may remain a monument to posterity of a loving spirit, a fostering care, and a bounteous benevolence.' The Archbishop of Canterbury, amid other duties which devolved on him on the auspicious occasion, addressed the large crowd assembled in the quadrangle, and in a few simple words alluded to the many benefits which Miss Coutts had conferred upon the whole neighbourhood, not only by the present of her market, but by her model lodging-houses, by her sewing schools, and by the efforts she had made from year to year, and *intended still to make*, to better the condition of the poor of Bethnal Green."[1]

This grand conception has not yet proved a financial success, for markets are not the growth of a day; but it has helped to break up rings and combinations which kept up the price of food, and as a monument of human sympathy is worth every penny of its great cost. As long as it stands, it disarms the professional grievance-monger of his principal argument, that "the rich are destitute of sympathy towards the poor."

The help of Lady Burdett-Coutts has been given in a very practical way to the sister island by the establishment of the "Baltimore Industrial Fishing School, County Cork." This school was the outcome of assistance rendered to the distressed fishermen of that neighbourhood in response to an application from the parish priest in 1879, when

[1] *Leisure Hour.*

through the munificence of her ladyship, every trustworthy applicant, under certain conditions, received an advance of £250 towards the purchase of a good fishing-boat, such advance to be repaid by annual instalments,—a condition which has been honourably fulfilled, and the once starving fisher-village is fast becoming a thriving community.

The happy example thus set has been partially acted upon by the Government, and it is not unlikely it may in time change the entire aspect of the fishing population. On the one hand *capital* is wanted, and on the other seemingly *security*, but so far the experiment has been entirely successful.

"In memory of her father, the late Sir Francis Burdett, Lady Coutts erected the beautiful Gothic Church of Stephen the Martyr, Westminster, which was opened in 1850. Sir Francis, a fine specimen of the old-English gentleman, was the representative of an ancient Derbyshire family, which had received a patent of baronetage in the year 1618. Distinguished by his benevolent disposition, he acquired in his time great notoriety as a politician, especially for his zeal in the cause of reform. Educated as he was at Westminster School, and for thirty years the representative of the City of Westminster in Parliament, his liberal-minded daughter was influenced by these considerations in thus choosing Westminster as the field of one of her earliest public acts of beneficence.

"Though in no way connected with Carlisle, Lady Coutts built, at her sole cost and charge, the Church of St. Stephen's in the citadel station district of the town. This good work she volunteered to perform in consequence of the representations made by the late Bishop Waldegrave as to the spiritual destitution of his diocese. The foundation-stone was laid in March 1864, and the building opened in May 1865.

"For the topographical survey of Jerusalem, conducted by Sir Henry James, her ladyship supplied the funds; and among other useful works we may add that the beautiful drinking-fountain in Victoria Park was the gift of her benevolence. Not far from Holly Lodge is a group of Gothic cottages, erected by Lady Coutts on her estate, and which are, in their way, models of convenience and elegance. Holly Lodge has been honoured by visits of several members of the Royal Family; and there, it will be remembered, her ladyship hospitably entertained the Belgian volunteers on the occasion of their visit to this country in July 1867."[1]

Lady Coutts takes the deepest interest in the efforts of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and in many other ways helps on the national progress by large liberalities, and by a wise and discriminating kindness, whilst her interest in the poor takes the form of personal, tender, and sympathetic service.

Lady Coutts was raised to the Peerage in 1871, under the title of the

[1] *Leisure Hour.*

Baroness Burdett-Coutts of Highgate and Brookfield, in the county of Middlesex, the honour so bestowed giving universal satisfaction.

THE HERMITAGE, on West Hill. This was an old cottage residence on the lower part of the West Hill, upon the site of which St. Alban's Villas are now erected. WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT resided there before they removed higher up the hill. William Howitt thus describes it[1]:—

"Enclosed in tall trees stood a small house called the Hermitage. Adjoining it was a still smaller tenement, which was said to be the original Hermitage. It consisted only of one small, low room, with a chamber over it, reached by an outside rustic gallery. The whole of this Hermitage was covered with ivy, evidently of very ancient growth, as shown by the largeness of its stems and boughs, and the prodigality of its foliage; in fact, it looked like one mass of ivy.

"What was the origin of the place does not appear, but being its last tenant, I found that its succession of inhabitants had been a numerous one, and that it was connected with some curious histories.

"One of its tenants was SIR WALLIS PORTER, an associate of the Prince Regent. Here the Prince of Wales came to gamble, and, hidden by tall trees and by the huge 'ivy-tod,' it seemed a place well concealed for the orgies carried on there. The ceiling of the room they used, was painted with naked figures in the French style. But the end of Sir Wallis was that of many another gamester * * * for he is said to have put an end to his existence there by shooting himself.

"There is a pleasanter legend of Lord Nelson, when a boy, once being there and climbing a tall ash-tree by the road-side, which therefore went by the name of 'Nelson's tree,' till it went the way of all trees—to the timber-yard. It was reported that Fauntleroy, the forger, concealed himself in the Hermitage for a time. He was the managing partner of the banking house of Marsh & Co., of Berners Street, and to keep up the failing credit of the firm disposed of Bank of England stock, to the amount of £170,000, by means of forged powers of attorney. He was tried and found guilty, and was executed 30th November, 1824."

Mrs. Howitt[2] thus describes the old house and its surroundings; her husband having just left her to visit their son in Australia, who is well known for his pioneering services in that vast continent[3]:—

"Our first occupation was moving from the Avenue Road to Highgate, where I had once hoped Andrew Marvell's half-timbered, very picturesque cottage might have been our home. It proved, however, at the time too dilapidated to be rented with economy or prudence.

"In the meanwhile Edward Bateman had taken on lease The Her-

[1] Howitt's *Northern Heights.* [2] *Reminiscences of my Later Life.*
[3] He is now a police magistrate in Gippsland, Victoria.

mitage, situated at Highgate on the West Hill, a little above Millfield Lane. The premises consisted of a small three-storeyed house and a lesser tenement, 'The Hermitage proper,' containing a room on the ground floor, and an upper chamber reached by an outside rustic staircase and gallery, the whole covered with a thick roof of thatch and buried in an exuberant growth of ancient ivy. It and the dwelling-house stood in the midst of a long sloping garden, and were hidden from the road by palings, fine umbrageous elms, and a lofty ash, which retained the name of Nelson's Tree, from the famous admiral having climbed it as a boy. When to let, the landlord, in order to beautify the place, had painted the interior woodwork of the house dark green, and introduced bad stained glass and grotto-work into the cottage. Notwithstanding these gimcrack attempts at rusticity, Mr. Bateman, perceiving the capabilities, had immediately secured the place, and then under his skilful hand and eye transformed it into a most unique, quaint, and pleasant abode, the fit home for a painter. He had temporarily located Dante Rossetti in The Hermitage, when, determining to go to Victoria, where his cousin, Mr. La Trobe, was governor, he transferred the lease to us. Woolner and Burnhard Smith were his fellow-travellers, and it was agreed that on the following 12th of April the P.R.B.'s[1] in England were to meet together to make sketches and write poems for the P.R.B.'s in Australia, who were simultaneously to meet and forward a 'Mercury' of their proceedings home.

"Whilst The Hermitage was being transformed, and the voyage of the pre-Raphaelites still in embryo, I remember walking one March evening at six o'clock with Woolner along Millfield Lane. After we passed the house once occupied by Charles Mathews, the comedian, but later much enlarged, we witnessed a splendid sunset effect. The western sky was filled with a pale, golden light, fading into violet, then blue, and just in the violet hung a thin crescent moon, with one large star above her. Woolner could not sufficiently admire this exquisite poem of nature, and I perceived that he was not only a sculptor but a poet.

"For upwards of two years my daughters and I dwelt alone at The Hermitage, busily occupied writing, painting, and studying, our anxious hearts filled with the deepest solicitude for our dear absent ones, who were bravely encountering deprivation and toil; we could only remember that God was with them, as much in the bush as in a civilised land."

The old Hermitage was pulled down about 1860.

Turning into Millfield Lane, on the left, is FERN LODGE, the residence of MR. ELLIOT STOCK, the well-known publisher, and author of some

[1] Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

fugitive poems, of which a happy example will be found in *Good Words* for 1886, pp. 472-3, entitled "An Unconventional Sermon."

Just beyond, in the angle of old Millfield Lane, is the house, now much altered and enlarged, once the residence of CHARLES MATHEWS, the comedian. This well-known humorist was the son of a theological bookseller in the Strand, and was born in 1776.

He first appeared on the stage in 1803, in Cumberland's *Jew*, and his fame was at once established. In 1818 he resolved on giving an "entertainment" by himself, and announced his *At Home* at the English Opera House. His success was so signal as to induce the Managers of Old Drury and Covent Garden to attempt to interdict the performances.

Crabb Robinson says[1] that his *At Home* was very popular in 1822, when he represented Curran, Wilkes, and other statesmen of the reign of George III. His imitation of Lord Ellenborough was so remarkable that he was rebuked for the perfection with which he practised his art. These entertainments were given in almost every theatre in the United Kingdom. He died at Devonport in 1835.

Charles Mathews has been called the Hogarth of the English stage. In his cottage, which he termed his "Tusculum," was a large collection of dramatic curiosities, many of which are now in the possession of the Garrick Club.[2] His sense of humour was so strong that he was unable to restrain himself at any time from comic speeches. One night the wind blew so strongly as to awake Mrs. Mathews, who, much frightened, awoke her husband, saying, "Don't you hear the wind, Charley? Oh dear! what shall we do?" "Do," said the half-awake humorist,—"open the window and give it a peppermint lozenge, that's the best thing for the wind."[3] When on his deathbed, a legend says that his attendant by mistake gave him some ink from a phial instead of his medicine; on discovering his error he said, "Good heavens! I have given you some ink, sir." "Ne-ver mind, my boy, ne-ver mind," said Mathews,—"I'll —I'll swallow a bit—bit of blotting-paper." Fun was simply his nature.

The house was afterwards occupied by MR. JAMES SHOOLBRED, of Tottenham House.

It is now in the possession of MR. WILLIAM FORD, a very old and respected resident of Highgate, a governor of the Grammar School, and V.-P. of the Literary Institution; to whose munificence the Church of St. Ann, Brookfield, to a large extent owes its erection.[4]

The next house on the same side is a plain but comfortable cottage, called "Millfield Cottage," that is said to have been for a short time

[1] *Diary.* [2] *Old and New London.* [3] Palmer's *History of St. Pancras.*
[4] Mr. Ford was the donor of the drinking fountain in the Cholmeley School field.

the residence of Mr. John Ruskin. Mr. Ruskin himself says he recollects nothing further than that as a child he lived with his father and mother in a cottage at Highgate *or* Hampstead; tradition may therefore take the liberty of saying Highgate.[1]

Returning to the West Hill, immediately before reaching it there is a narrow lane to the left, leading to Southampton Villa, which was long the residence of the late Mr. J. J. Miles, of the well-known bookselling firm of Hamilton, Adams, & Co. Mr. Miles was V.-P. of the Institution, and for many years its Treasurer.

The houses on the West Hill, now respectively occupied by Mr. W. P. Bodkin, J.P., and Mrs. Gostlett, were built in the year 1833, from the designs of Mr. Henry Bassett. That occupied by Mr. Bodkin was built for Mr. G. Bassett, who at the time was agent to Lord Southampton, to whom the freehold then belonged. Mr. Bassett sold it to Mr. Ridgway (of King William Street, tea merchant), who subsequently disposed of it to Sir William Bodkin, at whose decease it became the property of the present occupier. It is named West Hill Place.

Sir William H. Bodkin was M.P. for Rochester, Recorder of Dover, and Assistant Judge for Middlesex. Knighted 1867, died 26th March, 1874, aged eighty-three. His son, Mr. W. P. Bodkin, is the senior magistrate on the Highgate bench.

The lower lodge in Mr. Bodkin's ground was once the residence of the genial Joseph Payne, whose fancy it was, to conduct his bachelor establishment in the modest little cottage belonging to his friend Sir W. H. Bodkin, with whom he acted at the Middlesex sessions, as Deputy Assistant Judge.

"Counsellor Payne," as he was called by his lifelong friend the late Earl of Shaftesbury, was from his wonderful freshness, fun, and wisdom, the centre of interest of any public meeting he attended; many people would walk miles to hear him. He invariably ended his speeches with what he called "a tailpiece"—ten to twenty verses of fun and pathos, with happy allusions to the charity—or its managers—the cause of which he was pleading.

Judge Payne was a great friend to the Ragged School cause, at the time it wanted friends, and he never seemed so happy as when, side by side with Lord Shaftesbury, he was pressing their claims on the public attention. He died on 29th March, 1870, aged seventy-three.

The number of gentlemen who attended his funeral, as deputations, personal friends, etc., was so great that the head of the procession had practically reached the Highgate cemetery before the end had left the little

[1] Howitt.

cottage home. A handsome monument was erected over his grave by a public subscription limited to five shillings from each donor.

The house occupied by MRS. GOSTLETT was built for Mr. Thomas Clarke, solicitor, who resided there till his decease in 1854; it was then occupied successively by Mr. Charles Trueman, Mr. Robert Barclay, Mr. Goodall, and Mr. Gostlett, whose widow is now in possession; the freehold is vested in Mr. R. G. Clarke.

The house below Mrs. Gostlett's was erected in 1837 by Mr. J. L. TATHAM, who resided there till his decease in 1886, and it is still occupied by his family. Mr. Tatham was a Governor of the Grammar School, and a Bencher of Gray's Inn.

MERTON LANE is cut almost on the line of the old foot-path to Hampstead, and was made at the time Mr. Meaburn Tatham erected the house called "Merton Lodge," now in the occupation of Mr. John Glover, J.P.

Prior to the erection of the houses on the west side of the hill, the ground formed the lower corner of Lord Southampton's park, and was used for grazing purposes. Some of the old timber is still standing, and is of very fine proportions; of which the oak in Merton Lane may be mentioned, which once had a plate upon it, commemorating some now unknown event; it was probably stolen for the sake of the metal, when the park was cut up.

WEST HILL LODGE was the second residence of WILLIAM and MARY HOWITT in Highgate, and is thus referred to by Mary Howitt[1]:—

"Highgate, however, became our settled place of residence, and in 1857 we quitted the 'Hermitage,' which by a change of proprietors was doomed to demolition, for 'West Hill Lodge,' pleasantly situated higher up on the same ascent, and possessing from its flat accessible roof a magnificent survey of London and its environs. It stood back facing an old-fashioned sloping garden, which, hidden from the road by a screen of clipped lime-trees, afforded Florence Nightingale a pleasant open-air retreat; when spent in the service of her country, she occupied it in great retirement during the spring and early summer of 1859."

The Howitts naturally had a large circle of literary and artistic friends, and amongst other of these visitors at Highgate were Hans Christian Andersen, William Allingham, Holman Hunt, Dante Rossetti, Thomas Woolner, Robert Buchanan, Charles Reade, Frederika Bremer, etc., etc.

William Howitt died in Rome on 3rd March, 1879, and, strange to

[1] *Reminiscences of my Later Life.*

say, on the *same* day and the *same* hour his last surviving brother, Francis Howitt, died in Derbyshire.

Mrs. Caroline Chisholm, an early promoter of emigration, resided on West Hill for some years.

Before dealing with the old houses in the GROVE and the FITZROY and CAENWOOD estates, which must be relegated to a special chapter, it will be convenient to mention the few remaining houses scattered over the parish which claim attention.

The old house four doors from the police station, now numbered 47, South Grove, and used for the purposes of the Highgate Dispensary, was temporarily occupied by HENRY THOMAS BUCKLE, the author of *The History of Civilisation in England*, which brought him into prominent notice in 1857.

Mr. Buckle was a man of easy fortune, and after he had brought out a second volume of his work in 1861, he undertook a journey to the East, to restore his strength and extend his knowledge, and died of typhus fever at Damascus in May 1862. Mr. Buckle had the reputation of being one of the best chess-players in the world;[1] several of his letters are dated from Highgate.

Just opposite, in the old red-brick house adjoining the Gate House, resided MR. N. T. WETHERELL, representing an old line of Highgate medical men, for he was the third, if not the fourth, successive "Dr. Wetherell of Highgate." Mr. Wetherell was an accomplished geologist and a Fellow of the Geological Society; his researches were principally in the London clay, for which the Archway excavation gave him peculiar facilities, and from which he formed a very important collection (a portion of which he presented to the Literary and Scientific Institution), a paper on which will be found in the Geological Society's Transactions for 1832.[2] Mr. Wetherell, who was much respected, died in December 1875. The house is now occupied by Dr. Crowdy.

No. 7, North Road, is the residence of PROFESSOR TOMLINSON, F.R.S., V.-P. of the Literary Institution, its Honorary Secretary for ten years, and its President in the year 1876-7.

Professor Tomlinson has been a distinguished and successful teacher in both science and literature, and nothing seems to give him more pleasure than interesting and instructing others by imparting some of his accumulated store of knowledge. There is no resident in Highgate who stands higher in the esteem of his neighbours. Charles Tomlinson was born in 1808 (27th November). In 1864 he was elected Life Member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and

[1] Chambers's *Cyclopædia*.

[2] See p. 508.

a Member of the Council. In the same year he was elected Fellow of the Chemical Society; in 1867 he was elected Fellow of the Royal Society; in 1872 he became one of the original founders of the Physical Society; and in 1878-80 he was appointed by the Council of University College to the Dante Lectureship, founded by Dr. Barlow, and held for three years on condition of delivering twelve lectures each year on the Divine Comedy.

Mr. Tomlinson was also during many years Lecturer on Experimental Science in King's College School, London, and still is Honorary Examiner in Physics to the Birkbeck Institution.

He is also a member of the Royal Society of Tasmania.

The following is a list of his works :—

I. *Science.*

1838.—"The Student's Manual of Natural Philosophy." 8vo, pp. ix and 624.

Five vols. on Meteorological Phenomena, entitled: "The Tempest;" "The Thunderstorm;" "The Dewdrop and the Mist;" "The Rain-cloud and the Snowstorm;" "The Frozen Stream." Various editions between 1845 and 1877.

"Winter in the Arctic and Summer in the Antarctic Regions." Various editions between 1846 and 1872.

"Lessons from the Animal World" (written in conjunction with Mrs. Tomlinson). First Series, Second Series. Various editions between 1845 and 1870.

"The Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain." "Textile Fabrics," pp. 656. "Metals," pp. 704. Various editions between 1845 and 1868.

"Introduction to the Study of Natural Philosophy;" "Treatise on Mechanics;" "Treatise on Pneumatics;" "Treatise on Warming and Ventilation." Weale's Series. Various editions from 1850.

"Cyclopædia of Useful Arts, Mechanical and Chemical, Mining and Engineering." First edition, 1851, 2 vols. crown 8vo. Second edition, 1864, 3 vols. crown 8vo.

Numerous Papers on the results of Original Scientific Research contained in the Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society; in the Transactions of the Chemical Society; in the Journal of the Society of Arts; in the Philosophical Magazine; in the Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal; in the Chemical News, Nature, Knowledge, some foreign journals, etc.

II. *Biography.*

"Smeaton and Lighthouses," 1844; "Cuvier," 1844; "Linnæus," 1844. "Notices of Scientific Men in the English Cyclopædia of Biography," 1870—1872.

III. *Literature.*

"The Sonnet, its Origin, Structure, and Place in Poetry." 1874.

"A Vision of Hell: the *Inferno* of Dante, translated into English Tierce Rhyme, with an Introduction on Dante and his Translators." 1877.

"Sonnets:—1. Original; 2. Petrarch; 3. Spanish." 1881.

"Introductory Lecture to a Course of Lectures on the Divine Comedy." 1878.

"The Leading Idea of the Divine Comedy." Article in the *Modern Review*. 1882.

"Herman and Dorothea, translated from the German Hexameters of Goethe into English Hexameters, with an Introductory Essay, Historical and Critical." 1849. New edition, 1887.

"Essays Old and New." 1887.

Numerous contributions to the *Saturday Magazine*, from 1836 to 1846, in conjunction with the late Mrs. Tomlinson. Many of these articles were reprinted in four volumes, entitled, "Chronicles of the Seasons." 1844.

"Amusements in Chess." 1846.

"The Chess Player's Annual." 1856.

Various articles on Chess in Chess Magazines, etc.

Of the houses west of the North Hill, viz. NORTH GROVE, BISHOPWOOD and BROADLANDS ROADS, there is but little at present to record; the moss which years bring has yet to gather upon them. History is but a record of change, to which at present they have been but little subject; long may they be happily exempt.

"NORTHHOLME," at the corner of Bishopwood and Broadlands Roads, was the residence of the late DR. WALTER MOXON, whose sudden death in July 1886 was the subject of deep and widespread concern. The remembrance of his almost intuitive professional skill, the halo of his cheerful presence, his bright looks and brighter words, so full of comfort to the suffering and hope to the depressed, time alone can efface.

The following extracts are from a sympathetic paper which appeared soon after his death in *The Lancet*.

"Walter Moxon entered as a student at Guy's Hospital in 1854, and soon attracted the attention of his teachers by the accuracy of his work and his exactness in points of detail. Among his fellow-students was Mr. Arthur Durham, with whom there existed a friendly rivalry for a position on the staff, to which each eventually attained. At the first M.B. examination of the University of London, which he passed in 1857, he

was placed first in honours, with an exhibition and a gold medal in materia medica, and second in honours with a gold medal in chemistry. In the following year, before graduation, he was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical School. This appointment, he always maintained, lowered his position at the second M.B., which he passed in 1859. Although he gained no exhibition at this examination, he took honours in every subject. He graduated M.D. in 1864, and was elected a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1868. * * *

"On the retirement of Dr. Owen Rees, Dr. Moxon succeeded as physician to Guy's Hospital; he then began to devote himself still more to clinical instruction. He became Lecturer on Medicine, and this chair he continued to hold until the time of his death. On the preparation of these lectures he bestowed much labour, but he never hampered himself with a note, so that the delivery always appeared to be spontaneous. Given entirely without theatrical effect, they compelled attention, and charmed at the same time by the brilliancy of thought, the epigrammatic sayings, and the pointed illustrations distributed through them. * * *

"In 1878 Dr. Moxon purchased a house at Highgate, and, securing a large piece of ground adjoining, laid it out as a beautiful garden. In this he took the greatest interest, and amused himself in making frequent alterations and improvements. At one time he added a mountain-top covered with every Alpine plant; at another his fancy led him in the direction of little lakes and pools for the accommodation of aquatic plants and ferns. Every flower, wild or cultivated, found a home in his garden; and many had histories that brought back the thoughts of friends. Here, too, the wild birds from the Highgate woods flocked for food and certain protection. In the winter, lumps of suet and cocoanut sawn in rings were hung on the arches and boughs for the benefit of the tits, and loaves of bread were broken up for the blackbirds and thrushes, finches and sparrows. Always, before taking his own breakfast on a winter's morning, Moxon first saw to the feeding of his feathered friends. He was, indeed, an ardent lover of nature, to whom every flower in the hedgerows was familiar, and who in his studies had not even neglected to distinguish the various English grasses. * * * Generous, warm-hearted, and benevolent, he was ever ready to lend a helping hand to those in distress. Many a poor student has been assisted through his difficulties, and many an orphan has been temporarily supported, by his open purse. The amount he thus gave away in private charity would be scarcely credited."

The Royal College of Physicians has lately determined to found a medal in his honour, and also to place some memorial of him in Guy's Hospital.

The Sycamores, No. 19, North Road, was once in the occupation

of Mr. Prickett, the father of Frederick Prickett the author of the *History of Highgate* (1842), who afterwards died in the colonies. His grandfather had a carpenter's shop by the side of the "White Lion," High Street, and a timber-yard belonging to the family occupied the site of the house in which Mr. Casella resides. The Pricketts were very old residents in Highgate.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE, No. 51, North Road, was once the grocery store of a Mr. Groves, who had a very large and prosperous business, and, by means of the coaches constantly passing, supplied a widely-spread country connection.[1]

THE CEDARS, No. 85, North Road, was erected by Mr. Thomas T. Tatham, who held the office of Vestry Clerk of Hornsey (now held by his son) for fifty years! On his resignation in December 1863 he was presented with a service of plate, as a mark of esteem, by his friends and neighbours. A stained-glass window placed in St. Michael's, in December 1868, is dedicated to his memory. The Tatham family have been associated with Highgate for nearly a century.

In the cottage next to the Baptist Church in Southwood Lane, called "Avalon," resided DR. KINGSLEY, brother of Rev. Charles Kingsley. He was a traveller and author; his best known book is *The Earl and the Doctor*.

The house *called*[2] SOUTHWOOD was the residence of MR. MARK BEAUCHAMP PEACOCK, Solicitor to the Post Office, and owner of considerable landed property in Highgate. It is famed for its unrivalled view, extending from east to west almost as far as the eye can command; under favourable circumstances Erith-reach on the River Thames is seen. On the occasion of a fire at Gravesend at night, some twenty years since, the metal figures on the church clock were easily distinguished through a good telescope from the top of this house. It was afterwards the residence of COLONEL CROLL, and of MR. RITCHIE, of the firm of Domecq & Co., the sherry shippers, of which firm the father of Mr. John Ruskin was at one time the principal partner; it is at present occupied by MR. KENT.

Colonel Alexander Angus Croll, who died at Dunblane, N.B., on 7th June, 1887, at the age of seventy-six, had been a member of the Society of Arts since 1843. He was a native of Perth, and on removing to London, he became connected with the Great Central Gas Company, and other similar undertakings. He held the position of

[1] There seems to have been a very large business done in Highgate through the facilities given for easy distribution of goods by the coaches.

[2] The original *Southwood* is on Wells Hill.

chairman of the United Kingdom Electric Telegraph Company, and in 1871 he was publicly presented with a testimonial of plate, of the value of 1,000 guineas, in recognition of his services. He originated and erected the pile of buildings in the City of London forming the Wool Exchange. Colonel Croll was a deputy-lieutenant and magistrate, and had served the office of Sheriff of London and Middlesex. He was honorary colonel of the 2nd Tower Hamlets Regiment of Engineer Volunteers. As a magistrate for several counties, Colonel Croll took much interest in questions relating to prison discipline, and he was the author of a pamphlet on productive prison labour. Colonel Croll was a member of the Council of the Society of Arts, and held the office of Examiner in Gas in the Technological Examinations.

Southwood is on Wells Hill, Southwood Lane. It was built by Field-Marshal Wade. By entries in the Court Rolls of the Manor of Haringey, it appears that, in the year 1745, "the Right Honble. George Wade, Esq., Field-Marshal of Dragoon Guards, became possessed of the house in Southwood Lane, on Highgate Common," which stood on the site of the mansion now occupied by Mrs. Hughes; the building being in a dilapidated state, he caused it to be taken down, and the present residence to be erected in its stead, and for a short time he resided there. It appears that, in the year 1747, the Marshal devised this estate by will to his two sons, George Wade, Captain in the Dragoon Guards, and John Wade, Captain in General Bland's regiment of Dragoons. The sons sold it to Robert Booth, a short time after the father's decease. Field-Marshal Wade was appointed, in 1745, to the command of six thousand Dutch troops, three battalions of guards, and seven regiments of infantry; and marched to Newcastle, for the purpose of checking the threatened entry of the Pretender into London. Such was the general consternation, that orders were given to form a camp on Finchley Common, that being the route it was supposed the Pretender would take, so as to enter the Metropolis through Highgate.

Prior to 1812, this extensive common was unenclosed, and was frequently used on field-days and reviews, the last of which was held before the late Duke of Cambridge, when he reviewed the *Loyal Highgate* and numerous other Volunteer corps, about 1805. It was on this common that General Monk drew up his forces in 1660, and in 1780 several regiments were encamped here in consequence of the riots which prevailed in the Metropolis.

It was from the incident that the Guards halted at Finchley on their march to Scotland, in 1745, that the subject of Hogarth's well-known engraving was conceived. It is related that General Wade was at a gambling-house one day, when he suddenly missed his snuff-box, a very

valuable one. Every one present of course denied taking it; but he insisted on searching them, and did so till he came to the last man in the room, who refused to be searched unless the General would go into a private room with him, when he told him he had been born a gentleman, but was reduced, and lived by what bits he could pick up, and the fragments he sometimes received from the waiters. "I have now half a fowl in my pocket," he said, "and I was afraid of being exposed. Now, sir, you may search me." The General was touched and gave him a hundred pounds; and in return the needy gentleman enabled him to discover his snuff-box, which he had believed lost, lying safely in one of his pockets.[1]

General Wade is best known as the maker of the military roads through the Highlands of Scotland, which did so much to settle the country. This work is alluded to in a well-known couplet, worthy of Sir Boyle Roach :—

> "If you'd seen these roads *before* they were made,
> You'd have lifted up your hands and blessed General Wade."

He was Member for Hendon in 1715, was returned for Bath in 1722, and was created a Privy Councillor and Governor of Forts William and George, and Lieut.-General of the Ordnance in 1748, but did not live long to enjoy his honours. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. There is a good portrait of him in the Highgate Institution.

The house is supposed to have been afterwards occupied by Lord Alvanley[2] (Sir Pepper Arden), Master of the Rolls, who afterwards removed to Frognal, Hampstead, and later by the Misses Longman, members of the family of the well-known publishers.

In JACKSON'S LANE, at the rear of Marshal Wade's house, is an old house called HILLSIDE (see p. 278), originally erected by "SQUIRE JACKSON," who used to ride so frequently down the wood path to Hornsey, now called Wood Lane, that it was known to many of the old inhabitants as "Squire Jackson's ride." It was lately in the occupation of MR. LLOYD, and now of MR. BETTS.

The adjoining house, SOUTHWOOD LAWN, was occupied by MR. WHARTON, and afterwards by MR. ALEXANDER SCRIMGEOUR, who after the family had removed from Highgate was unhappily drowned on a voyage from the Cape, where he had gone for the benefit of his health; but his memory is still very fresh in Highgate. The present occupier is MR. BOAKE.

OAK LODGE is said to stand upon the site of an old cottage at one

[1] *London under the Georges*. Molloy.

[2] "Lord Alvanley's country house was in Southwood Lane, Highgate, and he was a very regular attendant at Highgate Chapel."—Townsend's *Lives of Twelve Eminent Judges*.

time on the edge of the wood in the midst of the Common, where the Court falcons were kept. The house was built by MR. ALDERMAN BESLEY, and was inhabited for a short time by the COUNTESS OF RODEN, and until very lately by MR. H. R. WILLIAMS, chairman both of the Hornsey Local Board and the Hornsey School Board, in whose tenancy it was well known for the annual gathering of children from the "KING EDWARD INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,"[1] at which the late EARL of SHAFTESBURY was frequently present, and a great number of the neighbours. The house is at present unoccupied.

The PRIORY, which is on the rise of the hill opposite Jackson's Lane, now called Shepherd's Hill Road, was erected by DR. WILMER, on the plans of a house he occupied at Virginia Water, which was purchased of him by George IV.; it is now the summer residence of COLONEL

HILLSIDE: GARDEN FRONT.

STEDALL, J.P. The grounds are most picturesque; the pleasing undulations of the woodland which it commands, make it, notwithstanding its proximity to the railway station, one of the most secluded and beautiful spots in Highgate.

PARK HOUSE, now the Diocesan Penitentiary, was best known to the older inhabitants as the residence of "Squire Cooper." The grounds extended to the site of All Saints' Church, and before the Archway Road was cut they adjoined the Gravel Pit Wood, where "Squire Cooper," like "Squire Jackson," had his favourite ride towards Muswell Hill, which was called after his name—"Squire Cooper's Ride." Mr. Cooper-Cooper was a Governor of the Grammar School.

[1] Treasurer, Mr. H. R. Williams; Hon. Sec., Mr. J. H. Lloyd.

There is a tradition that the father of Mr. Cooper-Cooper—who was a "single barrelled Cooper" only—tramped up to London a poor boy, and resting at Addison's Brewery, Highgate, almost worn out, he was given 4*d.* to help him on his way. He got on in the world, was fortunate in lottery speculations, and eventually purchased the brewery premises, on which he erected Park House. The brewery was removed lower down North Hill, to what is now known as North Hill House.

Viscount Godrich, afterwards Earl of Ripon, was a later resident of Park House. It was subsequently rented by the Committee of the Idiot Asylum, now located at Earlswood, and ultimately it passed into the possession of its present owners.

The Bull Inn. George Morland, the eminent painter of rustic scenery and low life, resided here for some time, and produced many of his best works. He was born in London in 1764, and was the son of Henry Morland, an artist of some merit, from whom he received instruction in his profession. He acquired a great degree of skill as a faithful student of nature, and in the early part of his career confined himself to the delineation of picturesque landscape ; but having contracted irregular habits, he forsook the woods and fields for the alehouse and the companionship of stage-coachmen, postilions, and drovers. Drinking scenes became a favourite subject of his pencil. Some of his best pieces exhibit farmyards and stables, with dogs, horses, pigs, and cattle ; others at the door of the village alehouse, designed with all the truth and feeling which communicate a charm to the meanest objects and proclaim the genius of the artist. Morland's unfortunate habits of dissipation prevented him from reaping the fruits of his exertions, and left him at the mercy of designing individuals by whom he was surrounded. He died in 1804.

"What Charles Dickens was as a delineator of the English middle-class life of the second quarter of this century, George Morland was as to the English lower-class of the latter end of the last century. His pictures have an interest, not only as works of art, but as illustrating English life and manners in his time. * * *

"George Morland has been called the English Teniers. No better description could be given of the nature of his genius, which probably equalled that of either the elder or the younger Teniers, though, for want of cultivation, it never reached their level in execution. His genius had risen, culminated, and set by the time that he was forty. Three styles mark these successive periods. In the first, the work is carefully studied from nature, but too much softened down. He has not altogether freed himself from the timid manner encouraged by his father, nor from the belief in mere finish, the result of his studies in the Dutch School. The

second style is far less finished, but everything is touched in with a free and vigorous pencil. In the third there is evident decay ; the manner is more careless and the power is going. Morland's genius is thought to have been at its zenith about 1792, but many of his finest works were painted after that period.

"While with his father Morland painted a series of illustrations to the 'Faërie Queen,' and to several popular ballads, such as 'Auld Robin Gray' and 'Margaret's Ghost.' During his best period he devoted himself a great deal to landscape, and produced some important works. But while he has many rivals in this line, he stands alone as a painter of drovers, stage-coachmen, ostlers, post-boys, and labourers of all sorts. His genius, however, rose to its highest level and produced its most perfect work, when he came to represent animals. And here he showed the same bent as he did in depicting man and his dwelling-place. Just as he chose the most uncultured specimens of the former, and the poorest and wildest forms of the latter, so in painting animals he chose the sheep, the ass, and the hog, and even the rabbit and guinea-pig, in preference to the horse and the dog. * * *

"Morland was a master only among brutes ; among men he was still a serf, a mere reflector of the general nature he saw around him. He is, however, so far, by force of his great artistic genius, invaluable as a representer of the life of his times ; and his intellectual abjectness and want of ideality probably intensified his power to realize the externals of the life around him. Although he never used any of the ordinary means of progress, discarding all books—it is thought that he never possessed one in his life—and did not go to picture-galleries, or hold converse with other artists, yet in his own peculiar way he was indefatigable in his pursuit of artistic knowledge. In the midst of his drunken frolics he would often make sketches and take notes. Sometimes he would start off in the night and ride several miles to attend a feast of gipsies in a wood, simply to observe the effect of firelight on the situation and the strange characters present. Gipsy life, as might be expected, had great fascination for him, and he would wander about with these nomads for days together. From these various causes Morland's pictures give a faithful representation of the life of rural England at the close of the last century and the beginning of this, exhibiting the peasant of the period, at all hours of the day and in every occupation. And their power consists in their simplicity, the composition and effect being in this particular in harmony with the subject. * * *

"Morland's works must ever be interesting, but he can never take rank as a really great painter. Nothing from an art point of view could be more monotonous than a gallery of Morland. * * *

"He avoids or slurs over all difficult points. Thus his foliage is weak,

and when he attempts to paint it blown by the wind it looks like sea-weed. The one thing in trees he depicted with peculiar ability was a stunted pollard oak. Sunshine he avoided, and he generally contented himself with getting but one light into his picture. The heavy colour and want of atmosphere, which is a general fault in his work, was mainly due to the rapid careless manner in which he painted, employing the palette for every subject, and even using up the remnant of his paint on other subjects in hand.

"If Morland remained uncultured among artists, he remained to the last, simple and true in his work. And that work must ever be most precious, since it was the work of one who unconsciously became the representative of a large class. In that light both the man and his work are worthy of our study."[1]

The tradition of Highgate is, that Morland sat in the front of the "Bull" with his pipe and grog, having a word with all the coachmen and guards of the coaches as they passed by, and that he knew every horse in every coach, frequently enquiring after some missing favourite.

At a cottage, now called NAOMI COTTAGE, on North Hill, lived CHARLES GREEN, the aëronaut of "Nassau Balloon" celebrity, who died in 1870 at the great age of eighty-five, having resided for many years in Highgate. One of that gentleman's intimate friends was exceedingly fond of taking his ease in the parlour of the "Fox and Crown," West Hill. This personage was Mr. J. B. Noel, of Randolph-street, Camden Town, whose study of the science of aerostatics led to his intimacy with Mr. Green. When the aëronaut made his memorable balloon ascent from Vauxhall Gardens in July 1837, accompanied by Cocking, the mono-maniacal parachutist, Noel and his cronies from the "Fox and Crown" might have been seen that bright summer evening on the parapet of Highgate Archway, passing a telescope about, and silently keeping watch due south. Noel had a keen interest in the business, having laid a heavy wager that Cocking, after severing his parachute from the balloon, although elevated more than a mile above the earth, would descend slowly and safely. By-and-bye the party discerned the glittering balloon and its tiny pendant, and they watched them drift away south-east to the Thames. It was not until next day that Noel and his acquaintances learned the fate of the aërial voyagers. Cocking, in his parachute, had come down like a lump of lead at Lee in Kent, and when examined, was found to be fatally injured, while Green and his companion, Spencer, in the balloon (which went up like a rocket when Cocking detached his apparatus) effected a safe landing at Malling, a few miles from Maidstone.

[1] Extracts from an able sketch by "R. H.," in the *Leisure Hour*.

North Hill House was erected by Addison the brewer, after Mr. Cooper-Cooper bought the Park House property. The brewery gave the name to the "Brewhouse Wood," now "Gravel Pit Wood," which, before the Archway Road was cut, extended to the eastern side of North Hill. A detached portion of the wood still exists in the rear of the houses occupied by Mr. Noakes,[1] Mr. Wood,[2] and Mr. Dean.[3] North Hill House was for many years the residence of the late Mr. Thomas Challis, a kind-hearted neighbour, whose memory is regarded with affection; and it is still occupied by his widow.

In a house just below, with "pepper-box" turrets, the late Mr. Joseph Clarke resided. It was then popularly known as North Hill Castle. Mr. Clarke was for many years a prominent character in Highgate. He was full of care for the public weal, and devoted a long, useful, and unselfish life to parish and other neighbourly work. He was a link between Highgate of the past and Highgate of the present, and with him passed away a good type of the old-fashioned honorary parish official.

At the foot of North Hill on the right side is an old red-brick cottage, called North Wood, in the garden of which Grimstone grew the herbs with which he made his "eye snuff" *and* his fortune. The following paragraph refers to his Highgate garden :—

"*A Prodigiously Old Pea.*—Mr. Grimstone, of 'eye-snuff' celebrity, planted, it appears, a pea lately in his herbiary at Highgate about three thousand years old, it being taken from an Egyptian sarcophagus and brought to this country. Such a wonderfully ancient pea has naturally produced a great sensation among naturalists, and the inventor of the celebrated sneezable commodity has been plagued with requests for a spare pod out of the produce. Mr. Grimstone, however, is far too thoroughly up to snuff to grant so great a favour except in very rare instances. Nobody knows better than Mr. Grimstone, we believe, how many beans make five, and we are not surprised, therefore, to learn that he has refused applications even for a single pea—meaning, however, to present one of the royal gardens with a pod gratis.

"It seems uncertain whether the ancient Egyptians were acquainted

[1] Mr. Noakes is famed for the beautiful display of flowers his garden exhibits, in seasonable succession.

[2] The Rev. Josiah Viney, of the Congregational Church, resided for many years in the house now occupied by Mr. Wood. The power and influence of his blameless life is universally recognised.

[3] This gentleman claims to be the last of the very many residents of the northern suburbs who once *drove* into town daily. *He says* that "he was so punctual that people set their watches by him." He is now *well known* on the line (G.N.R.), where his profound knowledge of Shakespeare is a continual revelation to his fellow-travellers.

with the 'thimble-rig,' but, judging from this specimen possessed by Mr. Grimstone, their peas were prodigious!"[1]

No. 34, WOOD LANE, was the residence of PATRICK MACDOWELL, the well-known sculptor. His best known works are "A Girl Reading," "Love Triumphant," "Death of Virginia," "Early Sorrow," "Psyche," "Eve," "The Day Dream," "The First Thorn in Life," etc. He also executed statues of Lord Exmouth for Greenwich Hospital, Pitt and Chatham for the House of Lords, J. M. W. Turner for St. Paul's Cathedral, and one of the groups of the Albert Memorial. He was elected R.A. in 1846, and died at Highgate 17th December, 1870.

At No. 30, MR. TOULMIN SMITH, Barrister-at-Law, resided, author of *The Parish*, *Local Self-Government*, *The Old English Guilds*, *Government by Commission*, etc., etc He died 28th April, 1869.

Outside Highgate, there are but few houses in the parish of Hornsey of which there is any record; the land up to a very late date having been in agricultural occupation.

On the rise of Muswell Hill, to the left before reaching the Church, is an old house, now occupied by Mr. Francis. This house is said to have been erected by Colonel Brettle, and there is a tradition of King George the III. visiting it, to inspect a magnificent cedar tree which then graced the lawn. The hill is still known as "Brettle's" or "Brittle's Hill."

Miss Hawkins[2] says: "Mr. Brettle was of the Stamp Office, to whom his situation in the West Middlesex Militia on its earliest establishment gave the title of Colonel.

"He was a man of great good sense, an extensive knowledge of the world, honourable in his dealings, and faithful in his friendships; but his habits of parsimony were hardly to be surpassed by the Jennings or the Elwes of any period.

"He had a town house, which was not only to the last degree dirty, but his villa, on one of the most beautiful eminences north of London, was in a condition that would have deterred many from sleeping in it *even in a moderate breeze.*

"He and his lady, who was of the most grotesque appearance, but of the most lively good-humour, were at perfect ease with persons of peculiar distinction, and whose notice conferred honour.

"The circumstances of his last moments did not contribute to his fair fame. He had passed the age of ninety, and had been some time confined to his bed. A violent cough attended his gout, and a spasmodic

[1] *Satirist*, Sept. 8th, 1844.

[2] *Memoirs*, etc., L. M. Hawkins.

fit seizing him while giving orders to his coachman for the payment of some bills, he expired with a canvas bag of cash in the one hand and a rouleau of banknotes in the other.

"It was a study for a moral painter; but the Colonel's very fine features and waving silver locks, which gave him credit wherever he appeared, would ill have accorded with the character to be represented."

The portrait which Dickens sketched of "the Patriarch," in *Little Dorrit*, seems to have found its original in Colonel Brettle. But there is another tradition connected with this house, which is a curious illustration of the habits of the "knights of the road."

The trusted and clever groom of the then resident, was suddenly missing, and nothing more was heard of him. Some time after, the master received a message from Newgate, from a celebrated highwayman then under sentence of death, begging he would see him; and as the message was practically that of a dying man he went to Newgate, although with some reluctance. On entering the cell he at once recognised his old groom; and his confession was that "he had taken service with him because his house lay so closely contiguous to Finchley Common, and that he had constantly made use of his master's horses for the purposes of the road, but he had groomed them so well they had never seemed the worse for their nightly exercise; but on the morning he had disappeared he thought he had been recognised, and at once absconded," and now, "as he was about to die, he wished to ask his master's pardon."

Whether the incident is true or not, the position of the old house, surrounded as it then was, by the common lands, and in the immediate proximity of the Gravel Pit and Coalfall Woods, would render it most desirable as an easy and safe retreat—and who would suspect the trusted groom of a resident householder to be a highwayman?

Muswell[1] Hill derives its name from an old well on the top of the hill, where formerly the fraternity of St. John of Jerusalem, whose headquarters were in Clerkenwell, had a considerable farm conferred on them by Bishop Beauvais or Beauvoir, in 1112, he being, in the right of his office as Bishop of London, Lord of the Manor of Hornsey. The Cartulary of Clerkenwell has been searched, but no other early particulars of Muswell have been found than the few words in a confirmation charter of Henry II.—"Ex dono Ric' ep'i Lund'—terram de Mosewlle;" and in the recital of the confirmation by King Stephen of the grant of Bishop de Beauvayes, no places are named. The original deed of gift had probably been lost when the Cartulary was compiled; few, if any, of King Stephen's confirmations are extant; and from this source, there

[1] Moselle, *i.e.*, clear water.

fore, no information can be obtained.[1] On this farm, which seems to have been a dairy farm in charge of the nuns, was a well to which was attributed some miraculous cures, out of which the priests made considerable capital, and which drew a large concourse of pilgrims to the adjoining shrine of "Our Lady," in whose honour a chapel was erected,[2] until the common sense of the nation asserted itself and swept these miserable superstitions away at one fell swoop. The dissolution of the so-called "religious houses" was a bold and hazardous step, the effecting of which with so little opposition proves most forcibly how generally the affections of the people at large were, by this time, alienated from them. But whatever may have been the benefits ultimately derived from this proceeding, it is impossible to contemplate it without lamenting the wreck of literature, of science, of hospitality, and of splendour which it involved. It has been well remarked that "many of the abuses in civil society are attended with some advantages, and that in the beginnings of reformation the loss of these advantages is always felt very sensibly; while the benefit resulting from the change is the slow effect of time, and not immediately perceived or enjoyed."[3]

Thus was it with regard to the suppression of the religious houses: as they stood, they operated as an obstruction to the circulation of wealth, to the diffusion of industry, to the introduction of an enlightened morality, and to the dissemination of a pure religion;—but as they fell they had well-nigh buried civilization itself in their fall.

On the suppression of the monastery, the church was probably left standing, as Stow[4] mentions a church at Muswell Hill. He says: "So much of the church which remaineth, for one great isle thereof fell down, serveth as a parish church of St. John, not only for the tenements and near inhabitants, but also as is aforsayde for all up to Highgate, Holwell, etc."

"St. John"[5] here mentioned is evidently meant for the name of the mother parish of Clerkenwell. The site of the church is said to have been adjoining the house called Wellfield, now in the occupation of Mr. F. W. Manson.

A curious circumstance is, that this property, now some sixty-four acres, originally bestowed by the "Lord of the Manor of Hornsey" on the "Knights of John of Jerusalem," whose great house was in Clerkenwell, to which this property was a mere appendage, is still claimed, and successfully, as a portion of the parish of Clerkenwell! The same fraternity

[1] Gibson's *Essay*.

[2] There was an image kept in Islington Church, called "Our Lady of Islington," held in great veneration. It was burnt at the Reformation.

[3] Warton's *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*.

[4] *Survey*. Note.—Colney Hatch Lane was in such bad repair that the inhabitants were indicted in the eighteenth year of George III.

[5] This is an error. The parish is that of "St. James."

held large tracts of land in Islington, including the Manor of Highbury, and these lands are very properly re-absorbed in the parishes in which they are situate; why the exception in Hornsey? The present arrangement is a most unfortunate one for the tenants, and it is surely desirable that Parliament should again give Hornsey repossession of its ancient lands.

Bishop Beauvais.—1108. 2 Hen. I. Richard de Beaumes, surnamed the Red, was elected at Whitsuntide in 1108 at Mortlake, and consecrated at Pageham 26th July, 1108.[1] He died 16th January, 1127-28,[2] and was buried at St. Osyth's in Essex. He seems to have endeavoured to get the archiepiscopal dignity restored to the see of London.[3]

A.D. 1108.—The same year Richard de Beaumeis, elect of London, was consecrated at Pageham by Anselm, in the presence of many of his suffragans.[4]

A.D. 1108.—Archbishop Anselm, at the king's request, consecrated Richard, the Bishop of London elect, in his chapel at Paggaham, being assisted in the performance of this duty by William Bishop of Winchester, Roger Bishop of Salisbury, Ralph Bishop of Chichester, and William Bishop of Exeter, having first received from him the usual profession of obedience and subjection. After this, coming to Canterbury on the third day before the ides of August, he consecrated Ralph, Abbot of Seez, a religious man, Bishop of Rochester, in succession to Gundulph, William Bishop of Winchester, Ralph Bishop of Chichester, and Richard Bishop of London, assisting him in the performance of that duty; which same Richard, after the custom of his predecessors, on the same day presented a handsome gift to his mother-church of Canterbury.[5]

Norden[6] says:—"At Muswell Hill, called also Pinsenall Hill, there was a Chapel sometime bearing the name of 'Our Lady of Muswell,' where now Alderman Roe hath erected a proper house. The place taketh name of the well and of the hill, Mousewell Hill, for there is on the hil a spring of faire water, which is now within the compas of the house. There was sometime an image of the ladie of Muswell, whereunto was a continual resort in the way of pylgrimage, growing, as is (though as I take it) fabulouslie reported, in regard of a great cure which was performed by this water vpon a King of Scots, who being strangely diseased, was by some deuine intelligence aduised to take the water of a well in England

[1] Roger Wendover.
[2] Matt. Westm., *Weever*, p. 608.
[3] So it would seem from one of Archbishop Anselm's letters to Pope Paschal in 1108.
[4] Roger of Wendover's *Flowers of History*.
[5] The *Annals* of Roger de Hoveden, Bohn's Antiquarian Library.
[6] *Speculum Britanniæ*.

called Muswell, which after long scrutation and inquisition, this well was found, and performed the cure. Absolutely to denie the cure I dare not, for that the high God hath giuen vertue vnto waters to heale infirmities, as may appeere by the cure of Naaman the leper, by washing himselfe seauen times in Iordan, and by the poole Bethesda, which healed the next that stepped thereinto, after the water was movued by the angell."

The well still remains, but, alas for its virtues, they are drained dry! The water, diverted by building and road-making, has disappeared, which is probably a very good thing, as of late years it was certainly only polluted surface drainage.

There is a very quaint passage in Bedwell referring to the Moselle as it flowed through Tottenham:—"The Mose, which from the parsonage lane hath runne for the space of half a mile directly south, as it were repenting itself of *that* course, suddenly against the middest of the garden of Mr. Wilcoxe turneth short, and conveying itself under ye bridge, walketh leisurly eastward in a straight line to meet ye Leigh."

In 1546 the property was in possession of WILLIAM COWPER, who disposed of it to THOMAS GOLDYNGE. In 1577 it passed into the hands of WILLIAM ROWE and his heirs.[1]

It is curious to note that SIR JULIUS CÆSAR, Lord Bacon's old and trusted friend, was born on this property, at a house called "MATTYSONS," described as "in the parish of Clerkenwell at Muswell Hill." Pink[2] says, "This house stood on the site of the present farmhouse;" if so it was the site of Alderman Rowe's, and probably the same house.

In 1680 there is a record of SIR SAUL PAINTER (? Pindar) residing at Muswell Hill, and paying 4*s.* 6*d.* per month as an assessment to the poor at Clerkenwell.[3]

The "ALDERMAN ROWE" alluded to was afterwards SIR THOMAS ROWE, who married the sister of Sir Thomas Gresham. He is buried in Hackney Church, and in the same vault lies his son, Sir Henry Rowe, with the following quaint epitaph:—

> "Here (under fine of Adam's first defection)
> Rests, in the hope of happie resurrection,
> Sir Henry Rowe (sonne of Sir Thomas Rowe
> And of Dame Mary his deer yoakfellow), late
> Lord Maior of London, with his virtuous mate,
> Dame Susanna (his, twice fifteen years and seven).
> Their issue five (surviving of eleaven).
> Fower named heer, in their fower names forepast,
> The fifth is found, if Echo sound the last,
> Sad orphans all, but most theire heire (most debtor),
> Who built them this, but in his heart a better."

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[1] Lysons. [2] *History of Clerkenwell.* [3] *Parish Rate Book.*

This vault is now claimed by the Marquis of Downshire, whose ancestor, Trevor Hill, married Mary, the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Anthony Rowe of Muswell Hill, widow of Sir Edward Denton.[1] Owen Rowe, the father of Sir Thomas Rowe, who is buried in the same vault, sat in judgment on Charles I., and at the Restoration was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. He died in the Tower, 1661.[2]

Nicholas Rowe, Poet Laureate to George I., was a member of this family, and educated at Highgate.[3] His father was Mr. Serjeant Rowe. From Highgate he went to Westminster, as king's scholar, under Dr. Busby. He entered as a student at the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar; but on the death of his father he seems to have abandoned the law, and having written a successful play, *The Ambitious Stepmother*, the Duke of Queensberry made him his secretary, and he also held the offices of Land Surveyor of the Customs and Clerk of the Council of the Prince of Wales. Lord Chancellor Parker made him Secretary for the Presentations. His principal works are: *Tamerlane*, *The Fair Penitent*, *Ulysses*, *The Royal Convert*, *Jane Shore*, and *Lady Jane Grey*. His poems went through several editions.

He died in 1718, and is buried in Westminster Abbey.

The Rowe property was afterwards in the possession of the family of Pulteney, and under Sir William Pulteney's will it devolved on the Earl of Darlington. When Lysons wrote, in 1745, it was the property of Lady Bath. Besides an old house—which was ultimately separated into three tenements—called Bath House, there was another fine old house just below it, called The Grove. Nicholson says,[4] "The estate belonged, according to tradition, to the Thynne [5] family, the head of which was created Marquis of Bath in 1734. It is uncertain whether they occupied "Grove House" or "Bath House," most likely the latter. Both these old houses were demolished when the railway was constructed.

Topham Beauclerk's name is associated with The Grove.[6] During his occupation it was visited by Dr. Johnson, whose name is given to a fine terrace in the grounds. Boswell says, "Topham Beauclerk told me that at his house in the country two large ferocious dogs were fighting.

[1] Simpson's *Hackney*.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Life of Rowe*, 1720.
[4] *Scraps of History*.
[5] The original name of this family was Boteville, till a member of it, learned in the law, resided at one of the Inns of Court, and thence assumed the surname John Thynne—John o' Th' Inn."—Sharp's *Peerage*.
[6] There are letters written from Beauclerk to Lord Charlemont dated "Muswell Hill, summer quarters, July 18th, 1774," and other occasions, in Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*.

Dr. Johnson looked steadily at them for a little while, and then, as one would separate two little boys who are foolishly hurting each other, he ran up to them and cuffed their heads till he drove them asunder."

But the name of the great lexicographer seems, according to Mr. Croker, to have been made use of on very slight grounds.

In 1844, a resident of the suburban parish of Hornsey wrote to Croker to complain that two railroads were about to be made through the village, and that one of them proposed to run a tunnel through "a very beautiful place called The Grove," originally laid out by Topham Beauclerk, and which Dr. Johnson used "frequently to visit." The correspondent hoped that Mr. Croker would be able to "do something" about these intruding railroads, etc., etc.

Mr. Croker's reply shows that he took far more liberal views on this and kindred questions than have generally been attributed to him. The answer was as follows :—

"WEST MOULSEY, *December 28th*, 1844.

"SIR,[1]—I have read of Mr. T. Beauclerk's having laid out the ground of a villa at Muswell Hill, but whether for himself or some friend I know not; but we know so much of the details of Dr. Johnson's life that I think that we may venture to say that he did not visit Hornsey so frequently as to justify the appropriation to him of one of the walks as 'Dr. Johnson's Walk.' As to the railroads, I confess I do not at all participate in the reluctance which you and Mr. Wordsworth feel at what you consider their intrusion into picturesque scenery. I say nothing, because nothing need be said, of the preponderance of considerations of public utility; but even in the mere landscape view of the matter, I do not see why the million who travel by railways are not as much entitled to enjoy picturesque scenery as the half-dozen idlers and sketchers who now once or twice a week wind through your valley or wander through your wood.

"I myself have been near half a century a resident of London, and have never yet seen your rural beauties; but when the railroad shall be completed I daresay I shall be as familiar with them as with Wandsworth or Wimbledon. I know persons who were adverse to railroads, and who would now give £500 a mile to have them nearer their residences. I add one further consideration, that the railroad is the most innoxious to the neighbour's land, through which it only passes, of all possible communications; it not only brings no vagabonds, tramps, or beggars, but forcibly excludes them; and except for the moment that one of these wonderful productions of art, 'a train,' enlivens *en passant* the uniform features of nature, it can in no serious degree alter the prospect of a house even overlooking it.

"A railroad runs through the beautiful valley of the Derwent, and I think that triumph of art sets off, as well as renders more accessible, the natural beauties of the scene.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient humble servant,
"J. W. CROKER."

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[1] *Croker Letters.*

The Grove was, and indeed still is, celebrated for its sylvan beauties. The avenue of elms is supposed to be the finest in the county; there is besides grand specimens of the "fern-leaved beech," "copper beech," and "deciduous cypress," a "sweet chestnut" of such remarkable dimensions that Loudon[1] speaks of it as "being without a parallel in England." It measures in width between the tips of the branches 120 feet; and the bole of the tree at the base is 18 feet in circumference! The last resident of the mansion was the late Mr. W. Block. It is now pulled down, the frontage on Muswell Hill being covered with houses, the style of which is singularly out of keeping with their surroundings, and has largely destroyed the picturesqueness of the hill.

There are still, however, some charming old houses left, one, just below The Grove, embosomed in fine trees, called Grove Lodge, in the occupation of Mr. Attenborough; and, on the opposite side of the road, standing far back from the road, fronting what was not long ago a portion of Muswell Hill Common, the comfortable old houses of Lieutenant Colonel Clay[2] and Mr. Collinson (Rookfield);[3] and just round the corner, in the angle formed by the entrance to Park Road, lies an old cottage called "Lalla Rookh," which in 1817 was in the occupation of Thomas Moore, the poet. His daughter, Jane Barbara, died here, and was buried in Hornsey Churchyard (September 18th, 1817).

Moore's Diary has the following entry:—"*January 15th*, 1823.—To the foot of Muswell Hill, to look at the cottage I inhabited there, the only one I do not again see with pleasure."

From the name of the cottage it might be imagined that "Lalla Rookh" was written there. This was not the case, but it was published during Moore's residence there.

The same cottage was said to have been the occasional residence of Abraham Newland, the cashier of the Bank of England, whose signature to the bank-notes made his name once so universally familiar. Mr. Newland's services to the Bank were of a confidential nature, and on every important question he was consulted by the Directors. He discharged his official duties in the Bank for nearly sixty years; and when increasing infirmities compelled him to resign, he declined an annuity offered him, but consented to accept a service of plate valued at one thousand guineas. He resigned on the 17th September, 1807, and died on the 21st November following. His property amounted to £200,000, besides £1,000 a year from landed estates.

His residence at Muswell Hill must have been but occasional, for he boasted that for twenty-five years he never slept a single night out of

[1] *Encyclopædia of Gardening.*

Formerly occupied by Mr. Attwood, the banker.

[3] The three previous tenants were Mr. P. Lloyd, Mr. Cubitt, and Mr. Price.

the Bank; and after that he had an equal repugnance to sleeping away from his residence, 38, Highbury Place, where he died. He was so well known that Dibdin composed the following song, which was sung at Sadlers Wells Theatre :—

"There ne'er was a name so bandied by fame
Thro' air, thro' ocean, and thro' land,
As one that is wrote upon every banknote,—
You all must know Abraham Newland.
Oh! Abraham Newland,
*Noti*fied Abraham Newland!
I've heard people say, 'Sham Abraham' you may,
But you mustn't sham Abraham Newland.

"For fashion or arts should you seek foreign parts,
It matters not wherever you land,
Jew, Christian, or Greek, the same language they speak,
That's the language of Abraham Newland.
Oh! Abraham Newland,
Wonderful Abraham Newland!
Tho' with compliments cramm'd,
You may die and be hang'd,
If you haven't an Abraham Newland.

"The world is inclin'd to think Justice is blind,
But lawyers know well she can view land;
But, lord! what of that—she'll blink like a bat,
At the sight of an Abraham Newland!
Oh! Abraham Newland,
Magical Abraham Newland!
Tho' Justice, 'tis known, can see through a millstone,
She can't see through Abraham Newland.

"You patriots who bawl for the good of us all,
Kind souls! here like mushrooms they strew land;
Tho' loud as they drum, each proves Orator Mum,
If attacked by stout Abraham Newland.
Oh! Abraham Newland,
Invincible Abraham Newland!
No argument's found in the world half so sound
As the logic of Abraham Newland.

"If a maid of threescore, or a dozen years more,
For a husband should chance to sigh thro' land,
I'm vastly afraid she would not die a maid
If acquainted with Abraham Newland.
Oh! Abraham Newland,
Deluding Abraham Newland!
Tho' crooked and cross, she'd not be at a loss,
Thro' the friendship of Abraham Newland.

"The French say they're coming,—oh! sure they're a-humming;
We know what they want, if they do land;

But we'll make their ears ring in defence of our king,
Our country, and Abraham Newland.
Oh! Abraham Newland,
Useful Abraham Newland!
Notified, wonderful, magical, logical,
Friendly old Abraham Newland."[1]

At the foot of Muswell Hill, a suicide (a poor girl who had drowned herself in the New River in a fit of remorse, for allowing visitors in her master's house in his absence, who robbed the premises) was buried at the cross-roads with a stake driven through her body; the superstitious notion being that the spirit could not wander if the body was *fastened* to the earth.

THE PRIORY.

Below the slopes of Alexandra Park, on the main road to Hornsey, stands an imposing-looking house, and a group of buildings called "THE PRIORY." It was erected by the late Mr. Henry Warner for his own occupation some sixty years since. Many of the fittings of this house were removed from "Wanstead House" when it was demolished.

Wanstead House was built for Sir Richard Child, the banker, afterwards Earl Tylney, in 1715, and is said to have cost £100,000; and Walpole states that "he was told an equal sum was expended on the

[1] The last two lines were unfortunately absent from the copy without leave, and have been "written to order."—ED.

gardens." In his letters to Bentley, 1755, he praises the great apartment "as of oak finely carved, unpainted, and has a charming effect." The heiress of the property married one of the Wellesleys, whose reckless profligacy dissipated the great estate, and the whole contents of the house were sold by George Robins in 1822. The sale lasted thirty-two days, and realized £41,000! Afterwards the house was sold for building materials.

Some of this "oak panelling," window frames, bevelled plate glass in metal sashes, balustrades, architraves of doors, mouldings, etc., were purchased by Mr. Warner *for* the house he was then erecting, and this gives "The Priory" as a residence some little interest.

The mansion is surrounded by some fine timber, and stands in very considerable grounds. It is at present occupied by Mr. H. R. WILLIAMS, the Chairman of the Hornsey Local Board, and was lately the scene of the HORNSEY JUBILEE rejoicings, when some ten thousand persons were present. (See p. 421.)

At the eastern corner of Nightingale Lane is an old brick house, for some time inhabited by the Mitchell family, who owned the property now covered by the Alexandra Palace, and later by a demented Russian princess. It is now in the occupation of Mr. W. H. COLLINGRIDGE, the well-known proprietor of *The Rock* and *City Press* newspapers.

SIR JOHN MUSTERS, who died in 1690, was possessed of a house in Hornsey, called the "Tower," or "Brick Place;" it is uncertain where it stood. It was so damaged by the dreadful storm of 1703 that it was pulled down.[1]

HARINGEY HOUSE, which stands on the eastern side of the railway behind Hornsey Station, is built on the site of a fine old Tudor mansion, which was pulled down about 1750, and which was the seat of the family of COZENS for some two hundred years. This family is still represented in the parish by Mr. Charles Smith of Muswell Hill.

Mr. Ide Cozens sold the property to a Mr. Grey, who in his turn disposed of it to Mr. Chapman, at one time a partner in the unfortunate firm of Overend, Gurney, & Co. The property has recently been sold for building purposes, and is now cut up by no less than nineteen roads!

There are some good houses both in Middle Lane and in Tottenham Lane, but none calling for special remark. At the corner of Ferme Park Road stood until recently an old house called Haringey Farm (see p. 294), probably the old manor house of Ferne or Fernefields, a small manor granted by King James to the Earl of Mar in 1603;[2] it

[1] Lysons. [2] *Ibid.*

must have been of inconsiderable extent, as it was only valued at £10 per annum.

There was another small manor closely contiguous, that of "Topsfield" already mentioned. We suppose it was a matter of convenience, perhaps "dignity," to style the possession of a few contiguous fields a "manor," but inasmuch as the manor of Hornsey comprised the whole parish, these so-called subsidiary manors could have been but merely names.

CROUCH END derives its name from Crux—The Cross—which was very commonly found at cross roads, especially on properties owned by ecclesiastics.[1] The old cross stood a little below old Crouch Hall,[2]

and was a resting-place for pilgrims before they ascended the hill, if they were travelling to the shrine of "Our Lady at Muswell;" but Cross End was also one of the branches of the great North Road, and the traffic would be considerable, so it had many taverns and tea gardens. "OLD CROUCH HALL" is stated to have been the "Old King's Head" tavern, and beyond was the "Leathern Bottle," which provided considerable stabling for pack horses.[3]

CROUCH HALL occupied the whole frontage on the western side of the road from the foot of the hill to Park Road. It was formerly in the occupation of SIR FELIX BOOTH, who was a liberal contributor to one

[1] Bagford's *Preface to Leyland.*
[2] Nicholson. See page 61,—"The Cross."
[3] Tradition of a resident whose family has resided in the parish over one hundred years.

of the Arctic discovery expeditions, and after whom the tract of land called BOOTHIA FELIX is named. The lake in the grounds was called in his time *The Lake of Gineva*, in allusion to his business as a distiller. The house was last occupied by MR. WILLIAM BIRD, the ironmaster, on whose removal a poetical effusion was circulated prognosticating the decay of the village, as

"The very 'Birds' have left the neighbourhood."

The whole property is now being rapidly covered with houses, and the leafy old village is fast becoming but a remembrance.

At the back of the pump, a little off the road, is a room which has been used for many purposes; in 1820 a Baptist congregation used to meet there, in which Mr. James Turner of Hornsey Lane took a great deal of interest.[1] It was afterwards used as a preaching station in connection with the Rev. Thomas Lewis's congregation of Union Chapel, Islington. The room was also used as a Working Men's Club, and was the meeting-place of the old Highway Board. Eventually the lease was purchased by the good old Rector of Hornsey, the Rev. Richard Harvey, who used laughingly to say that the Congregational Church had no business in Crouch End, "as he had bought both the premises and the goodwill." No suitable room being available, Mr. H. Smith of Haringey Park opened his house for public worship; of which action Park Chapel Congregational Church is the direct result.

On Crouch Hill and in Haringey Park are some capital family houses, which until lately had very rural surroundings, but are gradually being hemmed in by bricks and mortar.

The house called Amédée Villa, originally standing in grounds of very considerable extent, was occupied for some years by the late Mr. J. Hazell. It is now in the possession of Mr. Ambrose Heal, an authority on the topography of St. Pancras. At the top of the hill are several large houses surrounded by extensive and well-timbered grounds, in one of which the late Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel resided. The lane leads to Stroud Green, a portion of the parish which has so lately and so rapidly been covered with houses that its history is as yet but meagre.

Amongst the records of the Exchequer are the Inquisitions and Presentments touching the robbery of the king's treasury, then deposited in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey (1313). The persons who committed this theft were assisted by the monks of Westminster, and by "one Geryn," a linen-draper of London, and others holding a good position in society as then constituted. Part of the property

[1] The old Minute Book is in the possession of Mr. Charles Turner of Womersley House, Crouch Hill.

stolen, consisting of plate and jewels, was concealed in Haghedge in Kentisse-ton. This Haghedge was also described as being in the fields of St. Pancras.[1] Some light is thrown by these records upon two places in the neighbourhood; for one of the bail for these thieves and other parties implicated, who were men of substance, was "Will's atte Stapeled-halle" (Stapleton Hall), and it was also presented that Richard of Kent, clerk, and Cecilia his wife, dwelling at Hoppedehalle (Copthall, late Hornsey Wood House), were receivers of the aforesaid malefactors, and of out-door robbers.[2]

The Stapleton Hall estate, which lies almost on the line of the parish boundary, is alluded to in Domesday thus:—

"In Stanestaple the canons have four hides. The *arable* land is the two-plough lands, and so now, and *there are* seven villans who hold this land under the canons, and two cottars. Pasture for the cattle of the vill. Wood to feed one hundred and fifty swine, and ten shillings *rent*. In total value it is worth 50*s*. when they received it the like. In the time of King Edward 60*s*. This land has formed and now is parcel of the demesne of the Church of St. Paul."

"One other parcel of four hides of land is recorded as holden by the said canons in *Stanestaple*, which Tomlins considers to be that part of the parish now known as Stapleton Hall, at Strood Green, the same also as the Staplehed Hall, already alluded to; thus affording a striking instance of inconsiderable places retaining, though frequently with some corruption and alteration, the name assigned to them in *Domesday-Book*. Of these four hides, at the time of the great survey, two were arable and in cultivation, but this portion of prebendal property was not by a fifth part so valuable as it had been in the days of King Edward the Confessor; there was also commonable pasture for the cattle of the inhabitants of that district, and wood (*Silva*) that afforded pannage for one hundred and fifty swine. The tenants of the canons appear to have been villans by tenure, not *servi* or absolute slaves."[3]

The house obtained its modern name of Stapleton as the residence and the property of Sir Thomas Stapleton of Grays Court, Oxon; but Tomlins considers that the old house "was built on the site of the ancient prebendal house of Stanestaple."

About one hundred and thirty years ago it was a public-house bearing this legend:—

"Ye are welcome all
To Stapleton Hall."

The house bears the date 1609 over the door.

[1] *Calendars of the Exchequer Records*, by Sir Francis Palgrave.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Tomlins, *Perambulations.*

Mr. Lucas, a former resident, turned the premises into two houses.[1]

The last resident was Mr. Charles Turner,[2] who farmed the lands until they were built over. The house is now used for a club.

Nelson describes Stroud Green (the ancient *Strode*) as lying north-west of the situation formerly occupied by *The Boarded River*, a long piece of common land belonging to the copy-holders of Highbury Manor ;[3]—but since 1811, says Tomlins, "Stroud Green has been by the enclosure of the waste on both sides narrowed to the width of a well-made road with quickset hedges on both sides ; its ancient width can yet be traced by the elms that grow in the irregular line of the old hedges, which have not been thrown into the newly-acquired extension of ground. On the west side the hedge is plainly discernible almost from the bottom of Heame Lane upwards to where the Hanley Road enters Stroud Green Lane, and upwards to Mount Pleasant, on the east side, the enclosed hedge in like manner shows the original width of this once green lane." [4] To this place, as to a secluded spot, some eighty years since parties of pleasure used to resort, and mention is made by Nelson of an association of citizens who were accustomed to make stated excursions to this spot, humorously styling themselves "The Mayor and Corporation of Stroud Green."

Tomlins wrote his *Perambulations* in 1858. The whole district is now built over, its close proximity to Finsbury Park rendering it a very desirable residential locality, as the great Finsbury Park Junction Station gives easy access to the City. As Finsbury Park itself is in Hornsey and its site includes that of Hornsey Wood House, so well known to the older generation of the residents of North London, a few facts and dates may be usefully put on record.

Hornsey Wood House and Finsbury Park. "Hornsey Wood House stood on the summit of some rising ground on the eastern side of the parish. It was originally a small roadside public-house with two or three widespreading oaks before it, beneath the shade of which the weary wayfarer could rest and refresh himself. The wood itself, immediately contiguous to the house, for some time shared with Chalk Farm the honour of affording a theatre for cockney duellists. The building was just beyond the 'Sluice House,' so celebrated for its eel-pies and gudgeon fishing in the last generation. Anglers and other visitors could pass to it through an upland meadow along a straight gravel-walk angle-wise. It was a good, plain, brown-brick, respectable, modern, London-

[1] Cromwell's *Walks*.
[2] Now of Womersley House, the oldest member of the Hornsey Local Board.
[3] *Hist. of Islington.*
[4] *Perambulations of Islington.*

looking building. Within the entrance to the left was a light and spacious room of ample accommodation and dimensions, of which more care seems to have been taken than of its fine, leather-folding screen in ruins, which Mr. Hone in his *Every-Day Book* speaks of as 'an unseemly sight for him who respects old requisites, for their former beauty and convenience.'"[1]

In later years the old tavern became more and more frequented, and in the end it was altered and enlarged, the grounds laid out as tea-gardens, and the large lake formed, which was much frequented by youthful anglers. For some time previous to the demolition of the house in 1866, the grounds were used for pigeon-shooting by a gun-club section of the "upper ten," but it was soon superseded as such, by the attractions of the "Welsh Harp," and of "Hurlingham." Hone[2] speaks thus of the old house and its successor:—"The old 'Hornsey Wood House' well became its situation; it was embowered, and seemed a part of the wood. Two sisters, a Mrs. Lloyd and a Mrs. Collier, kept the house; they were ancient women, large in size, and usually sat before their door, on a seat fixed between two venerable oaks, wherein swarms of bees hived themselves. Here the venerable and cheerful dames tasted many a refreshing cup, with their good-natured customers, and told tales of bygone days, till, in very old age, one of them passed to her grave, and the other followed in a few months afterwards. Each died regretted by the frequenters of the rural dwelling, which was soon afterwards pulled down, and the oaks felled, to make room for the present roomy and more fashionable building. To those who were acquainted with it in its former rusticity, when it was an unassuming, 'calm retreat,' it is, indeed, an altered spot. To produce the alteration a sum of £10,000 was expended by the present proprietor; and 'Hornsey Wood Tavern' is now a well-frequented house."

We are told in the *Life of Crabbe*, by his son, that Hornsey Wood was one of the favourite haunts of the poet when he first came to London, and he would often spend whole afternoons here in searching for plants and insects. "On one memorable occasion, he had walked further than usual in the country, and felt himself too much exhausted to return to town. He could not afford to give himself any refreshment at a public-house, and much less pay for a lodging; so he sheltered himself upon a haymow, beguiled the evening with Tibullus, and when he could read no longer, slept there till morning."

Hornsey Wood House was pulled down in 1866, at which time the tea-gardens and grounds became absorbed in Finsbury Park, a large triangular space, some hundred and twenty acres in extent, laid out with ornamental walks and flower gardens. It was opened by Sir John Thwaites, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Board of Works, in 1869,

[1] *Ambulator*, 1774. [2] Hone's *Every-Day Book*, 1826.

as a public recreation ground and promenade for the working classes. Why the place is called "Finsbury" Park it would be difficult to say; seeing that the site was generally known, at all events in modern days, as "Hornsey Wood," its far more appropriate name would have been "Hornsey Park."

"The Act sanctioning its formation was passed so far back as 1857. The site is what was formerly known as Hornsey Wood, which is associated with many interesting events in the history of North London. It commands a view of Wood Green, Highgate, the Green Lanes, and other suburban retreats. The ground has a gentle southern slope, from Highgate on the west, and towards Stoke Newington on the east, and is skirted on the south by the Seven Sisters Road, and on the east by the Green Lanes. The Great Northern Railway bounds it by a cutting and embankment on the western side, and latterly the London, Edgware, and Highgate Railway has been made, with a station adjoining the park. There are several pleasant walks and drives, and in the centre of the park a trench has been cut, into which water will be brought from the New River, and in this way a pretty artificial lake will be added to the other attractions. The cost of the freehold land was about £472 per acre. The funds were principally raised by a loan in 1864 of £50,000, at 4½ per cent., for thirty years, and £43,000 borrowed on debenture in 1868."[1]

The lake above mentioned is an oblong piece of water surrounded by pleasant walks, and in parts shaded by trees, and in it are one or two islands well covered with young trees, which give to the lake somewhat the appearance of the "ornamental waters" in St. James's Park, a similitude borne out by the number of ducks and other water fowl disporting themselves on its surface.

In a map of the suburbs of London in 1823, "Duval's Lane"[2] is shown as running from Lower Holloway towards Crouch End, with scarcely a house on either side. A small and crooked road, marked Hem Lane, with "Duval's House" at the corner, leads also through fields towards "Hornsey Wood House," and into the Green Lanes—all being open to the country. The now populous district of Crouch End appears here as a small group of private residences; between the "Wood House" and Crouch End is Stroud Green, around which are five or six rustic cottages. On the other side of the "Wood House" is the "Sluice House," where privileged persons and customers of "mine host" went to fish in the New River and to sup upon eels, for which that place was

[1] *Illustrated London News*, 14th August, 1869.

[2] A handbill published September 30th, 1852, offers a reward of £5 for the detection of the person who had "wilfully cut the ears of a sheep whilst grazing in a field, known as *the Devil's Field*, Seven Sisters Road, Holloway."

famous. Upper Holloway itself figures in this map as a very small collection of houses belonging apparently to private residents.[1]

Returning to and proceeding up Hornsey Lane, we pass BELMONT (the corner of Crescent Road), the residence of Sir Hugh Owen, K C.B., son of the late Sir Hugh Owen, K.C.B., the Permanent Secretary of the Poor Law Board, who once resided in the same lane. Sir Hugh is Permanent Secretary of the Local Government Board, and the author of several legal works in connection with the duties of local authorities.

"TRAYS HILL LODGE," on the left, is the residence of MR. SARGANT, certainly the oldest house in the Hornsey end of the lane.

EARLSMEAD, one of the comfortable-looking red-brick houses on the right, is the residence of Lady Reed, the widow of Sir Charles Reed, M.P., LL.D., Chairman of the School Board for London, who died in 1881. Sir Charles was the son of Dr. Andrew Reed, a well-known Nonconformist Divine, who was the honoured founder of the London Orphan Asylum, the Infant Orphan Asylum, the Asylum for Fatherless Children, the Asylum for Idiots, and the Royal Hospital for Incurables,—a record worthy of an apostle!

A son of the late Sir Charles Reed—Mr. T. B. Reed—resides in Cholmeley Park, Highgate; he is well known as a writer for boys, with whom he is very popular. He has recently published a scholarly work on the *Old English Letter Foundries.*

Before crossing the Archway, at the house now called "GWYNFA," once resided CHARLES WESLEY the younger, nephew of John Wesley; who began his musical career so early in life, that his mother had to tie him into the chair for safety whilst playing the harpsichord. He and his brother, whilst they were mere boys, gave a series of subscription concerts at their father's house in Chesterfield Street, at £3 3*s.* the course, which were crowded by musical amateurs, at one of which John Wesley attended in his gown and bands, to show he did not consider there was anything so doubtful in such entertainment as some of the early Methodists were inclined to think. Charles was warmly patronized by George III., and the Earl of Mornington, father of the Duke of Wellington, had a scarlet court suit made for him. At the time of his decease he held the post of organist of the parish church of Marylebone.

That or the adjoining house is associated with the name of MICHAEL FARADAY, who was very fond of Highgate, and on more than one occasion resided there during the summer months. Faraday was one

[1] Walford's *London.*

of the most distinguished chemists and natural philosophers of the present century, and is an instance of splendid success obtained by patience, perseverance, and genius over obstacles of birth, education, and fortune.

Among his chemical discoveries were, new compounds of chlorine and carbon, alloys of steel, compounds of hydrogen and carbon, action of sulphuric acid on naphthaline, decomposition of hydrocarbons by expansion, and the improved manufacture of glass for optical purposes.

Probably his most important work is his *Experimental Researches on Electricity*, a series of papers extending over some forty years, setting forth discoveries of the *first* order ; but his publications embraced articles on *Vaporisation, Optical Deceptions, Acoustical Figures, Relation of Gold and Other Metals to Light*, and *Conservation of Force*, etc., covering a vast range of observation. Faraday died at Hampton Court in 1867, and in accordance with his wish was buried in Highgate Cemetery, where his plain tombstone with the simple inscription of his name is an object of reverend attraction to scientific men from all countries.

On the site now occupied by the New River reservoir stood "FARQUHAR HOUSE," the residence of Mr. Hale[1] at the time of the murder already alluded to, afterwards of Mr. Thomas Hurst (whose brother resided at Winchester Hall) and of Mr. Peter Poland, who also had a family association with Winchester Hall ; the last resident was Dr. Wardlaw, of the London Missionary Society, son of *the* Dr. Wardlaw of Glasgow.

Nearly opposite is a quaint old-fashioned house seemingly almost suffocated by its gigantic neighbours. It has been occupied for many years past by Mrs. Grainger, the widow of Dr. R. G. Grainger, F.R.S., an eminent physiologist and lecturer on Medical Science. He was appointed by the Government to inquire into the nature of cholera, and the employment of children, and was an inspector under the Burials Act. He died, greatly regretted by both social and scientific circles, in February 1865.

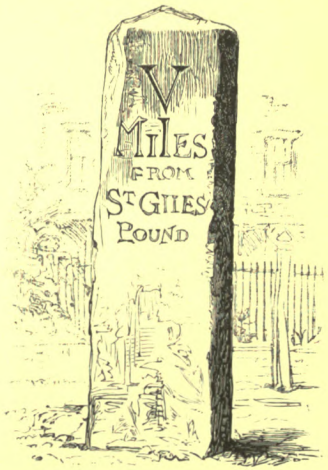
LINDEN HOUSE. There is a tradition that John Wesley preached at this house, which stands at the entrance of Hornsey Lane, and is now in the occupation of Mrs. Hickson, an old and much respected resident.

This brings us to the point from which we started.

As we have proceeded up Hornsey Lane, it is painfully evident that the whole of the beautiful slopes lying between that lane and Shepherd's Hill Road, crowned with the dark foliage of the Highgate woods, will ere long be covered with buildings. Roads are being laid out, probably sufficient for the erection of some five hundred houses.

[1] The daughter of Mr. Hale became the wife of Sir Stamford Raffles.

The only consolation is—and that is a very poor one, like the extraction of a sunbeam from a cucumber—that as building is inevitable it is likely to be undertaken by those who are both respectable and responsible, and that there is no fear of the "jerry building" which has been the curse of so many of the newer neighbourhoods. The property has been leased by the Imperial Property Investment Company, who, judged by the way they have dealt with the Winchester Hall and Crouch Hall estates, on which they have erected many hundred houses, have obtained a reputation for fair dealing, honest building, and intelligent attention to sanitary details; but with all these virtues we most devoutly wish them—further.



THE STONE IN FRONT OF MISS BLOXAM'S HOUSE.

THE GROVE.

CHAPTER V.

THE GROVE. THE FITZROY AND THE CAENWOOD ESTATES.

The Grove—Dorchester House—Sir Roger Cholmeley—Marquis of Dorchester—Blake's Charity School, or "The Ladyes Hospitall"—Sir Francis Pemberton—Samuel Taylor Coleridge at Mr. Gillman's—Estimate of his Contemporaries—Bibliography—Lord Justice Fry—Grove House—Fitzroy House, Fitzroy Park—Southampton Lodge—Hillside and Dr. Southwood Smith—Honeymoon Villa—Elm Lodge—Beechwood—Dufferin Lodge—George Crawley—Caenwood Towers—Caenwood—Monks of Waltham—Sir James Harrington—John Bill—Duke of Argyle—Earl of Bute—Earl of Mansfield—The Gordon riots—Lord Erskine.

THE most characteristic part of Highgate is "The Grove," both from the charming air of seclusion given to the old red-brick houses by the plantation of fine elm trees from which it derives its name, as well as the beauty of the surrounding landscape scenery.

The houses crown the slope of the lovely "Nightingale Valley" of Coleridge, now Fitzroy Park, looking on the wooded heights of Caenwood and Hampstead Heath, with glimpses of far-away scenery stretching on the one side to Ascot and Windsor, and on the other (the woodlands being the

limitation to some of the houses) of a view extending to Harrow and Brockley Hill, with glimpses of the distant range of the Chilterns.

The associations of The Grove, and the records of the adjoining estates of Fitzroy House and Caenwood, are of exceptional interest, and the properties being not only contiguous, but almost interlacing, it is convenient, as a matter of arrangement, to deal with them thus as a distinct chapter.

That Dorchester House stood upon the site now occupied by the houses in The Grove is proved by a record of admission to the manor, dated 1685, of "all that piece or parcel of waste of the manor of Cantlers before the walls of divers messuages there lately erected, where before stood a certain capital messuage of the late Henry Marquis of Dorchester * * *. All those eight messuages where formerly stood a capital messuage or Mansion House of Henry late Lord Marquis of Dorchester, together with all edifices, barns, stables, gardens, orchards, courtyards, commodities and appurtenances to the same belonging, situate and lying in Highgate aforesaid," and at the same admission one piece or parcel of the waste of the Lord of the Manor lying upon Highgate Green. This is an interesting record, as it fixes the date of the erection of the six oldest houses in the Grove, and the two at the side, on West Hill, now occupied respectively by Rev. R. Fayrer and Mr. Alan Block.

Henry Pierrepoint, Marquis of Dorchester, was the eldest son of the first and, as he was usually called, "the good Earl of Kingston;" he was born in 1606, had his education at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and afterwards, says Ward, "was a hard student, and esteemed a learned man, as being well read in the fathers, schoolmen, casuists, the civil and common law," etc. On the breaking out of the civil war he adhered to Charles I., attended him in his garrison at Oxford and other places as one of his Privy Council, and for his services was created Marquis of Dorchester in 1645. He survived the Commonwealth, and died in his house at Charterhouse Yard, London, December 8th, 1680.

Collins[1] speaks of his lordship as a person of great learning, and generally esteemed. He also cites a remarkable dedication to Lord Dorchester before a small treatise printed in 1662, and entitled *Judge Ramsey's Instructions to cleanse the Stomach, etc.*

"As Apollo among the Planets, so we may say your lordship is above the Peers; in the vast firmament of learning you outshine them all, and understanding that among other scientifical speculations, your lordship hath been addicted to the study of physic, wherein you have made such an admirable progress, that you have attained not only the theory but the practice thereof, I am bold to dedicate this small piece to your lordship, wherein there are divers new physical experiments

[1] Collins's *Peerage.*

for the universal health of mankind; therefore I presume no discerning reader will judge this address to be improper."

Walpole[1] states, "The Marquis of Dorchester appeared little in the character of an author, though he seems to have had as great foundation for being so, as any on the list. He studied ten or twelve hours a day for many years; was admitted a Bencher of Gray's Inn for his knowledge of the law, and Fellow of the College of Physicians for his proficiency in medicine and anatomy."[2]

He published "A Speech spoken in the House of Lords concerning the right of Bishops to sit in Parliament" (May 21st, 1641); "Another concerning the Lawfulness and Conveniency of their intermeddling in Temporal Affairs" (May 24th, 1641); "Speech to the Train-bands of Nottingham at Newark" (July 13th, 1641); "Letter to John Lord Roos" (Feb. 25th, 1659). This Lord Roos was son-in-law of the Marquis, having, by a record in the register of the old chapel at Highgate, married on 15th July, 1658, "the Lady Anne Peerpoint, daughter of the Hon^ble^ the Marquis of Dorchester." Lord de Ros was the son of the Earl of Rutland; the marriage here recorded seems to have been an unhappy one, for it was annulled by an Act of Parliament in 1666. This divorce occasioned a bitter controversy in print between Lord Dorchester and Lord de Ros.

There is a water-colour drawing of the elevation of Dorchester House in the reading-room of the Literary Institution, copied from one in the possession of Mr. Ambrose Heal, from the original in the Stow collection, on which was inscribed, "Dorchester House, erected *for* the Earl of Kingston by Sir Roger Cholmeley." As Sir Roger died in 1565 this statement can hardly be correct, the house having doubtless had earlier tenants, and there is but little doubt that one of the previous tenants was "Sir Roger" himself.

Machyn's diary, which has already been quoted (see page 139) states Sir Roger lived in Highgate, and from the description given of a feast held there, the house must have been of very considerable size.

In the Middlesex County Records is the following entry:—

"5th December, 6 Elizabeth. True bill that at Highgate, within the parish of *St. Pancras*, co. Midd., on the said day, John Crofton, late of London, tailor, stole a linen shirt worth four shillings, of the goods and chattels of *Roger Cholmeley* in the custody of William Robinson, one of the Queen's servants, and two linen shirts worth four shillings, of the goods and chattels of William Robinson aforesaid. Putting himself Guilty and pleading his clergy, John Crofton was delivered to the Ordinary."

[1] *Royal and Noble Authors.*

[2] There is a bust of Lord Dorchester in the College of Physicians.

This record states *Highgate* in the *parish of St. Pancras*, which limits the position of the house to a comparatively small area, of which the Grove is the most important; and as Sir Roger's name is associated with Dorchester House as its builder, there is every probability that Dorchester House was the Highgate residence of Sir Roger Cholmeley.

Lysons[1] says, referring to Dorchester House :—"About the year 1685" (which must be a mistake, as the house was pulled down and the houses in the Grove erected and admitted into the manor, according to the Court Rolls, in 1685, and therefore it must have been prior to this date,—from other evidence, soon after 1650),[2] "one William Blake, a woollen draper in Maiden Lane, Covent Garden, set on foot a scheme for establishing an hospital at Highgate, for the education and maintenance of about forty fatherless boys and girls, to be supported by the voluntary subscriptions of ladies, and to be called the Ladies' Hospital, or Charity School. The boys to be taught the art of painting, gardening, casting accounts, and navigation, or put forth to some good handicraft trade, and to wear the uniform of blue lined with yellow. The girls to be taught to read, write, sew, starch, raise paste, and dress, that they be fit for any good service. The projector, according to his own account, had himself expended the greater part of his fortune, namely £5,000, upon the undertaking, by purchasing Dorchester House and other premises. He published a book called *Silver Drops, or Serious Things*, being a kind of exhortation to the ladies to encourage the undertaking.

"Prefixed to this work are several letters of application to individuals, whose names do not appear, written on behalf of the hospital. As a frontispiece to the book is a print of Dorchester House and his own house at Highgate; the margins of the print are full of notes, in which he complains of the want of encouragement which threatens to defeat his plan, and laments that he is treated as a madman. He observes, that if Sir Francis Pemberton, Mr. William Ashhurst, and his own brother, F. Blake, would yet comply, all might be immediately forwarded, to the great advantage of the town of Highgate. Dr. Combe (who lent Lysons the book) has also a very scarce print, upon a large scale, of the Ladies' Charity School, an important building, which seems to have been altered from Dorchester House, as represented in the smaller print. A note to the great print informs the public, that a subscriber of £50 may send any boy or girl, French or English, into the hospital; and it is recommended as a proper charity to send some of the children of the distressed French Protestants, which, it is observed, 'would be

[1] *Environs of London.*

[2] At this date it is certain the enterprise was not carried on at Dorchester House, as the marriage in the Earl's family at Highgate was in 1658.

advantageous in matter of language.' It may be collected from passages in *Silver Drops*, that some boys had been received into the hospital, and that subscriptions had been collected, but the undertaking soon dropped."

The curious work called *Silver Drops*, here alluded to, contains copies of letters from William Blake, addressed to twenty-six noble and other ladies, but it gives no names; it is full of enthusiastic sayings, under the head of "Short Hints but Sound Truths in Great Humility;" with "Short Sayings of the Wise, or Queen Mary's Martyrs;" and a general exhortation is closed by Blake describing himself as "housekeeper" to the Ladies' Charity School.

The allowance to the "housekeeper" per day was "one bottle of wine, three of ale, six rolls, and two dishes of meat."

This little book seems to have been widely circulated, many copies being in existence,—Mr. Robert Watson of Highgate having several, and a copy is in the library of the Literary Institution. In some of the copies, in an old contemporary handwriting, are inscribed the names of certain ladies, to whom the several epistles were dedicated. This writing may have been Blake's, or, if not his, was most likely written under his immediate supervision. The names are those of the Ladies Winchester, Pierpont, Northumberland, Salisbury, Ranelagh, Falkland, Clayton, Player, Pemberton, Warwick, Vere, and Mesdames Love, Pilkington, Newland, Ashhurst, and others. All these letters end in such phrases as "So pray all of us," "So pray one and all we poor hospital boys," "So pray all we poor boys." In 1667 there appear to have been thirty-six boys in the school; their clothing, blue and yellow, was probably a similar dress to Christ's Hospital, the pauper dress of the day.

In 1675 the books belonging to the school consisted of "two English volumes, eighteen Latin, and three Greek."

The following letter signed "H. Lemoine," from the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1796, is interesting :—

"Mr. Urban,—It is said upon the inscription stone lately put upon the front of Aldgate charity school, that that was the first institution of a Protestant charity school by voluntary subscriptions; but by the testimony of a scarce old book, which some of your numerous readers may have somewhere seen, I can declare this to be an erroneous assertion.

"The book I allude to is called *Silver Drops, or Serious Things*, but when and where printed is unknown, as it has no title, therefore no imprint, but by the style and manner is evidently before the beginning of this century; by the last page, it appears to be written by one Blake, housekeeper and schoolmaster to a charity, which totally maintained and educated forty boys and girls, and was situated at Hampstead.[1] The subscribers to the foundation were all ladies, who, among other good acts,

[1] This is an evident error, and should have been "Highgate."

maintained an evening lecturer in the house, a portrait of which is appended to the book. There are three other prints subjoined, one an emblem of Charity, another a figure of Time, and last a page of butterflies—I suppose meant as characteristic of vanity. By these books being usually bound in turkey, I am led to suspect that they were only meant as presentation copies to the subscribers to the charity, which accounts for their scarcity."

Prickett quotes the following as from the pen of "an eminent antiquarian and book collector," under the initials D.B.

"*Remarks on 'Silver Drops.'*

"A scarce little printed book, without date, called *Silver Drops, or Serious Things*, I doubt not was written in the year 1666, during the Mayoralty of Sir Thomas Bludworth, see page 67, (vide also the *History of London*, in the months of February or March, in that year, page 253,) by William Blake, woollen draper, living at the sign of the Golden Boy, corner of Maiden Lane, at the end of Bedford Street, Covent Garden. The author was a pious and quaint philanthropist in support of the Protestant cause, by his earnest appeal to the noble and wealthy ladies of the City of London and elsewhere to contribute, at their sole expense, for maintaining and educating forty poor boys born in the parishes of Highgate, Hornsey, and Hampstead, in training them up in the religious principles of the Church of England. He, therefore, as founder to that design, was in the capacity of housekeeper at the Ladies' Charity Schoolhouse, at Highgate. The treasurer, for that institution, chosen by himself and others, I doubt not, was the unfortunate Alderman Henry Cornish, who served the office of Sheriff in 1680, and who was, in the reign of James II., tried and convicted for high treason by the Papists, and was by them, on the 23rd October, 1685, most barbarously hung, drawn, and quartered, facing his own house, at the end of King Street, Cheapside. The schoolmaster was not, as H. Lemoine imagines, William Blake, the woollen draper, but a Minister, as thirty-six poor boys declare, on referring to their memorial or petition to a lady, in page 69."

On referring to that page, the concluding words certainly are "praies thirty-six of us and our minister also," and as Mr. Lemoine speaks of the ladies having maintained an evening lecturer in the house, the probability therefore is, that he was the minister alluded to by the boys, and not William Blake.

The suggestion of Mr. Lemoine seems fully borne out that the school at Highgate was of prior date to that at Aldgate, and probably the first of the kind established after the reformation.

Blake published a rudely drawn elevation of the "Ladies' Hospital,"

and a plan of the other buildings, which will be found in the Literary Institution, and his incoherent description of them in the following extracts from *Silver Drops* are suggestive of his intentions, and his difficulties, but pretty plainly show that his friends did not sanction his scheme—seemingly for very sufficient reasons!

"*A Delineation of the Ladyes Hospital at Highgate.*

"The Title (the Ladyes, etc.) no Diminution, but Honour'd it witness Two Sacred Monuments in their Honour, The Praise of the Vertuous Lady by Solomon, Jediah or the Lords Beloved; the Epistle to the Elect Lady by John the Beloved Disciple.

"This Delineation of a Modell, though in the Dust, as the most moving Petition to Revive the work, and Rescue the Petitioner is humbly Dedicated to those Hono^{ble} Persons, of what Degree soever, who have by their Contributions at the very time; By their Promises; By their Approbation under their Hands; By their Acceptation of Small Presents; oblig'd themselves, I humbly say to God, and not to Man in so Pious a work, or who may by their Piety, and Charity, become favourers of it. By W.B.

"Who at, first, and ever since Own'd himself only the most Humbly Petitioner for so Great a Work, and yet when he first Designd it, was worth £600, in a full Trade and free from any Incumbring Debt; But by Provision for his Family; By Purchases and Buildings for this Work, By an Essay of the Design, in the Maintenance of Children at this School, above two years, By Presents to persons of Honour, and Piety hath Expended £5,000 & was for Debts contracted, only for this Hospitall, and well enough Secured; Seiz'd, Imprison'd, above Two Years, Just at the Height of his Expence, before his Receipt of the Promised Assistances, to have Repay'd Him and Enabled the Work."

"Dorchester House, Morgag'd 1220—cost 1700 worth 2000 to Buying and four sold for this design.

"(H)—This Dorchester House. Intended for Mayden Children (H,) where may be Contrived, in a long Appartment, a Hall under, and two Storyes of Lodgings over of 130 foot long (KK) walks, and Grounds, ten Acres; where Tenements for Cityzens Summers Reception, might have rais'd a good Revenue to the Hospitall: For the sake of courting this and the Mansion House from it, the whole Design was Ravag'd, and my Family set against me to Obstruct all Charity, keeping me in Prison to force the Sale of all for the Advantage of 2 or 3 Mortgagees.

"There are 6 Tenements now built, besides theres inviting ground for 10. or 12. more with Gardens, if any of the 6, Parishis would buy, or build an house, as a Rent for thier Poor, it might probably cause ten times more, to be built, or given to thier Poor, it being so much in the eye of the Charitable Gentry and so as all debts and mortgages might be paid of, 23 or 24,00 would do, the buildings, Land and houses being still worth three times the money, for this design an equitable Title in me, to dispose of all, as firm as the Earth, on which it stands and hope it will be so Judg'd. so that these Parishes will likely never have a better Opportunity to do their Children good whilst the Hills remain, and let this be as a Memoriall to hang in your houses against such as have or would betray it.

"And a further observation of Providence etc. But yet cannott but hope, the Rever^{d} Doct^{rs} will perswad the Morgagees to take y^{r} just dues or equity enforce it.

"This, long building, Morgagd 150. appris'd moderately at 940. to bring this design double (EE) this house and ground, Morgg: 560 cost 900 worth for this much more.

"(CC) The Buildings Erected for the School House with its two halls Its Lodgings about (DD) Its well form'd School Its Green for Recreation, (EE). The Mansion House of the Petitioner first only a Sumer's Recess from London, which having that great, and noble City, with its numerous Childhood, under view gave the first thought, to him of so great a Design: Intended now for Lodgings of Retyrement for Such as by His Mat[les] Favour might be Governers of the Hospitall.

"(FF) Its Gardens to train up some Youth to that Service: (GG) Its grounds being 8 Acres: all adjoyning to the house.

"All these Dedicated by a Solemn Devotion to God, and cannot be Andniaz'd, and Sapphiraed, being so uncontrouertible a Good purpose without their Sin.

"'Tis humbly pray'd, that such as may be willing, to Subscribear yet any thing Subscribed, towards Retriveing or raising y[s] Charitable work, would send to y[e] Reverend Doct[r] Lecturer, Churchwarden, or Vestry of St. Gylses St. Clements St. Pauls, or the Savoy.

"If S[r] Francis Pemberton, Fran Blake my Bro: M[l] Will[m] Ashurst, Draper, who are the Mortgagees would yet comply all might go Immediately forward, with some 100[lb] annual advantage to the town of Highgate.

"O Lord, who hast taught us, that all our doings without Charity, are nothing worth, send thy Holy Ghost, and pour into our hearts that most excellent gift of Charity, the very bond of Peace, and of all vertues, without which whosoever Liveth, is accounted dead before thee, grant this for thy only Son, Iesus Christ his sake Amen."

"But truer Charity was never Indeavoured towards your Children, since the Parishes were in being.

"Pray Gentlemen of the Vestryes peruse your Paper in a Frame given you in the year 82.

"If the Reverend docters with y[e] Vestrys would be so Semaritanly kind as to apoint one to Solicite for this in each Parish it mig[t] be a Soul Mercy, to their poor Children, and even raise this to the perpetual Praise of our Most excellent Religion."

HIGH GATE HOUSE.

Howitt[1] remarks, "Blake's style is frequently unintelligible, almost insane, but there is true nobility of soul struggling through," and suggests that "from his desire to have the boys taught the art of painting, he might have been the ancestor of the eccentric but inspired writer and artist of the same name."

In a printed Almanack entitled "*Merlinus Anonymus*—An Almanack and no Almanack—A Kalendar and no Kalendar," published in 1650, appears the following item, 22nd April, "The glorious invention of Wind Guns by W. Blake, the Governor of the new Hospital at Highgate,"—clearly showing the school was founded, but not necessarily in Dorchester House, before 1650, being thirty-five years prior to the time stated by Lysons.

[1] *Northern Heights.*

There is a scarce pamphlet, presented to the Literary Institution by Mr. Harry Chester, its first President, entitled,

CHARITY MARTYR'D

OR

THE COMPLAINT OF

W. B.

Showing how his unkind Brother and a citizen would throw down and share the Ladies intended Hospital at Highgate, which is hoped the Nobility, Gentry, reverend Ministers, vestries and others will prevent, for the good of many poor children, nigh and in the suburbs of Westminster, and County of Middlesex. Especially these 6 Parishes, St. Martin's, St. Giles, St. Clement, St. Paul's Covent Garden, St. Mary Savoy, and part of St. Andrews Holborn, all in the County aforesaid.

The first paragraph in this singular little work is as follows :—

"Your complainant being much persuaded if some little thing was begun towards a hospital for the suburbs, the Nobility and Gentry might soon be persuaded by petitions to make it great, whereupon he erects a convenient building on the *finest spot in Highgate*, where the Gentry much resort for prospect and air, who might have opportunity of sending what objects of charity they shall think fit from time to time, defraying of the charges, Your petitioner put some children in the said building 'The Ladies Hospital,' and then 'The Ladies Hospital Boys and Girls' being cloathed with blew lined with yellow, But an unkind brother living on the place made no small opposition, which is believed he never would, had it had his own name, but being called 'The Ladies' he cryed, 'they were all vain and airy,' throwing most reproachful terms for that honorable, and right honorable sex in general, not fitting to be named, as if a little vanity in a few must be charged upon all, or that the very title had degraded them when the bottom was pride passion or covetousness. Being unwilling to do anything himself, he endeavours to hinder all others, setting your petitioner's wife and children to run it down, as an ill design full of pride vainglory and hypocrisy."

He further states that "he had contracted for twenty children out of each parish at £6 a piece per annum, which with an additional help from the Nobility and Gentries charity might keep them, to the Gentries and Parishes praise."

And this statement is corroborated by the following entry :—

"St. Clement Danes. } At a Vestry held by the Churchwardens and Ancients of the parish of St. Clements Danes, the 24th day of January 1682.

"Then ordered and agreed, that upon Mr. William Blakes proposalls of compleating the buildings at Highgate for an Hospital, and also finding and providing Masters and Mistresses, to teach and instruct children that shall be put to the Hospital, and servants convenient to attend them : The said children so to be sent to the said Hospital, to be maintained with meat, drink, washing, lodging, clothes, and all other necessaries fit and convenient for children, to be kept in a Hospital (as well in sickness as in health) by the said William Blake, his Executors or Assigns. We the Churchwardens and Ancients of the said Parish do promise to send to the said Hospital, Twenty Parish Children, more or less, within one month after notice is given to this Vestry that the said Hospital so intended shall be fit for the reception of children, and to allow and pay for each of the said children after the Rate of £6 Per Annum, and after the children have been there one month, to have one months pay, and also to advance two months pay for every Child at the same time.

"Tho. Proudlow, Clerk of the Vestry."

It is evident from the above account that poor Blake was obliged entirely to alter his original plan after the publication of *Silver Drops, or Serious Things*, for it shows that his application to the noble ladies (from whom it was designed that the hospital should take its name) had been a complete failure, and now, as a desperate remedy, he resorts to this plan, in order to obtain the sympathy of the ladies who resided in the parishes from which the children were sent ; for the above work states that "three score suits and thirty beds are provided, a master got and contracted with, but the want of a little money stopt much this whole design, and his Brother running your petitioner down as mad, and 'fit for Bedlam, must be put there, and would dye a fool, a knave, and a beggar,' and that 'he should never bring the Parish bratts and bastards there which he had contracted for,' having caused the former children to be put away once or twice (to the very great damage of this undertaking), hindering these from coming also, saying, 'Will no place serve the Parish bratts and bastards, but the finest spot in England?' calling them so almost twenty times, and 'he would make somebody lay the Vestrymen by the heels, if they brought bratts and bastards there.' In the meantime, the citizen that bought your petitioner's house, bargains with his wife, brother, or son, for all his goods in his house, unknown to him, bedhangings, yea his own bed, and all manner of other goods ; his horse in the fields, without the least syllable of his knowledge or imagination, which was a great hindrance to the furnishing of the great school, against the parish children should be sent thither, done purposely to discourage the Vestries sending them." Mention is also made that, to gain assist-

ance, help, and money, "Your petitioner gets the draught of the Marquesses House engraved upon a plate, and puts it to the other buildings which he has engraved before, making one handsome large map, presenting them to persons of honour, rank, and quality, many giving leave to engrave their Arms on it, so that your petitioner did conclude two or three hundred of them to noblemen, gentlemen, and other houses, with proposals and arguments of charity, would have brought in three or four hundred pound per annum, may be, much more in a little time, besides noble spirits giving like themselves, the reverend clergy being much for it. But your petitioner's brother, when he saw one of these maps said, 'Ah! ah! what fine thing have we gotten here?' To which your petitioner replied, 'It was a map of the buildings at Highgate, with noblemens Arms in it.' 'Ah, ah,' says he, 'it will serve for a house of office, to hang there, over and over,' and so went in much passion away. (But the honoured and Right Worshipful Sir *William Turner*, who hath built an hospital in the North, done great things in the City, and is President of Bridewell, said it was a very ingenious thing, worthy of encouragement.) Much more of unkindnesses might be mustered up with great truth, as the God of all truth well knows; but it is not aimed in the least to reproach friends, or scratch his own face, God is his witness, further than necessity compels, but is ready to forgive all men as far as Reason and Religion binds him, and loves his relations, wife and children as his own eyes, he ever did; and will wrong nobody under heaven willingly, much less ruine them if he can help it; yea, he would do good to all, if it lay in his power, and hath been liberal from his youth according to his might, and in his lifetime a painstaker, that he might not want a mite to cast into the Treasury for any good work!"

That soon after this petition was circulated the undertaking failed, may be readily imagined; for the date of the parish undertaking is 1682, and in 1685 the property had passed into other hands and the buildings were pulled down.

What we gather from these records, is, that Blake's scheme was not only "ill advised," but was not needed; it threatened to ruin the neighbourhood as a place of residence, was opposed by the neighbours, and may actually have driven Lord Dorchester away by fitting up buildings opposite his mansion in which the pauper children of the Metropolis were to be "farmed out";—and in carrying out this needless scheme —to which, it is little wonder, people did not subscribe—Blake ruined himself and his family. Gough says,[1] "Blake purchased Dorchester House, fooled away his estate, and was thrown into prison, from whence he issued *Silver Drops* as an appeal for help."

[1] *British Topography.*

Having expended his own fortune on this undertaking, Blake was forced to contract debts to carry it on, which involved him in difficulties, and ultimately lodged him in prison. Even under these discouragements he was nothing daunted, but issued another appeal under the title of *The State and Cause of a Design for the Better Education of Thousands of Parish Children successively in the vast Northern Suburbs of London vindicated*, etc. From whence it plainly appears that his original scheme having failed, he wished to divert it into a sort of district pauper school. Parton, in his *History of the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, gives the following extracts from the vestry minutes :—

"1682. Whereas Mr. Blake hath made his request to this vestry to give encouragement to an hospital at Highgate, it is therefore thought fit, and ordered that R. Bucknall, Esq., Mr. James Parthervicke, etc., and the two present churchwardens be a committee appointed, or any four of them, to enquire into the proposals of the said Mr. Blake, and to make report thereof.

"And it is further ordered, That if upon the report of the said committee the vestry shall be satisfied with the said proposals, that the twenty parish children shall be placed in the said hospital at six pounds per annum each, at the parish charge.

"1687. Ordered by the Vestry for that whereas Mr. Blake, now a prisoner in the Fleet, did some time before his imprisonment give several suits of apparel to be by the churchwardens and overseers given to several poor children of this parish ; and the said Mr. Blake having now made his application to Vestry for something towards his enlargement, so that Mr. Merrydale the churchwarden do give from the parish monies in his hand, £10 unto the said Mr. Blake."

"The unkind Brother" alluded to, as living in Highgate, seems to have been a prosperous man. Let us hope that although he threw difficulties in the way of a very questionable scheme, and even "spoke disrespectfully of the ladies," he did not forget the need of his broken-down brother.

Sir Henry Chauncey[1] states that "the demesnes of the Manor of Nusells were purchased by William Newland, Esq. He married Mary, daughter of Thomas Blake of Essington, in county Southampton, elder brother to *Francis Blake of Highgate*, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., father of Sir Francis Blake of Ford Castle in county Northumberland, Knight, as also to Sir Richard Blake in Clerkenwell in county Middlesex, Knight, and nephew of Sir William Blake of Kensington, in the same county, Knight, but has since conveyed it to Thomas his son and heir, who is the present owner of them,"—1700.

[1] *History of Herts.*

Sir Francis Pemberton was an early, if not the earliest resident of one of the row of old red-brick houses in The Grove, which he erected for himself. The house is now in the occupation of Mr. Walter Scrimgeour.

"Sir Francis Pemberton, whose Ancestors," says Sir Henry Chauncey,[1] "were originally of the Ancient family of Pemberton, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, from whom Sir Goddard Pemberton, Knight, descended; who purchased a fair estate, settled in the Borough of St. Albans, and was constituted Sheriff for the County in 1615, but dying within the year, Lewis Pemberton, Esq., was his heir and succeeded in his Shrievalty; afterwards Roger Pemberton of St. Albans, Esq., inherited his estate, was likewise elected Sheriff of the County in 1620, from whom issued Ralph Pemberton, twice Mayor of St. Albans, anno 1627, 3rd Car. I., and 1638, the 14th of the same king. He was the father of this eminent lawyer, who received his first breath in 1625, and was educated at the school in this Town,[2] where he gave early testimonies of his future perfection in learning; from thence he was transplanted to the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted in Emanuel College, on the 12th August, 1640, under the tuition of the late Pious and learned Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, where he continued until the 22nd February, 1644, after which he was entered in the Inner Temple on the 14th October, 1645, where he performed his exercises with great applause, and was called to the Bar in 1654. He was made one of the Council of the Court of the Marshalsea, and drew the Patent granted by King Charles II., for the enlargement and confirmation of the privileges of that Court. He studied the old records at Westminster, the Rolls, and the Tower, and made collections from them, from whence he learned the original Reasons and Grounds of the common law, and became thereby master of his profession. He read learnedly in the Inner Temple, in the Quadragesmes in the year 1674, and kept a noble table there. He received a writ to be Serjeant-at-law returnable 29th January following, was made King's Serjeant 11th August, 1675, knighted at Whitehall on the 6th October next ensuing, created one of the Justices of the Court of King's Bench on the 30th April, 1679, advanced to be Chief Justice of the same Court in Easter term, 1681, removed thence to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in Hillary term 1682, and about the same sworn of his Majesty's Privy Council. He would not suffer any lawyers upon Tryals before him to interrupt or banter Witnesses in their evidence, a practise too frequently used by some Council in bad Causes to stifle truth and obstruct Justice, but allowed every person to recollect his thoughts, and to speak without fear, that the truth might be the better discovered; neither would he permit Council to ask impertinent questions, nor make

[1] *History of Herts.* [2] St. Albans.

long speeches; nor harrangues in Court to mislead juries, but heard all persons with great deliberation, patience, indifferency and impartiality, distinguishing clearly between truth and falsehood in his directions to the jury, that they might not err; and delivered his judgment in all causes depending before him, with great justice and solemnity, which much awed the Spectators, and advanced the reputation of the Court, during all which time no temptations of Profit or Preferment, no threats, no menaces of deprivation or loss of place nor Honour, could move him to act any thing against law, and when he was dismissed from the bench, he disdained not the attendance at the Bar again, when his practise made ample satisfaction for his removal from the Bench to the Bar, notwithstanding his great generosity to his friends and his charity to the distressed. He was endowed with a ready wit and a quick apprehension, which were attended with a rare memory and excellent parts, by the help of which and his own indefatigable industry, he attained to a great perfection of judgement in the laws of the land. His notions were curious, his distinctions nice, and his reason weighty, which rendered him very skilful in the form of good pleading, the foundation and basis of the Common law, and very learned in the laws of conveyancing, wherein he was choice in his method, abandoned all tautologies and impertinent expressions, and confined himself to the most apt, neat, significant and pertinent words for his purpose. He married Ann the eldest daughter of Sir Jeremy Whichcote of Hendon, in the county of Middlesex, Bart., by whom he had issue three sons, Francis, Jeremy, and Ralph, and four daughters, Ann married to George Scot of Scot's Hall, in the county of Kent, Esq., Mary to William Stanley, D.D., etc., Elizabeth to Nathaniel Stephens, High Sheriff of the county of Glocester, and Jane unmarried. He *built* a large house at Highgate in the county of Middlesex, where he resided, and died the 10th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1697, aged seventy-two years, and was buried in the Parish Church of Highgate, where his executors erected a fair monument."

"Sir Francis Pemberton was one of many examples that a superior advocate is not necessarily an able judge. His judicial deficiency was not perceived by himself; and when he boasted that 'he made rather than declared the laws,' he unwittingly confessed that he outstepped the duties of his office. So notoriously did he follow the dictates of his own mind, rather than the clauses of the statute book, that Lord Keeper Guildford remarked that 'in making law, he had outdone kings, lords, and commons.'"[1] North, in the same work, observes :—"This man's morals were very indifferent; for his beginnings were debauched, and his study and first practice was in gaol; for having been one of the fiercest town rakes, and spent more than he had of his own, his case forced him upon

[1] *Life of Lord Keeper Guildford.*

that expedient for a lodging; and there he made so good use of his leisure, and busied himself with the cases of his fellow-collegiates, informing and advising them so skilfully, that he was reputed the most notable fellow within those walls, and, at length, he came out a sharper at the law; after that he proceeded to study and practise, till he was eminent, and made a sergeant. He sat in the King's Bench till the near time that the great cause of the 'quo warranto' against the city of London was to be brought to judgment in that court; and then he was removed. The truth is, it was not thought reasonable to trust that cause, on which the peace of the government so much depended, in a court where the chief never showed so much regard to the law as to his own will; notorious as he was for little honesty, boldness, cunning, and incontrollable opinion of himself. After this removal he returned to his practice, and by that (as it seems the rule is) he lost his style of 'lordship' and became bare 'Mr. Sergeant' again. His business lay chiefly in the common pleas."[1]

This severe stricture on the character of Pemberton arose from the "high prerogative" prejudices of the writer; for Pemberton, as Burnet observes, "was not wholly for the court." "It is perhaps certain that he was not a deep lawyer, but he was a conscientious man; and instead of his being removed because he was unlikely to do justice in the case of the 'quo warranto,' or, as others hint, because he was guilty of taking bribes, it seems more than probable that the cause of his disgrace was his lenient treatment of the unfortunate Lord William Russell."[2]

Sir Francis lived to be one of the counsel for the seven bishops, and thus the irony of fate gave him a complete although probably an unsought-for revenge!

Dame Ann Pemberton survived him some thirty-four years, dying in April 1731, and was laid by the side of her husband in a vault under the old chapel.

The Grove was first styled "Pemberton Row" in honour of the judge, and afterwards "Quality Walk." The late Mr. Francis Smith, a resident in The Grove for some thirty years, a great lover of trees—all the younger trees in The Grove and its approaches he stated "were planted by him personally"—writes under date 3rd February, 1880 (four days before his death), "You are probably aware that The Grove is a modern name, the proper name being 'Pemberton Row,' and so described in leases, etc., always familiarly called in my early times as 'Pemberton Row, Quality Walk.' This address I used until about three years since, and have sent letters so directed through the post to my family and neighbours, which have always been delivered."

[1] North's *Life of Lord Keeper Guildford.* [2] *Bishop Burnet and his Times.*

The houses in The Grove have always been what the auctioneers would style "well let," and there is not one but has been, or is now, occupied by families who have exercised considerable influence on Highgate life, and in some instances on a very much wider circle.

The Bishop of London, on a recent visit, asked the Vicar of St. Michael's, "What makes Highgate so important?" It really is a very suggestive question. Many influences have *helped* to make it so,—its picturesque situation on the hill, the Grammar School, the Petty Sessions, the Literary Institution, etc., etc.; but its *real* importance is the influence of its inhabitants. It is most instructive to note the long line of Highgate residents (for the last three hundred years) of political, intellectual, or social weight; and, comparing the list with that of almost any other suburban village, the difference will be found to be really very striking.

The Americans style Boston the "hub"[1] of the universe. The Grove (by which is practically understood the west side of the hill) may be called the "hub" of Highgate. Indeed, until very lately, when the erection of the houses in Bishopwood and Broadlands Roads has formed a new and influential neighbourhood, The Grove was the only important group of houses in the village lying closely together, and naturally at that time formed its centre.

The house best known in The Grove is No. 3, now in the occupation of Rev. H. R. Cooper-Smith, once the residence of the kind-hearted Mr. Gillman the surgeon, with whom Samuel Taylor Coleridge happily found a refuge in the time of his greatest need, and with whom he remained till his death. When Coleridge became first an inmate of the family, they did not reside in The Grove, but at the old house next to the Congregational Church, on the western side, from which, however, Mr. Gillman soon after removed.[2]

The accident which determined Coleridge to take up his residence with Mr. Gillman was a very happy one for Highgate, the rich memory of his genius linking its associations with the wide and ever-growing world of thought both in England and America. Coleridge found in Highgate a refuge in his life and a resting-place in his death, so that *his* memory and that of the *old village* are thus inseparably connected.

It is only necessary here briefly to allude to one or two of the leading incidents of his life; such information can easily be amplified by consulting the pages of his numerous biographers. What seems the more desirable is to collect some of the records of the visits paid to Highgate by his great literary contemporaries, gathering from *their* statements the

[1] *Hub*, the central block from which the spokes of a wheel radiate.
[2] The house is now in the occupation of Mr. Austin.

impression he made upon them; and even these are so numerous that a very brief selection must suffice.[1]

Samuel Taylor Coleridge was born at Ottery St. Mary, Devonshire, on the 21st October, 1772. His father, the Rev. John Coleridge, was vicar of Ottery, and Head Master of Henry VIII.'s Free Grammar School, and was the author of some *Desertations on the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Chapters of the Book of Judges*, and a *Latin Grammar for the use of the School at Ottery*. Samuel Taylor was the youngest of ten children, and, much against his will, was chosen by his father as one of the pupils destined for the University, to which he went from Christ's Hospital. In his sixteenth year he composed the "Allegory of Real and Imaginary Time," first published in the *Sibylline Leaves*, and on the 5th February, 1791, at the age of nineteen, it appears by the College books he was entered at Jesus College, Cambridge. In 1792, out of sixteen competitors, a selection of four were to contend for the prize of the Craven Scholarship: these were Dr. Butler, late head master of Shrewsbury; Dr. Keats, a late head master of Eton; Mr. Bethell, one of the members for Yorkshire, and Coleridge. Dr. Butler was the successful candidate.

"In one of the dejected moods to which Coleridge in early life was much subjected, he suddenly left Cambridge for London, and strolled about the streets till night came on, and then rested himself on the steps of a house in Chancery Lane, where walking along in the morning, he noticed a bill posted on the wall: 'Wanted a few smart lads for the 15th Elliot's Light Dragoons' He paused a moment and said to himself, 'Well, I have had all my life a violent antipathy to soldiers and horses; the sooner I can rid myself of these absurd prejudices the better, and I will enlist in this regiment.'

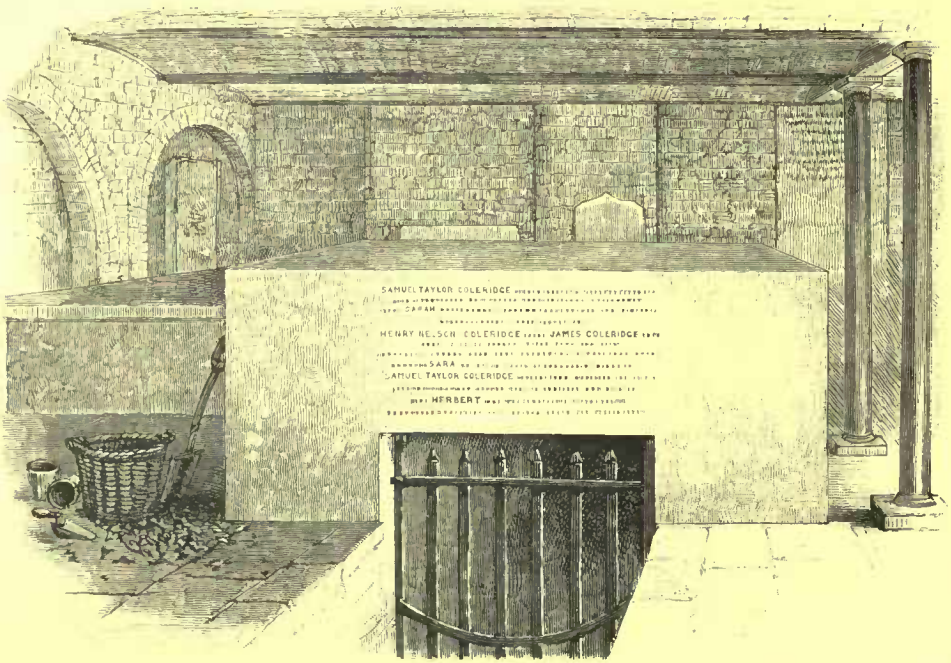
"On proceeding to the address named, he was accosted by an old sergeant with a remarkably benevolent countenance, to whom he stated his wish, who tried hard to dissuade him from his purpose, seeing he was depressed, but without success, and he was subsequently marched to Reading. It was not long, however, before he attracted the attention of Captain Ogle, which is said to have been drawn to Coleridge in consequence of noticing the following sentence in the stables written under his saddle in pencil, 'Eheu quam infortunii miserimum est fuisse felicem.'[2] But his discovery arose from a young man who had left Cambridge for the army, and on his road through Reading to join his

[1] For further information see *Memoir of Sara Coleridge*, *Journal of Caroline Fox*, *Memoir of Charles Lamb*, *Crabb Robinson's Diary*, *Anne Seward's Letters*, *Life of Southey*, *Memoirs of Wordsworth*, *Works of De Quincey*, *Hall Caine*, *H. D. Traill*; and, perhaps best of all, the recent *Life of Coleridge*, by Professor A. Brandl, translated from the German by Lady Eastlake, etc., etc.

[2] "It is the most wretched part of misfortune to have been happy."

regiment met Coleridge in the street in his dragoon dress, who was about to pass him, but, said he, 'No, Coleridge, this will not do; we have been seeking you this six months; I must and will converse with you, and have no hesitation in declaring that I shall immediately inform your friends that I have found you.' This led to his return to Cambridge."[1]

As a complete bibliography is added to the end of this sketch there is no occasion to allude to his specific writings; and as glimpses of his life will appear in the following notice of his contemporaries, all that seems necessary here is to state that he died July 25th, 1834, at the residence of Mr. Gillman, Pemberton Row, Highgate, and was buried at Highgate Old Chapel,[2] a monument being erected to his memory in the new Church of St. Michael.



COLERIDGE VAULT.

[1] Gillman's *Life of Coleridge.*

[2] The vault contains the bodies of S. T. Coleridge, Sara his wife, his daughter Sara, his nephew and son-in-law, H. N. Coleridge, and his grandson, H. Coleridge (buried in 1861).

The following is a copy of the epitaph to his memory, which was composed by Mr. Gillman, who, after a close association of nineteen years, spoke with authority.

Sacred to the Memory

OF

SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE,

POET, PHILOSOPHER, THEOLOGIAN.

THIS TRULY GREAT AND GOOD MAN RESIDED,
FOR THE LAST NINETEEN YEARS OF HIS LIFE,
IN THIS HAMLET.
HE QUITTED "THE BODY OF THIS DEATH"
JULY 25TH, 1834,
IN THE SIXTY-SECOND YEAR OF HIS AGE.
OF HIS PROFOUND LEARNING AND DISCURSIVE GENIUS
HIS LITERARY WORKS ARE AN IMPERISHABLE RECORD;
TO HIS PRIVATE WORTH,
HIS SOCIAL AND CHRISTIAN VIRTUES,
JAMES AND ANN GILLMAN,
THE FRIENDS WITH WHOM HE RESIDED
DURING THE ABOVE PERIOD, DEDICATE THIS TABLET.
UNDER THE PRESSURE OF A LONG
AND MOST PAINFUL DISEASE
HIS DISPOSITION WAS UNALTERABLY SWEET AND ANGELIC;
HE WAS AN EVER-DURING, EVER-LOVING FRIEND,
THE GENTLEST AND KINDEST TEACHER,
THE MOST ENGAGING HOME COMPANION.

O FRAMED FOR CALMER TIMES AND NOBLER HEARTS!
O STUDIOUS POET, ELOQUENT FOR TRUTH!
PHILOSOPHER CONTEMNING WEALTH AND DEATH,
YET DOCILE, CHILDLIKE, FULL OF LIFE AND LOVE,
HERE ON THIS MONUMENTAL STONE THY FRIENDS INSCRIBE THY WORTH.

READER! FOR THE WORLD MOURN.
A LIGHT HAS PASSED AWAY FROM THE EARTH;
BUT FOR THIS PIOUS AND EXALTED CHRISTIAN
REJOICE, AND AGAIN I SAY UNTO YOU, REJOICE.

UBI
THESAURUS,
IBI
COR
S. T. C.

Coleridge's gratitude to Mr. and Mrs. Gillman was thus expressed in a paragraph of his will:—"I bequeath my pictures and engravings to James and Ann Gillman, my more than friends, the guardians of my health, happiness, and interests during the fourteen[1] years of my life that I have enjoyed the proofs of their constant zealous and disinterested affection as an inmate and member of their family."

A few days before Coleridge settled at Highgate in 1816 he wrote a letter to Mr. Gillman, in which he detailed with frankness the temptation to which his besetting weakness exposed him of acting a deception, of which prior habits of rigid truthfulness made it impossible for him not to speak. "I have full belief," he wrote, "that your anxiety need not be extended beyond the first week, and for the first week I *shall* not, I *must* not, be permitted to leave the house, except with you. Delicately or indelicately this must be done, and both your servants and the assistants must receive absolute commands from you." A more resolute determination could not have been made by a man whose will had never been sapped by disease. There is no reason to doubt its sincerity, and only the idlest gossip to question its faithful observance. It is true that De Quincey said that "Coleridge never conquered his evil habit;" true, too, that irresponsible persons have alleged that down to his death Coleridge continued to obtain supplies of laudanum surreptitiously from a chemist in the Tottenham Court Road; but the burden of proof is in favour of Mr. Gillman's clear assurance that the habit *was* eventually overcome, and this assurance has just received unexpected confirmation. The report was that the doctor's boy procured Coleridge the drug when he went to town weekly for other medicines. This boy—a boy no longer, but now one of the oldest inhabitants of Highgate; a quiet, truthful, much-respected man, Mr. Thomas Taylor, until lately a shoemaker in the North Road—states that he lived a long while with Mr. Gillman, "that he *never* procured any opium for Mr. Coleridge, nor did he ever hear of his alleged habit of taking it;" but he added, "He was a great consumer of snuff, and I used to bring him a pound of *Irish blackguard* (his favourite snuff) at a time, with which he smothered himself."

In that first letter to Mr. Gillman, Coleridge stated, in these terms, the condition on which he proposed to become an inmate of his house. "With respect to pecuniary remuneration, allow me to say, I must not at least be suffered to make any addition to your family expenses, though I cannot offer anything that would be in any way adequate to my sense of the service; for that indeed there could not be a compensation, as it must be returned in kind, by esteem and grateful affection." We have no good reason to suppose that Coleridge ever ceased, during the eighteen

[1] This will was made a few years before his decease.

years in which he remained under Mr. Gillman's roof, but to regard his domesticity in the same light of pecuniary independence.[1]

In 1820 Coleridge had his sons with him at Highgate, and two years later his daughter visited him. In the year 1825 he received a pension of one hundred guineas from the private purse of the king, George IV. In 1830 the king died, and the pension stopped. Coleridge, thinking he had a claim, appealed to Lord Grey, who offered him a sum equal to two years' pension; but these temporizing terms the poet declined. He then wrote to Brougham, who in the old days had professed to admire him as a journalist, but Brougham appears to have done nothing. Thus on the verge of sixty Coleridge was once again entirely without calculable resources. He wrote a little for *Blackwood*, and continued to earn small sums by various labours.

"From 1820 onwards the house of Mr. Gillman had gradually acquired a unique distinction, as a rallying-point for intellectual activity. The residence of Coleridge with the Gillmans drew to Highgate many men and women who were celebrated in their several walks. One day a week or oftener there gathered about Coleridge a select band of young men, who looked up to him as to a 'master.' Among them were Edward Irving, Frederick Denison Maurice, Arthur H. Hallam, Joseph Henry Green, Julius Hare, and Coleridge's nephew, H. N. Coleridge. Men of an older generation often joined this weekly gathering, and of these there was Basil Montague, whose estrangement from Coleridge in 1811 did not forbid a genial social intercourse. Charles Lamb was often of the circle, and, on rare occasions of their visits to London, Wordsworth and John Wilson were at Highgate. It does not appear that Shelley ever met Coleridge at Mr. Gillman's or elsewhere, and this was probably due, not to any lack of appreciation on Shelley's part, for he described him as 'a hooded eagle among blinking owls,' but to the circumstance that Shelley's circle among poets was that of Leigh Hunt; and after 1817 the editor of *The Examiner* could hardly be a welcome guest or sincere disciple where Coleridge was practically in the position of the honoured host and prophet. It is conceivable that the same cause operated to keep Keats from the weekly gatherings; but walking one day, towards 1818, in a lane near Highgate, Coleridge met 'a loose, slack, not well-dressed youth.' It was Keats. 'Let me carry away the memory, Coleridge, of having pressed your hand,' he said. 'It was Keats indeed; I can think of no other man who *could* have said just that,' said Coleridge."[2]

Charles Lamb, his schoolfellow and lifelong friend, thus speaks of Coleridge at Christ's Hospital (1782)—

"Come back into memory, like as thou wert in the dayspring of thy

[1] Hall Caine. [2] *Ibid.*

fancies, with hope like a fiery column before thee—the dark pillar not yet turned—Samuel Taylor Coleridge—Logician, Metaphysician, Bard! How have I seen the casual passer through the cloisters stand still entranced with admiration (while he weighed the disproportion between the speech and the garb of the young Mirandula) to hear thee unfold in thy deep and sweet intonations the mysteries of Iamblichus, or Plotinus (for even in those years thou waxedst not pale at such philosophic draughts), or reciting Homer in his Greek, or Pindar—while the walls of the old Grey Friars re-echoed to the accents of the 'inspired charity boy.'"

Hazlitt has left a vivid portrait of the poet as he appeared in 1798:—

"His complexion," he says, "was at that time clear and even bright. * * * His forehead was broad and high, light as if built of ivory, with large projecting eyebrows, and his eyes rolled beneath them like a sea with darkening lustre. * * * His mouth was gross, voluptuous, open, eloquent; his chin good-humoured and round; but his nose, the rudder of the face, the index of the will, was small, feeble, nothing—like what he has done. * * * Coleridge in his person was rather above the common size, inclining to be corpulent. * * * His hair (now, alas! grey) was then black and glossy as the raven's, and fell in smooth masses over his forehead."

"Coleridge's attractions as a talker were great, but in the days at Highgate they were probably at their best. The only satisfying record of Coleridge's powers in conversation is the volume of *Table Talk* collected by H. N. Coleridge, from the end of 1822 to the middle of July 1834. This book carries the sure proof, of education that is almost without parallel, and of reading, thought, and observation, that probably out-strides the intellectual equipment of every Englishman since Bacon. Here we have the essence of what Coleridge *said*, but to other records we must turn for accounts of *how he said it*. We shall take two witnesses only, and they shall be sufficiently unlike.[1] First, T. N. Talfourd:—'He has yet completed no adequate memorials of his genius, yet it is most unjust to assert that he has done little or nothing. To refute this assertion, there are his *Wallenstein*, his love poems of intense beauty; his *Ancient Mariner*, with its touches of profoundest tenderness amidst the wildest and most bewildering terrors; his holy and sweet tale of *Christabel*, with rich enchantments and richer humanities; the depths and sublimities and the pensive sweetness of his *Tragedy;* the heart-dilating sentiments scattered through his *Friend*, and the stately imagery which breaks upon us at every turn of the golden paths of his metaphysical labyrinths. And if he had a power within him mightier than that which even these glorious creatures indicate, shall he be censured because he has deviated from the ordinary course of the age, in its

[1] Hall Caine.

development, and instead of committing his imaginative wisdom to the press has delivered it from his living lips? He has gone about in the true spirit of an old Greek bard, with a noble carelessness of self, giving fit utterance to the Divine Spirit within him. Who, that has ever heard, can forget him?—his mild benignity, the unbounded variety of his knowledge, the fast-succeeding products of his imagination, the childlike simplicity with which he rises from the driest and commonest theme into the wildest magnificence of thought, pouring on the soul a stream of beauty and of wisdom to mellow and enrich it for ever? The seeds of poetry, the materials for thinking, which he has scattered, will not perish. The records of his fame are not in books only, but on the fleshy tablets of young hearts, who will not suffer it to die even in the general ear, however base and unfeeling criticism may deride their gratitude.'

"The second witness shall be Carlyle. This is the famous description in *The Life of Sterling*:—'The good man—he was now getting old, towards sixty perhaps, and gave you the idea of a life that had been full of sufferings; a life heavy-laden, half vanquished, still swimming painfully in seas of manifold physical and other bewilderment. Brow and head were round, and of massive weight, but the face was flabby and irresolute. The deep eyes, of a light hazel, were as full of sorrow as of inspiration; confused pain looked mildly from them, as in a kind of mild astonishment. The whole figure and air, good and amiable otherwise, might be called flabby and irresolute; expressive of weakness under possibility of strength. He hung loosely on his limbs, with knees bent, and stooping attitude; in walking he rather shuffled than decisively stept; and a lady once remarked she could never fix which side of the garden-walk would suit him best, but continually shifted, corkscrew-fashion, and kept trying both; a heavy-laden, high-aspiring, and surely much-suffering man. His voice, naturally soft and good, contracted itself into a plaintive snuffle and singsong; he spoke as if preaching—you could have said, preaching earnestly and almost hopelessly, the weightiest things. I still recollect his 'object' and his 'subject,' terms of continual recurrence in the Kantean province; and how he sang and snuffled them into 'om-m-ject' and 'sum-m-mject' with a kind of solemn shake or quaver as he rolled along. No talk in his century or in any other could be more surprising.'"[1]

Lord Hatherley has given us some interesting notes of the conversation of Coleridge.

"During the last year and a half of my study for the Bar I had also received much kindness from the late Basil Montague, Esq., and his admirable wife. I had been allowed free access to their home in Bedford Square on any evening I thought fit to go, when it was their custom to

[1] *Life of John Sterling*, by Thomas Carlyle, chap. viii.

receive those who had this privilege from eight to ten. There I sometimes met Irving and Carlyle and Proctor, then better known as Barry Cornwall, and others of an older literary school, but less widely known, also John Kemble and his gifted sister. Thursday was the only day on which these receptions did not take place, for every Thursday evening was spent by Mr. and Mrs. Montague at Highgate, in the company of Coleridge. I had the privilege through Mr. Montague's kindness of frequently accompanying on these pilgrimages, and I entertain most lively recollections of many an evening passed there of the highest enjoyment and interest.

'It is well known that Coleridge poured out all the riches of his prodigious memory and all the poetry of his brilliant imagination to every listener. I was not only so addressed myself, but I heard the whole of the poet-philosopher's favourite system of Polarites—the Prothesis, the Thesis, the Mesothesis, and Antithesis—showered down on a young lady of seventeen, with as much unction as he afterwards expounded it to Edward Irving. I was also present at some discussions between Edward Irving and Coleridge, on subjects of higher and holier import, in which the poetical temperament of Irving shone forth, but not with the genial all-embracing fervour that distinguished Coleridge.

"*December 11th*, 1828.—Went to Coleridge's with Mr. and Mrs. Montague and Irving in the evening. I was pleased with a reply of the latter to a lady who complained that Blomfield, Bishop of London, had preached a sermon for a female orphan school, in which he had enlarged on the old topic of the influence of woman in society,—'My dear Madam, these old truths are old because they are fundamental, and they are the truths which must be impressed on our minds, they cannot be urged too often.' * * * We found a large party at Highgate, and Coleridge was very entertaining. He read us a fine passage from a manuscript on the foolish objection to theory and demand for facts. 'Such men,' he observed, 'are preparing their souls for the office of turnspit at the next metampsychosis.' But I cannot go along with him in rejecting Bacon's theory of induction as the groundwork of an insight into general laws. Coleridge has indicated this in the *Friend*, and quoted a ludicrous passage from Hooke, who requires ten times more from the philosopher than Cicero did from the orator. Bacon may have gone too far in his zeal against hasty generalization. If, indeed, a man love his own fame better than the truth, he will, when he has once generalized, twist every fact to his own theory; but we must have data to guide our imagination, we must assume theories, and deduce results from our assumptions, which we compare with those deduced from experience, and thus attain the correct result. * * * Coleridge appears to attribute invention to a species of inspiration, which I suspect will be

found to be vouchsafed only to those whose minds are well stored with facts. It is a species of gipsy prophecy in some cases, and we are astonished, because we do not know the individual's habits of observation. This, too, would account for the same theories being invented in different parts of the globe. Could any but a first-rate mathematician have hit upon the general laws of fluxion?

"*December 18th*, 1828.—Went in the evening with the Montagues and Irving to Highgate. Coleridge was in full vigour of intellect, and his conversation, which took a theological turn, as is generally the case when Irving is there, was brilliant and at the same time of great depth and interest. * * * Coleridge's sentiments are formed on the Lutheran exposition of the Gospel scheme, which he considers to be derived from the exposition given by St. Paul and St. John, the two most gifted apostles. He conceives a genuine faith is the gradual substitution of Christ's reviving influence, which causes the natural man to throw off as it were by successive sloughs the moral vices. He conceives that an internal Church, which 'cometh not by observation,' is preparing in the minds of men, whilst an external Church must at the same time, by its salutary influence on the mind, keep up the internal action, which would otherwise gradually wear out; that this was the scheme ordained from the beginning of our earth, and the very object of its existence, at least after the fall; that the Jewish prophets looked forward to an eternal life by redemption, as the expressions of Ezekiel for instance, 'that the wicked man turning away from his wickedness shall save his soul alive,' have no other meaning, being certainly physically incorrect; that evil is merely subjective, not objective; that it is falsehood, the devil, who is a liar from the beginning, wishing to reconcile the impossibilities of being at the same time a creature, and yet equal to the Creator. He finely illustrated the subjectiveness of evil producing objective good by supposing the parts of the machine in a manufactory to be animated, and anxious to tear and bruise each other, and the manufactured article, which at last, however, arrives at perfection by this very means. This, it is true, leaves untouched the origin of evil, and perhaps favours too much the doctrine of necessity. Irving is, I think, a fine-spirited enthusiast, but enthusiasm is very dangerous; its least fatal effect is vanity, which may overcome us in a very humility and self-abasement. But let me not criticise others; God knows I have enough to condemn in myself.

"*January 29th*, 1829.—In the evening with B. Montague to Coleridge's. He had been seized with a fit of enthusiasm for Donne's poetry, which I think somewhat unaccountable. There was great strength, however, in some passages which he read. One stanza, or rather division of his poem, on the *Progress of the Soul*, struck me very much; it was, I think, the fourth, in which he addresses Destiny as the

'Knot of Causes.' The rest of the poem seemed the effusion of a man very drunk or very mad. Coleridge launched forth at some length upon Bacon's inductive method, at the request of Montague. I think he clearly failed in his attempt to depreciate experiment. The instances he selected, namely, the continued observation of the heavenly bodies, which led to nothing more than the Ptolemaic system till Kepler's time, and his still more favourite one of the isolated nature of the facts attending magnetism and electricity till the present day, may tend to show that the 'experientia literata' is nothing without a master mind, which Bacon himself asserts; but if Coleridge means anything he must mean that Kepler could have equally demonstrated his laws by one single observation as from the result of the observations of ages,—a proposition which cannot be maintained. * * * To use Coleridge's favourite simile, 'the human mind may be the kaleidoscope, but it is a dull instrument if there be no extrinsic object to work upon.' He was happy in one image, not so much an illustration, as a pleasing touch of fancy. He said that 'Nature had for ages appeared to wish to communicate her stores of higher knowledge by the phenomenon of the compass, but that she was too distant from us, and we could only watch the trembling of her lips without catching the sound."

"*March 5th*, 1829.—Went to Coleridge's in the evening with Montague and young Edgeworth, a brother of Miss Edgeworth, who appears to be a young man of some talent. Coleridge wandered in metaphysical depths and mazes, talking of the characteristic of reason, or the pure idea, and the impossibility of defining it, its definition involving contradictions, etc., etc. If he means simply to say that, that which understands cannot itself as a whole be understood, I can agree with him; otherwise I should feel no difficulty, when no proposition is offered, to assent. His illustrations were occasionally very beautiful. I like also his idea of truth, of its being an eternity as it were in itself, which we cannot feel ere we arrive at perfect conviction." [1]

The testimony of another, a more partial perhaps, but even better informed judge, must not be omitted. The *Table Talk*, edited by Mr. Nelson Coleridge,[2] shows how pregnant, how pithy, how full of subtle observation, and also of playful humour, could be the talk of the great discourser in its lighter and more colloquial forms. The book, indeed, is a most delightful one. And thus speaks its editor of his uncle's conversation in his more serious moods:—

"To pass an entire day with Coleridge was a marvellous change indeed (from the talk of daily life). It was a Sabbath past expression, deep, and tranquil, and serene. You came to a man who had travelled in many countries, and in critical times; who had seen and felt the world in most

[1] *Memoir of Lord Hatherley.* [2] Referred to on p. 324.

of its ranks, and in many of its vicissitudes and weaknesses ; one to whom all literature and art were absolutely subject ; and to whom, with a reasonable allowance as to technical details, all science was, in a most extraordinary degree, familiar. Throughout a long-drawn summer's day would this man talk to you in low, equable, but clear and musical tones, concerning things human and divine ; marshalling all history, harmonising all experiment, probing the depths of your consciousness, and revealing visions of glory and terror to the imagination, but pouring withal such floods of light upon the mind, that you might for a season, like Paul, become blind in the very act of conversion. And this he would do without so much as one allusion to himself, without a word of reflection upon others, save when any given art fell naturally in the way of his discourse ; without one anecdote that was not proof and illustration of a previous position ; gratifying no passion, indulging no caprice, but, with a calm mastery over your soul, leading you onward and onward for ever, through a thousand windings, yet with no pause, to some magnificent point in which, as in a focus, all the parti-coloured rays of his discourse should converge in light. In all these he was in truth your teacher and guide ; but in a little while you might forget that he was other than a fellow-student, and the companion of your way—so playful was his manner, so simple his language, so affectionate the glance of his eye ! "

Emerson's experience was not so happy, but he finds a kindly excuse for Coleridge, " the old and preoccupied man." His visit was in 1833 ; Coleridge died the next year.

" From London, on the 5th August, I went to Highgate, and wrote a note to Mr. Coleridge, requesting leave to pay my respects to him. It was near noon. Mr. Coleridge sent a verbal message that he was in bed, but if I would call after one o'clock he would see me. I returned at one, and he appeared, a short, thick old man, with bright blue eyes and fine clear complexion, leaning on his cane. He took snuff freely, which presently soiled his cravat and neat black suit. He asked whether I knew Allston, and spoke warmly of his merits and doings when he knew him in Rome ; what a master of the Titianesque he was, etc., etc. He spoke of Dr. Channing. It was an unspeakable misfortune that he should have turned out a Unitarian after all. On this he burst into a declamation on the folly and ignorance of Unitarianism,—its high unreasonableness ; and taking up Bishop Waterland's book, which lay on the table, he read with vehemence two or three pages written by himself in the fly leaves,—passages, too, which I believe are printed in the *Aids to Reflection.* When he stopped to take breath I interposed that, 'whilst I highly valued all his explanations, I was bound to tell him that I was born and bred a Unitarian.' 'Yes,' he said, ' I supposed so,' and continued as before It was a wonder that, after so many ages of

unquestioning acquiescence in the doctrine of St. Paul,—the doctrine of the Trinity, which was also, according to Philo Judæus, the doctrine of the Jews before Christ,—this handful of Priestleians should take on themselves to deny it, etc., etc. He was very sorry that Dr. Channing—a man to whom he looked *up*,—no, to say that he looked up to him would be to speak falsely; but a man whom he looked *at* with so much interest—should embrace such views. When he saw Dr. Channing he had hinted to him that he was afraid he loved Christianity for what was lovely and excellent,—he loved the good in it, and not the true; 'And I tell you, sir, that I have known ten persons who loved the good, for one person who loved the true; but it is a far greater virtue to love the true for itself alone than to love the good for itself alone.' He (Coleridge) knew all about Unitarianism perfectly well, because he had once been a Unitarian, and knew what quackery it was. He had been called 'the rising star of Unitarianism.' He went on defining, or rather refining: 'The Trinitarian doctrine was realism; the idea of God was not essential, but super-essential;' talked of *trinism* and *tetrakism* and much more, of which I only caught this: 'That the will was that by which a person is a person; because if one should push me in the street, and so I should force the man next me into the kennel, I should at once exclaim, "I did not do it, sir," meaning it was not my will.' And this also: 'That if you should insist on your faith here in England, and I on mine, mine would be the hotter side of the faggot.' I took advantage of a pause to say, that he had many readers of all religious opinions in America; and I proceeded to inquire if the 'extract' from the Independent's pamphlet, in the third volume of the *Friend*, were a veritable quotation. He replied that it was really taken from a pamphlet in his possession, entitled *A Protest of One of the Independents*, or something to that effect. I told him how excellent I thought it, and how much I wished to see the entire work. 'Yes,' he said, 'the man was a chaos of truths, but lacked the knowledge that God was a God of order. Yet the passage would no doubt strike you more in the quotation than in the original, for I have filtered it.'

"When I rose to go he said, 'I do not know whether you care about poetry, but I will repeat some verses I lately made on my baptismal anniversary,' and he recited with strong emphasis, standing, ten or twelve lines, beginning,—

"'Born unto God in Christ.'

"He inquired where I had been travelling; and on learning that I had been in Malta and Sicily, he compared one island with the other, repeating what he had said to the Bishop of London when he returned from the country, that Sicily was an excellent school of political economy;

for in any town there it only needed to ask what the Government enacted, and reverse that, to know what *ought* to be done; it was the most felicitously opposite legislation to anything good and wise. There were only three things which the Government had brought into that garden of delights, namely, itch, pox, and famine; whereas in Malta the force of law and mind was seen in making that barren rock of semi-Saracen inhabitants the seat of population and plenty! Going out he showed me, in the next apartment, a picture of Allston's, and told me that Montague, a picture dealer, once came to see him, and glancing towards this said, 'Well, you have got a picture!' thinking it the work of an old master; afterwards Montague, still talking with his back to the canvas, put up his hand and touched it, and exclaimed, 'By Heaven! this picture is not ten years old!' so delicate and skilful was that man's touch.

"I was in his company for about an hour, but find it impossible to recall the largest part of his discourse, which was often like so many printed paragraphs in his book—perhaps the same, so readily did he fall into certain commonplaces. As I might have foreseen, the visit was rather a spectacle than a conversation, of no use beyond the satisfaction of my curiosity; he was old and preoccupied, and could not bend to a new companion and think with him."[1]

Shelley thus wrote of him:—

> "You will see Coleridge: him who sits obscure
> In the exceeding lustre, and the pure
> Intense irradiation of a mind
> Which, with its own internal lustre blind,
> Flags wearily through darkness and despair,
> A cloud-encircled meteor of the air,
> A hooded eagle among blinking owls."

Dean Milman said "he used to divide Coleridge's talk into three parts—one third was admirable, beautiful in language, and exalted in thought; another third was sheer absolute nonsense; and of the remaining third, I know not whether it were sense or nonsense. It was very much the same day after day, and there was a total absence of wit, but still very remarkable."

Towards the end of 1833 Coleridge wrote his own epitaph:—

> "Stop, Christian passer-by! stop, child of God!
> And read, with gentle breast. Beneath this sod
> A Poet lies, or that which once seemed he—
> Oh, lift one thought in prayer for S. T. C.

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[1] Emerson's *First Visit to England.*

That he who many a year with toil of breath
Found death in life, may here find life in death!
Mercy for praise,—to be forgiven for fame,—
He asked, and hoped, through Christ. Do thou the same."

Towards the end he grew anxious as to not having seen much of Charles Lamb latterly, and he wrote a touching letter hinting at his faults as a friend. But Lamb had never ceased to love him. "Not an unkind thought has passed in my brain about you," Lamb writes; "if ever you thought an offence, much less wrote it against me, it must have been in the times of Noah, and the great waters swept it away. Mary's most kind love; * * * here she is crying for mere love over your letter." The beautiful friendship was to end as it had began. Early in 1834 Coleridge, in memory of the days of that visit of the "gentle Charles" to Stowey in 1797, wrote these words under the poem beginning "This Lime-tree Bower my Prison": "Charles and Mary Lamb, dear to my heart; yea, as it were my heart."

In a copy of Beaumont and Fletcher he wrote:—"*Midnight.* God bless you, dear Charles Lamb; I am dying: I feel I have not many weeks left.—*Mr. Gillman's, Highgate.*" Death came suddenly to Coleridge as to every man. No matter how long it may have been waited for, when it comes, it comes as a surprise.

Coleridge's son-in-law sent the tidings to Wordsworth in Westmoreland, and when the old poet read the news aloud to his family his voice faltered and broke. "He has long been dead to me," said Southey; "but his decease has naturally wakened up old recollections." "Coleridge is dead," Lamb muttered to himself continually. "Coleridge is dead, Coleridge is dead!" To the woman who had nursed his friend, Lamb gave five guineas when he went to Highgate for the first time after the funeral. "His great and dear spirit haunts me," Lamb wrote a little later. "He was my 'fifty-year old' friend without a dissension. Never saw I his likeness, nor probably the world can see it again." Lamb himself died before the end of the year.

The grave had hardly closed on him when the world echoed with his praise. "Coleridge," said *Blackwood* (1834), "alone, perhaps, of all men that have ever lived, was always a poet—in all his moods, and they were many, inspired." "I am grieved," said Southey, "that you never met Coleridge. All other men whom I have ever known are mere children to him, and yet all is palsied by a total want of moral strength." "He is like a lump of coal, rich with gas," said Scott, "which lies expending itself in puffs and gleams, unless some shrewd body will clap it into a cast-iron box, and compel the compressed element to do itself justice." "He is the only person I ever knew who answered to the idea of a man of genius," said Hazlitt. "He is the only person from whom

I ever learnt anything. His genius had * * * angelic wings, and fed on manna. He talked on for ever, and you *wished* him to talk on for ever." "He is," said De Quincey, "the largest and most spacious intellect, the subtlest and most comprehensive, that has yet existed among men." "Impiety to Shakespeare!" cried Landor, speaking of De Quincey's utterance, "treason to Milton! I give up all the rest, even Bacon. Certainly since their day we have had nothing at all comparable with him. Byron and Scott were but as gun flints to a granite mountain; Wordsworth has one angle of resemblance." "Metaphysician, bard, and magician in one," says Lamb.

The great subject of regret is, that with powers of mind so great, Coleridge accomplished practically so little; but to prove that his influence does not wane, it is only necessary to quote one of the latest public utterances in connection with his name. On the occasion of the ceremony of unveiling his bust in Westminster Abbey the year before last, the gift of the late Dr. Mercer of Newport, Rhode Island, U.S., MR. LOWELL, the American minister, said :—

"..... It is to commemorate another friend that I come here to-day, for who so worthy of the name as one who was our companion and teacher in the happiest hours of our youth, made doubly happy by the charm of his genius, and who to our old age brings back, if not the presence, at least the radiant image of the youth we have lost? Surely there are no friends so constant as the poets, and among them, I think, none more faithful than Coleridge. I am glad to have a share in this reparation of a long injustice, for as we looked about us hitherto in Poet's Corner we were tempted to ask, as Cavalcante dei Cavalcanti did of Dante, if these are here through loftiness of genius, where is he? It is just fifty-one years ago that I became the possessor of an American reprint of Galignani's edition of Coleridge, Shelley, and Keats in one volume. It was a pirated book, and I trust I may be pardoned for the delight I had in it. I take comfort from the thought that there must be many a Scottish minister and laird now in heaven who liked their claret none the less that it had paid no tribute to the House of Hanover. I have heard this trinity of poets taxed with incongruity. As for me, I was grateful for such infinite riches in a little room, and never thought of looking a Pegasus in the mouth whose triple burden proved a stronger back than that even of the Templars' traditional steed. Much later, but still long ago, I read the *Friend*, the *Biographia Literaria*, and other prose works of Coleridge. In what may be given me to say I shall be obliged to trust chiefly to a memory which at my time of life is gradually becoming one of her own reminiscences, and is forced to compound as best she may with her inexorable creditor—Oblivion. But perhaps she will serve me all the better for the matter in hand, for what is proper here, is at most a rapid generalisation rather than a demonstration in detail of his claims to grateful remembrance. I shall naturally trust myself to judge him by his literary rather than by his metaphysical achievement. In the latter region I cannot help being reminded of the partiality he so often betrays for clouds, and see him, to use his own words, 'making the shifting clouds seem what you please,' or 'a traveller go, from mount to mount through cloudland gorgeous land.' Or sometimes I think of him as an alchemist in search of the

philosopher's stone and stripping the lead, not only from his own roof, but from that of the parish church itself, to quench the fiery thirst of alembic. He seems never to have given up the hope of finding in the imagination some universal solvent, some *magisterium majus*, by which the lead of scepticism should be transmuted into the pure gold of faith, or, at least, persuaded to believe itself so. But we should not forget that many earnest and superior minds found his cloud castles solid habitations, nor that his alchemy was the nursing mother of chemistry. He certainly was a main influence in showing the English mind how it could emancipate itself from the vulgarising tyranny of common sense, and teaching it to recognise in the imagination an important factor, not only in the happiness, but in the destiny of man. In criticism he was, indeed, a teacher and interpreter whose service was incalculable. He owed much to Lessing, something to Schiller, and more to the younger Schlegel, but he owed most to his own sympathetic and penetrative imagination. This was the lifted torch (to borrow his own words again) that bade the starry walls of passages, dark before to the apprehension of even the most intelligent reader, sparkle with a lustre, latent in them to be sure, but not all their own. As Johnson said of Burke, 'he wound into his subject like a serpent.' His analysis was elucidative mainly, if you will, but could not have been so, except in virtue of the processes of constructive and philosophical criticism that had gone on so long in his mind as to make its subtle apprehension seem an instinct. As he was the first to observe some of the sky's appearances and revelations of outward nature, so he was also first in noting some of the more occult phenomena of thought and emotion. It is a criticism of parts and passages, and was scattered carelessly in *obiter dicta*, but it was not a bringing of the brick as a specimen of the whole house. It was comparative anatomy, far rather, which from a single bone reconstructs the entire living organism. Many of his hints and suggestions are more pregnant than whole treatises, as where he says that the wit of Hudibras is 'the wit of thought.' But what I think constitutes his great power, as it certainly is his greatest charm, is the perpetual presence of imagination, as constant a quality with him as fancy with Calderon. She was his lifelong housemate, if not always hanging over his shoulders and whispering in his ear, yet within easy call, like the Abra of Collins's Oriental Eclogue—

> "'Abra was with him ere he spoke her name,
> And if he called another, Abra came.'

It was she, that gave him that power of sympathy which made his *Wallenstein* what I may call the most original translation in our language, unless some of the late Mr. Fitzgerald's be reckoned such. He was not exact any more than Chapman. The molten material of his mind, too abundant for the capacity of the mould, overflowed it in gushes of fiery excess. But the main object of translation he accomplishes. Poetry is reproduced as poetry, and genius shows itself as genius, patent even in the march of the verse. As a poet, the impression he made upon his greater contemporaries will, I believe, be the ultimate verdict of criticism. They all thought of him what Scott said of him, 'No man has all the resources of poetry in such profusion. * * * His fancy and diction would long ago have placed him above all his contemporaries had they been under the direction of a sound judgment and a steady will.' No doubt we have in Coleridge the most striking example in literature of a great genius given in trust to a nerveless will and a fitful purpose. But I think the secret of his doing no more in poetry is to be found in the fact that the judgment, so far

from being absent, grew to be there in excess. His critical sense rose like a forbidding apparition in the path of his poetic production. I have heard of a military engineer who knew so well how a bridge should be built that he could never build one. It certainly was not wholly indolence that was to blame in Coleridge's case, for though he used to say early in life that he had no 'finger industry,' yet he left behind him a mass of correspondence, and his letters are generally long. But I do not care to discuss a question the answer to which must be left mainly to conjecture or to the instinct of individual temperament. It is enough for us here, that he has written some of the most poetical poetry in the language, and one poem, the *Ancient Mariner*, not only unparalleled, but unapproached in its kind, and that kind of the rarest. It is marvellous in its mastery over delightfully fortuitous inconsequence, that is the adamantine logic of dreamland. Coleridge has taken the old ballad measure and given to it, by an indefinable charm wholly his own, all the sweetness, all the melody and compass of a symphony. And how picturesque it is, in the proper sense of the word. I know nothing like it. There is not a description in it. It is all picture. Descriptive poets generally confuse us with multiplicity of detail. We cannot see their forests for the trees. Coleridge never errs in this way. With instinctive tact he touches the right chord of association, and is satisfied, as we also are. I should find it hard to explain the singular charm of his diction, there is so much nicety of art and purpose in it, whether for music or meaning. Nor does it need any explanation, for we all feel it. The words seem common words enough, but in the order of them, in the choice, variety, and position of the vowel sounds they become magical. The most decrepit vocable in the language throws away its crutches to dance and sing at his piping. I cannot think it a personal peculiarity, but a matter of universal experience, that more bits of Coleridge have imbedded themselves in my memory than of any other poet who delighted my youth—unless I should except the sonnets of Shakespeare. This argues perfectness of expression. Let me cite an example or two: —

"'The sun's rim dips, the stars rush out,
At one stride comes the dark;
With far-heard whisper o'er the sea
Off shot the spectre-bark.'

Or take this as a bit of landscape:—

"'Beneath yon birch with silver bark
And boughs so pendulous and fair,
The brook falls scattered down the rock,
And all is mossy there.'

It is a perfect little picture, and so easily done. But try to do something like it. Coleridge's words have the unashamed nakedness of Scripture, of the Eden of diction ere the voluble serpent had entered it. This felicity of speech in Coleridge's best verse is the more remarkable because it was an acquisition. His earlier poems are apt to be turgid, and in his prose there is too often a languor of profuseness, and there are pages where he seems to be talking to himself and not to us, as I have heard a guide do in the tortuous caverns of the Catacombs when he was doubtful if he had not lost his way. But when his genius runs freely and full in his prose, the style, as he said of Pascal, 'is a garment of light.' He knew all our best

prose, and knew the secret of its composition. When he is well inspired, as in his best poetry he commonly is, he gives us the very quintessence of perception, the clearly crystallised precipitation of all that is most precious in the ferment of impression after all the impertinent and obtrusive particulars have evaporated from the memory. It is the pure visual ecstasy disengaged from the confused and confusing material that gave it birth. It seems the very beatitude of artless simplicity, and is the most finished product of art. I know nothing so perfect in its kind since Dante. * * * Whatever may have been his faults and weaknesses, he was the man of all his generation to whom we should most unhesitatingly allow the distinction of genius, that is, of one authentically possessed from time to time by some influence that made him better and greater than himself. If he lost himself too much in what Mr. Pater has admirably called 'impassioned contemplation,' he has at least left such a legacy as only genius, and genius not always, can leave. It is for this, that we pay him this homage of memory. He himself has said that—

> "'It seems like stories from the land of spirits
> If any man obtain that which he merits,
> Or any merit, that which he attains.'

Both conditions are fulfilled to-day."

Lord Houghton said that "he remembered when a student at Cambridge going with Arthur Hallam to call on Coleridge, who received them as Goethe or as Socrates might have received them. In the course of conversation the poet asked them if they either of them intended to go to America. He said, 'Go to America if you have the opportunity. I am known there; you will hear of me there. I am a poor poet in England, but I am a great philosopher in America.' That was fifty years ago, when circumstances had brought about a community of what he might call identity between English and American literature and thought. He thought that that remark indicated even at that comparatively early period the metaphysical spirit which grew up and became dominant in the most practical of all nations, lifting their thoughts above material interests and enabling them at once to become the most practical and most thoughtful nation of the world."

Lord Coleridge said "he did not pretend to represent the family of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, but being by the accident of birth the nominal head of it, it became his duty to do that which some one must do, and which he did without in the smallest degree pretending to represent them, namely, to thank them, all of them who had come there to do honour to the memory of the dead. He wished very much that the munificent donor of the bust which they were about to unveil, could have been present there that day, because he was a member of that great Transatlantic public whose goodness and generosity to England and Englishmen, an Englishman had only to go over there to experience, and which would be remembered by one member of the family of Coleridge at least, to his dying day, with the pleasant recollection that American hearts and American homes were open to him all the more, because he belonged to the family of Samuel Taylor Coleridge. He had so slight a recollection of the poet that he could not pretend to speak authoritatively, but those who knew him thought that by far the best portrait of him was painted by an American artist, and by far the best edition of his best known philosophical work, *The Aids of Reflection*, was by an American gentleman, and it seemed therefore peculiarly appropriate that the chief part of the ceremony of that day should be taken by the Minister of the great Republic, a man eminent in himself, and equally eminent as a public man and

as a man of letters. The only sad thought connected with his career in this country was that it was about to come to an end so soon. * * * It was a great pleasure to him that this act of recognition of the right of Coleridge to be enshrined in that great cathedral was to be performed by the American Minister. It was not for him to attempt to cast the sum of his merits or to estimate the genius which he did not pretend to measure; for his part he was content humbly and at a distance to worship and to wonder. From Wordsworth, from Charles Lamb, from Hazlitt, from Lord Byron, from Sir Walter Scott, from Frederick Maurice, and from John Stuart Mill he had received no stinted eulogy, and from the eminent men to whom they had listened that day, and for his part into such a chorus he would deem it presumptuous to intrude his voice."

The bust was unveiled by Mr. Lowell. It stands in close proximity to the monuments to Campbell and Southey, and within a few feet of those to Shakespeare and Burns.

A letter dated 31st August, 1816, from "J. Gillman, Esq., Highgate," to a Mr. Boosey, bookseller, Broad Street, is extant, in which Coleridge says, in reference to a proposal that he should write an article for the *Quarterly*, "I have an exceeding reluctance to write in any review, entirely from motives of conscience, conducted as reviews are, at present."[1]

When composing, and the weather would allow, Coleridge's favourite locality was the garden. His amanuensis would sit at a small table on the lawn, and the poet would slowly walk round him, generally hatless, with his head bent low, and his hands behind him, wearing a beaten circle on the grass. His favourite walk was across the field path now Merton Lane, into Millfield Lane, where he escorted so many of his friends that it was called "Poet's Lane," and so into the Parliament Fields towards Hampstead. He often left the house hatless, and was frequently to be met surrounded by wondering children, to whom he was talking and distributing gingerbread. There is still an old resident in Highgate who states she frequently sat on his knee when a little child, and "repeated her poetry to him."[2]

"Old Know," Mr. Gillman's coachman, who lived in the cottage at the rear of the Literary Institution, in after life used to boast of the proud distinction of "having driven Mr. Colleridge about."

Coleridge is represented as destitute of humour, but Mr. Caine[3] tells a story which shows that when in health and vigour the quickness of his repartee and ready wit must have been remarkable.

"He was staying a few days with two friends at a farmhouse, when it was agreed to go to a horse-race in the neighbourhood. The farmer provided horses for the party, good ones for the poet's two friends, and for Coleridge, whose shortcomings as a horseman were known, a small,

[1] Morrison MSS.
[2] Mrs. Dutton, who lives in the old cottage by the side of the Congregational Church.
[3] *Life of Coleridge.*

bony, angular, slow, spiritless creature, in a dirty bridle and with rusty stirrups. The three mounted and set off. Coleridge was soon left far behind. He was dressed that day in a black coat, with black breeches, black silk stockings, and shoes. In this suit of woe, he and his cuddy, nicknamed a horse, went jogging along until they were met by a long-nosed gentleman in a sporting costume. The sportsman's nose quivered, and he stopped. 'Pray, sir,' he said, with a mighty knowing twinkle, 'did you meet a tailor along the road?' 'A tailor?' 'Yes, a tailor; do you see, sir, he rode just such a horse as you ride, and for all the world was just like you!' 'Oh, oh!' said Coleridge, 'I *did* meet a person answering such a description, who told me he had dropped his goose, that if I rode a little further I should find it; and I guess by the arch fellow's looks he must have meant you!' 'Caught a Tartar!' said the long-nosed sportsman, and he rode off smartly. So Coleridge jogged on again, like Parson Adams on a donkey, until he came to the racecourse, and there he drew up by a barouche and four, containing a baronet (a Member of Parliament), several smart ladies, and sundry gorgeous flunkeys. 'A pretty piece of blood, sir, you have there,' said the baronet, with a curl of the upper lip. 'Yes,' said Coleridge. 'Rare paces, I have no doubt?' 'Yes, he brought me here a matter of four miles an hour.' 'Will you sell him?' 'Yes.' 'Name your price, rider and all.' The ladies began to titter. 'My price for the horse, sir, is one hundred guineas. As to the rider, never having been in Parliament *his price is not yet fixed.*' The shot told, the baronet had had enough!"

Before taking leave of Coleridge, there is an incident connected with a visit paid to him by Charles Lamb which so essentially belongs to Highgate that, although the joke is somewhat "time-honoured," it ought to find a place here.

Lamb had been to supper with Coleridge, and on reaching the stage coach, which ran from the Fox and Crown to Holborn (fares, 1*s* 6*d.* outside, 2*s.* in), one very wet night, fortunately found one vacant seat inside, and whilst congratulating himself on his good fortune a lady opened the door and anxiously asked, "Any room inside?" "No, madam," said Lamb, "quite full;" adding with a kind of blissful remembrance, "it was the last bit of pudd*en* at Mr. Gillman's that did it, but I can't speak for the other passengers."

We are glad to know that there is an original portrait in oils of Coleridge in the parish of Hornsey. It was painted by a local artist, and was for many years in the possession of the late Dr. Moger of Highgate, from whose representatives it was purchased by the present owner, Mr. Ambrose Heal, of Crouch End.

The testimony of the now very few residents of Highgate who

remember Coleridge is, that the enlarged sketch after D. Maclise, hung in the reading-room of the Literary Institution, is a very happy remembrance of him in his later years.

The portrait facing the title-page of this work is etched by Lowenstam, by kind permission of the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, from a photograph of a drawing made by G. Dawe, R.A., 1812. It has never been before published, and Lord Coleridge, referring to it, remarks, "It is said to be very like."

The following bibliography, extracted from the Catalogue of the British Museum, is supposed to include all the editions of the works of Coleridge, besides which there are upwards of sixty books in the National Library which contain MSS. notes by him.

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[One of "Bell and Daldy's Pocket Volumes."]

The Poems of S. T. C. Edited by Derwent and Sara Coleridge. With an appendix. A new edition. (*London*, 1863. 8vo.)

The Poetical Works of S. T. C. Edited, with a critical memoir, by W. M. Rossetti. Illustrated by T. Seccombe. (*London, Edinburgh* [printed, 1872]. 8vo.)

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The Poetical Works of Coleridge and Keats: with a memoir of each. 2 vols. (*New York, Cambridge* [*Mass.* printed], 1878. 8vo.)

[Part of a series of "British Poets. Riverside edition."]

The Poetical Works of S. T. C. Edited, with an introductory memoir, by W. B. Scott. pp. xxviii, 420. (*Routledge & Sons: London*, [1880.] 8vo.)

[Part of the "Excelsior Series."]

The Poetical Works of S. T. C. Edited, with a critical memoir, by W. M. Rossetti, *etc.* pp. xxxii, 424. [1880.] *See* MOXON (E.) Moxon's Popular Poets. [1879, *etc.*] 8vo.

The Poetical Works of S. T. C. With life, *etc.* pp. xxii, 554. (*Gall & Inglis: Edinburgh, London*, [1881.] 8vo.)

[Part of "The Landscape Series of Poets."]

The Poems of S. T. C. With a prefatory notice . . . by J. Skipsey. pp. 294. (*Walter Scott: London; Newcastle-on-Tyne* printed, 1884. 16mo.)

[One of a series entitled "The Canterbury Poets."]

The Poetical Works of S. T. C. Edited, with introduction and notes, by T. Ashe. 2 vols. 1885. *See* ALDINE EDITION OF THE BRITISH POETS. The Aldine Edition, *etc.* (1857, *etc.* 8vo.)

Poems on various subjects. (*London*, 1796. 12mo.)

Second edition. To which are now added Poems by C. Lamb, and C. Lloyd. (*Bristol*, 1797. 12mo.)

Poems. (*London*, [1800 ?] 8vo.)

Third edition. (*London*, 1803. 12mo.)

Lyrical Ballads, *etc.* [By Coleridge, Wordsworth, and others.] *See* BALLADS. Lyrical Ballads, *etc.* (1798. 8vo.)

Select Poetical Works, *etc.* (*London*, 1852. 12mo.)

Christabel, and the lyrical and imaginative Poems of S. T. C. Arranged and introduced by A. C. Swinburne. (*London*, 1869. 16mo.)

[Part of "The Bayard Series."]

Favourite Poems. (*Boston, Cambridge* [*Mass.* printed], 1877. 16mo.)

Fears in Solitude, written in 1798, during the alarm of an invasion. To which are added, France, an ode; and Frost at Midnight. (*London*, 1798. 4to.)

The Ancient Mariner; the Foster-Mother's Tale; the Nightingale; the Dungeon; and Love. *See* WORDSWORTH (W.) *Poet Laureate.* Lyrical Ballads, *etc.* (1800. 8vo.)

The Foster-Mother's Tale.—The Nightingale.—Love.—The Ancient Mariner. *See* WORDSWORTH (W.), *Poet Laureate.* Lyrical Ballads, *etc.* (1802. 8vo.)

Christabel; Kubla Khan, a vision; The Pains of Sleep. (*London*, 1816. 8vo.)

Second edition. Christabel, *etc.* (Kubla Khan; or, A Vision in a Dream. The Pains of Sleep.) [With notes.] (*London*, 1816. 8vo.)

Ode on the departing year. (*Bristol*, 1796. 4to.)

The Raven, a Christmas Tale . . . Illustrated in eight plates. By an old Traveller. (*London*, [1848?] *obl.* 4to.)

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner . . . Illustrated by twenty-five poetic and dramatic scenes, designed and etched by D. Scott. (*Edinburgh*, 1837. fol.)

The Ancient Mariner, and other Poems. (*London*, 1844. 16mo.)

[Part of "Clarke's Cabinet Series."]

The Ancient Mariner. *See* BOOK. The Book of celebrated Poems, *etc.* (1854. 8vo.)

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner . . . Illustrated [by E. H. Wehnert, B. Foster, and others]. (*London*, 1857. 8vo.)

Coleridge's Ancient Mariner, and other poems. (*London*, 1872. 8vo.)

[Part of "Chambers's English Classics," etc.]

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner . . . Illustrated. (*London*, [1875.] 8vo.)

[Part of "The Choice Series."]

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner, and other Poems . . . With introduction and notes. 1875. *See* COLLINS (W.) *Publisher, of Glasgow.* Collins' School Classics. (1873, *etc.* 8vo.)

[Another edition.] Illustrated by Doré. (*London*, 1876. fol.)

[Another edition.] Illustrated. (*Cambridge* [*Mass.* printed], 1876. *Boston*, 24mo.)

Part of the "Vest-Pocket Series of Standard and Popular Authors."]

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner. pp. 46. 1878. *See* STEVENS (E. T.) and MORRIS (D.), *B.A.* Annotated Poems of English Authors. (1876, *etc.* 16mo.)

The Rime of the Ancient Mariner . . . with prefatory and explanatory notes. 1879. *See* BLACKIE (W. G.) and SON. Blackie's School Classics. (1879, *etc.* 16mo.)

Le Vieux Marin [translated into French prose]. *See* MICHIELS (J. A. X.) Contes de Montagnes. (1858. 12mo.)

Der alte Matrose von F. Freiligrath. Nach dem Englischen von Coleridge. Illustrirt von G. Doré. (*Leipzig*, 1877. fol.)

See RHYME. The Rime of the new-made Baccalere. [A parody of the "Ancient Mariner" of S. T. C.] (1841. 8vo.)

Sibylline Leaves. A collection of Poems. (The whole of the author's poetical compositions from 1793 to the present date.) (*London*, 1817. 8vo.)

The Devil's Walk: a poem by S. T. Coleridge and R. Southey [or rather by Southey, with a few stanzas added by Coleridge]. . . . Edited with a biographical memoir (of Professor Porson) and notes by H. W. Montagu . . . Second edition. *See* FACETIÆ. Facetiæ, *etc.* vol. 2. (1831. 12mo.)

See SOUTHEY (R.) and COLERIDGE (S. T.) Ten Etchings illustrative of the Devil's Walk [a poem by R. Southey and S. T. C.]. (1831. fol.)

DRAMATIC WORKS.

The Dramatic Works of S. T. C. edited by Derwent Coleridge. A new edition. (*London*, 1852. 8vo.)

The Fall of Robespierre. An historic drama [in three acts and in verse. The first act by S. T. C., the second and third by R. Southey]. (*Cambridge*, 1794. 8vo.)

Osorio, a tragedy as originally written in 1797 . . . now first printed from a copy recently discovered . . . with the variorum readings of "Remorse," and a monograph on the history of the play in its earlier and later form by the author of "Tennysoniana" [R. H. S., i.e. R. H. Shepherd.]. L. P. (*London*, 1873. 8vo.)

Remorse; a tragedy in five acts [and in verse]. (*London*, 1813. 8vo.)

Second edition. (*London*, 1813. 8vo.)

Third edition. (*London*, 1813. 8vo.)

Zapolya: A Christmas Tale, in two parts: The prelude entitled "The Usurper's Fortune"; and the sequel entitled "The Usurper's Fate." (*London*, 1817. 8vo.)

LETTERS.

Letters, Conversations, and Recollections of S. T. C. [Edited by T. Allsop.] 2 vols. (*London*, 1836. 12mo.)

Second edition. [With a preface by R. A., i.e. Robert Allsop?] (*London*, 1858. 8vo.)

Third edition. pp. 251. (*London*, 1864. 8vo.)

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS.

Aids to Reflection in the Formation of a Manly Character on the several grounds of Prudence, Morality, and Religion: illustrated by select passages from our elder divines, especially from Archbishop Leighton. (*London*, 1825. 8vo.)

[Another edition.] (*London*, 1836. 8vo.)

[Another edition.] With a preliminary essay by J. Marsh. From the fourth London edition, with the author's last corrections, edited by H. N. Coleridge. (*Burlington* [*U.S.*], 1840. 8vo.)

(Fifth edition, enlarged.) Edited by H. N. Coleridge. 2 vols. (*London*, 1843. 8vo.)

(Sixth edition, enlarged.) 2 vols. (*London*, 1848. 16mo.)

Seventh edition (with several notes by the author). Edited by D. Coleridge. (*London*, 1854. 8vo.)

New edition revised. With . . . index . . . and translations of the Greek and Latin quotations by T. Fenby. (*Liverpool*, 1873. 8vo.)

Biographia Literaria or Biographical sketches of my literary life and opinions. By S. T. C. 2 vols. (*London*, 1817. 8vo.)

Second edition, prepared in part by H. N. Coleridge, completed by his widow (Sara Coleridge). 2 vols. (*London*, 1847. 16mo.)

New edition. From the second London edition, *etc.* 2 vols. (*New York*, 1848. 12mo.)

"Blessed are ye that Sow beside all waters." A lay sermon, addressed to the higher and middle classes, on the existing distresses and discontents. (*London*, 1817. 8vo.)

Conciones ad Populum Or Addresses to the People. ([*Bristol*?] 1795. 8vo.)

Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. By S. T. Coleridge. Edited from the author's MS. by H. N. Coleridge. (*London*, 1840. 8vo.)

[Another edition.] Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, and some miscellaneous pieces. Edited from the author's MS. by H. N. Coleridge. [With an introduction by J. H. Green.] (*London*, 1849. 16mo.)

Coleridge on the Seripture. [An essay on the argument of Coleridge's "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit," reprinted from the Benares Magazine . . . 1851.] (*Calcutta*, 1851. 8vo.)

See BIRKS (T. R.) The Victory of the Divine Goodness; . . . including . . . notes on Coleridge's Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit, *etc.* (1867. 8vo.)

The Friend; a series of essays. pp. 448. (*Gale & Curtiss: London; Penrith* [printed], 1812. 8vo.)

[This work was published in 27 nos. from June 1, 1809, to March 15, 1810, and originally entitled "The Friend; a literary, moral, and political weekly paper." It was entirely written by Coleridge.]

(New edition.) 3 vols. (*London*, 1818. 8vo.)

Third edition, with the author's last corrections, and an appendix, *etc.* Edited by H. N. Coleridge, 3 vols. (*London*, 1837. 12mo.)

(New edition.) Revised by D. Coleridge. 2 vols. (*London*, 1863. 8vo.)

[Another edition.] 1866. *See* BOHN (H. G.) Bohn's Standard Library. (1846, *etc.* 8vo.)

Essays on his Own Times; forming a second series of "The Friend." By S. T. C. Edited by his daughter (Sara Coleridge.) 3 vols. (*London*, 1850. 8vo.)

General Introduetion to the Encyclopædia Metropolitana, or, A preliminary treatise on Method. Third edition. *See* SMEDLEY (E.) Encyelopædia Metropolitana, *etc.* (1848, *etc.* 8vo.)

Hints towards the formation of a more comprehensive theory of Life. Edited by S. B. Watson. (*London*, 1848. 12mo.)

Lay Sermons . . . edited, with the author's last corrections and notes, by D. Coleridge. Third edition. (*London*, 1852. 8vo.)

Lectures and notes on Shakespeare and other English Poets. . . . Now first eollceted, by T. Ashe. pp. xi, 552. 1883. *See* BOHN (H. G.) Bohn's Standard Library. (1846, *etc.* 8vo.)

A Moral and Political Lecture [on the principles of freedom] delivered at Bristol. (*Bristol*, [1795]. 8vo.)

Notes and Lectures upon Shakespeare and some of the old Poets and Dramatists; with other Literary Remains. Edited by Mrs. H. N. Coleridge. 2 vols. (*London*, 1849. 16mo.)

Notes on English Divines . . . Edited by the Rev. D. Coleridge. 2 vols. (*London*, 1853. 8vo.)

Notes on Stillingfleet [written in a copy of his "Origines Sacræ"], by S. T. C. Edited by R. Garnett. Reprinted from the Athenæum. pp. 18. (*Printed for private circulation: Glasgow*, 1875 8vo.)

Notes, Theological, Political, and Miscellaneous. Edited by Derwent Coleridge. (*London*, 1853. 8vo.)

Omniana; or Horae Otiosiores. [By R. Southey and S. T. C.] *See* OMNIANA. Omniana, *etc.* (1812. 12mo.)

On the Constitution of the Church and State, according to the idea of each: with aids towards a right judgment on the late Catholic Bill. (*London*, 1830. 8vo.)

Fourth edition. Edited . . . with notes by H. N. Coleridge. (*London*, 1852. 8vo.)

The Plot discovered; or, an address to the People against ministerial treason. FEW MS. NOTES. (*Bristol*, 1795. 8vo.)

The Relation of Philosophy to Theology, and of Theology to Religion. Reprinted from the Eclectic Review . . . Revised and enlarged. (*London*, 1851. 16mo.)

[The head-title reads: "S. T. Coleridge, his philosophy and theology."]

Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton. . . . A List of all the MS. emendations in Mr. Collier's folio, 1632; and an introductory preface by J. P. Collier. (*London*, 1856. 8vo.)

Specimens of the Table Talk of . . . S. T. C. Edited by H. N. C., i.e. Henry Nelson Coleridge. 2 vols. (*London*, 1835. 12mo.)

Third edition. (*London*, 1851. 8vo.)

[Another edition.] (*London*, [1874.] (8vo.)

[Part of "Routledge's Standard Series."]

The Table Talk [reprinted from the second edition of H. N. Coleridge's "Specimens"] and Omniana of S. T. C. With additional Table Talk from Allsop's "Recollections," and manuscript matter not before printed. Arranged and edited by T. Ashe. pp. xix, 446. 1884. *See* BOHN (H. G.) Bohn's Standard Library. (1846, *etc.* 8vo.)

The Statesman's Manual; or, The Bible the Best Guide to Political Skill and Foresight; a lay Sermon [on Psalm lxxviii. 5-7]. With an appendix, containing comments and essays connected with the study of the inspired writings. (*London*, 1816. 8vo.)

No. 5, The Grove, has been until recently the residence of the Right Honourable Lord Justice Fry. The Lord Justice had during his long residence in Highgate taken a warm interest in matters affecting the welfare of the neighbourhood, especially in the Literary and Scientific Institution, of which he was President for several years. During the last three years of his tenure of office as President, the plans for enlarging the premises of the Institution were considered, commenced, and completed. Among the many important services he at all times cheerfully rendered to the Institution will especially be remembered his delightful lectures, delivered during several winter seasons, and always welcome to our Highgate audiences. The departure of his Lordship with his family from Highgate can only be regarded as a loss to the whole community.

The Right Honourable Lord Justice Fry, made K.B. 1877, P.C. 1883, passed B.A. (Honours in Classics and Animal Physiology) London University, 1851; is Fellow and the Vice-President of University College, London, Barrister Lincoln's Inn 1854, Q.C. 1869: formerly

Examiner in Law to University of London, and to the Council of Legal Education; and became a Judge of the High Court of Justice (Chancery Division) 1877-83. He has since been made a Lord Justice of Appeal.

No. 7, The Grove, is the residence of Mr. ROBERT J. LODGE, the Hon. Treasurer of the Literary Institution, and President for the current year of the Chrysanthemum Society. Mr. Lodge is a great authority on matters of marine insurance, and it was under his auspices that the large recovery of bullion was made from the wreck of *The Royal Charter*.

The house in The Grove at the south corner of Fitzroy Park was the residence of the late MR. NETTLEFOLD (and his father before him), brother-in-law of the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain of Birmingham. Mr. Nettlefold died in the prime of life, to the very deep regret of his neighbours, by whom he was much esteemed.

It is now occupied by MR. WALTER REYNOLDS, one of the Trustees of the Literary Institution, late President both of the Horticultural and Chrysanthemum Societies, and the present Chairman of the Hornsey School Board.

In an old plan issued by Blake, probably with some of the copies of his *Silver Drops*, but without date, there are the elevations of three houses roughly sketched, viz., "Dorchester House," "The Master's House," and "The School House, situate on a pleasant grass plat." This School House, with its terraces and grounds, was a place of very considerable pretension, and stood on the site of the drive from The Grove into Hampstead Lane, covering the ground both to the right and left. This house was afterwards known as "Grove House;" it was in existence in 1782, and was taken down by Lord Southampton when he erected Fitzroy House just below it. The range of stabling, which was very extensive, surmounted by a clock turret, was left, and was used in connection with Fitzroy House, and not removed till 1828.

The smaller house on the west side of Dorchester House, with which it seems in the plate to be connected by a corridor,—evidently dwarfed on the plan, for effect, or *some other* purpose,[1]—might have been a jointure house, so frequent an adjunct of the old family mansion, which, when not required, was the residence of the chaplain or the steward; and it is a suggestion of considerable interest whether the old house occupied by MR. ALAN BLOCK is not this very house; it bears distinct evidence of very considerable enlargement and alteration; but the plan of the

[1] As the residence of the housekeeper, it was desirable that it should be of *very modest* appearance.

original elevation is still to be discerned. It is hardly likely that a house of its pretension would be originally erected immediately in the rear of a row of houses, at a time when the country was so open and land so cheap. Prickett thinks the house *was* in existence in Blake's time; the older portion of the house, the stableyard, and the old brick wall facing the garden, show evidence of very considerable antiquity.

It is true that "eight messuages" were entered upon the court rolls of the manor in 1685, viz., the six houses in The Grove, and doubtless the two almost adjoining on the top of West Hill, viz., MR. FAYRER'S and MR. BLOCK'S; but it by no means follows they were all newly-erected houses, the suggestion being that Mr. Block's house becoming detached from the Dorchester House property when it was built over, became a separate messuage, and thus required "re-entry" in the manorial books.

The southern side of Hampstead Lane, from The Grove to Hampstead Heath, was the boundary line of two of the most considerable residential properties of the neighbourhood, viz., Fitzroy Park and Caen Wood. The first of these fine properties belonged to Lord Southampton. Howitt states[1] that in 1837 the *Morning Chronicle* published the following statement:—

"In the year 1768 the Duke of Grafton was Prime Minister. His brother, Mr. Fitzroy, was lessee of the manor and lordship of Tattenhall, the property of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, London. Dr. Richard Brown,[2] the then prebendary of the stall of Tattenhall, having pocketed the emolument attending the renewal of the lease, and there being little chance of any further advantages to him from the estate, readily listened to the proposal of Mr. Fitzroy for the purchase of the estate. The thing was agreed, and the Duke of Grafton, with his great standing majority, quickly passed an Act through Parliament, in March 1768, diverting the estate, with all its rights, privileges, and emoluments, from the prebend, and conveyed the fee-simple entire, and without reserve, to Mr. Charles Fitzroy and his heirs for ever. The Act states it to be with the consent of Richard Lord Bishop of London, and the privity of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

"Now what was, and where lay this estate, so readily detached from the Church? It commences at St. Giles's parish, extends some distance on the north side of Oxford Street, and in other directions embraces a large part of St. Pancras parish, Camden Town, and up to Highgate, including copses, woods, and grounds lying beside Highgate of great extent,

[1] *Northern Heights.*

[2] Dr. Richard Brown was admitted to the prebendal stall of Willesden in St. Paul's Cathedral on 3rd October, 1752, and removed to that of Totenhall 18th October, 1754. He ceased to hold the latter stall before 11th April, 1780, in which year his successor was appointed.

and from its situation equal in value to any land round the metropolis. Very considerable buildings were at that time erected upon it; the ground was in great request for building on, and could thus be disposed of in leases at a considerable rate per foot. Mr. Fitzroy immediately settled £400 a year on Mrs. Fitzroy, secured on only twenty-three acres of this land, the estate consisting of some thousands of acres. Anyone knowing the extent and situation of the property knows that a vast town of more than three miles in length exists upon it, and must be aware of the astounding value of it at present.

"The full equivalent and compensation given to the Church for this princely estate was a rent charge on it of £300 per annum, which, minus £46 of it receivable under the lease, makes the amount given for the fee-simple £254 per annum! The estate being thus secured, on the strength of it Mr. Fitzroy was raised to the peerage in 1780, by the title of Lord Southampton, by which the estate is now known. Tattenhall is kept out of view, and this Church plunder is probably all the title possesses." The writer added that "at that time, on a moderate calculation, the Southampton family had received a million and a half sterling from the estate, the full equivalent paid being then only £17,784!"

This statement seems rather a wild one; the whole manor, according to the parliamentary survey of 1649, was but 240 acres; and to make them extend from St. Giles's to Highgate is worthy of the illustrious Munchausen. The Highgate property was not in the manor of Tattenhall, but in that of Cantlowes. The account given by Lysons is that the lease of the manor was inherited by Mr. Fitzroy, who purchased the feesimple, subject to an annual payment of £300, instead of £46, the former reserved rent to the prebendary; and considering the importance of the estate this sum seems ridiculously small, but bishops, deans, and chapters do not usually act in the dark, and have shown themselves generally to be pretty well advised as to the value of their temporalities. There might have been some other consideration, which does not appear.

By the record of *Domesday*—

"The manor of Totehele, or Tattenhall, contains five hides, and is thus described. The land is of four carucates, but only seven parts in eight are cultivated. There are four villans and four bordars, wood for one hundred and fifty hogs, and 40*s.* arising from the herbage. In the whole valued at £4, in King Edward's time at £5."

This manor was formerly kept by the prebendary of Totenhall in his own hands. In 1343 John de Carleton held a court baron as lessee, and the prebendary the same year held a view of frank-pledge.[1] In the year 1560, the manor of Totenhall was demised to Queen Elizabeth for ninety-nine years, in the name of Sir Robert Dudley.[2] In the year 1639, twenty

[1] Court Rolls at St. Paul's. [2] Parliamentary Surveys.

years before the expiration of Queen Elizabeth's term, a lease was granted to Charles I., in the name of Sir Harry Vane, for three lives.[1] In 1649 this manor, being seized as a Crown land, was sold to Ralph Harrison, Esq., of London (? Highgate), for the sum of £3,318 3*s.* 11*d.*[2] At the Restoration it reverted to the Crown ; and in the year 1661, two of the lives in King Charles's lease being surviving, it was granted by Charles II. in payment of a debt to Sir Henry Wood for the term of forty-one years, if the said survivors should live so long.[3] The lease afterwards became the property of Isabella Countess of Arlington, from whom it was inherited by her son Charles Duke of Grafton. In the year 1768, the lease being then vested in the Hon. Charles Fitzroy (afterwards Lord Southampton), younger brother of the Duke of Grafton, an Act of Parliament was passed, by which the fee-simple of the manor vests in Lord Southampton and his heirs, subject to the payment of £300 per annum to the prebendary of Totenhall, in lieu of the *ancient reserved rent* of £46, and all fines for renewals.

Fitzroy House, the seat of Lord Southampton, was a handsome square red-brick building containing some very fine suites of rooms, and was erected about 1780 on the site of an older house, called "Sherrick's Hole Farm." The spot is nearly identical with that now occupied by "Beechwood," the residence of Mr. William Piper.

The house contained some fine portraits, amongst others those of Henry the first Duke of Grafton, George Earl of Euston, and Charles Duke of Grafton.

The grounds were extensive, and were of a most delightfully undulating character, studded with beautiful timber.[4] They extended from the lower corner of Millfield Lane up the West Hill, to the back of the Grove, round Hampstead Lane, to where Millfield Lane enters Hampstead Lane, the footpath determining the old boundary, the property returning down the lane to the corner first mentioned. The Earl of Buckinghamshire resided in the house in 1811,[5] the last tenant being Mr. Robarts the banker, during whose occupancy Lord Byron, Samuel Rogers, Keats, and Coleridge were his guests.

The house was pulled down in 1828, the property divided into lots, and sold by public auction on the 10th August, 1840,—a result largely benefiting Highgate, as several beautiful residential properties have been developed on its site.

As the houses erected on the West Hill frontage have already been

[1] Parliamentary Surveys St. Paul's. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] Pat. 13 Car. II., pt. 14, No. 7.
[4] They were laid out by "Capability" Brown, the well-known landscape gardener.
[5] A descendant of Sir H. Hobart, of Lauderdale House.

mentioned, we shall proceed by the picturesque road called Fitzroy Park, a road noted for the peculiar beauty of its surroundings and the variety and magnificence of the woodland scenery. This was the old carriage road to Fitzroy House.

On the right hand, as you enter from the lower end, the road skirts the grounds of Merton Lodge, situate on the higher ground of Merton Lane, now in the occupation of Mr. John Glover, J.P. On the right, at almost an angle of the road, is SOUTHAMPTON LODGE, in the occupation of COLONEL WILKINSON, in whose grounds are some of the most beautiful portions of the old park, and a terrace famed for its delightful and far-extending views of sylvan scenery.

Colonel Wilkinson has taken a very continuous and practical interest in matters pertaining to the welfare of Highgate. He has been associated with the volunteer movement since its commencement in 1859, having been the first officer *elected*[1] by the Highgate corps, and has discharged successively the duties of Captain, Major, and Lieutenant-Colonel; on his resignation of the last-mentioned office in 1875 he was appointed to the distinguished position of Honorary Colonel of the 3rd Middlesex Rifle Volunteers.

He has been associated with the Literary Institution some thirty years, having been its President in 1868-9, and its Treasurer for some six years subsequently; and at the unanimous request of the managers he has consented to fill the office of President for its jubilee year 1888. His sympathies with such institutions have extended over very many years, he having been presented with a service of plate by the members of the Islington Literary and Scientific Institution, on his resignation of his office of Honorary Secretary in 1840.

Colonel Wilkinson has also been associated with the Horticultural Society from its commencement in 1860, and has filled the office of its President on *five* annual occasions. He was also Honorary Secretary of the National Schools after their re-erection, and did much to put them on a permanent and successful basis.

The next house is "HILLSIDE," a charming bit of colour nestling amongst the trees, and when a little of its brightness has been mellowed by time it will be worth a long walk to see.

The present house stands on the site of an older and smaller house of the same name, well known to the older inhabitants of Highgate as the residence of the benevolent DR. SOUTHWOOD SMITH. The house and its inhabitants are thus alluded to by Mary Howitt:—

"We had also become acquainted with Hans Christian Andersen, of whose glowing *Improvisatore*, his *O. T.*, and *Only a Fiddler*, together with some of his inimitable fairy tales, I was the English translator.

[1] Evans, *The Records of the 3rd Middlesex R.V.*

Unfortunately, the over-sensitive and egotistical nature of this great Danish author much marred our intercourse.

"I may give, as an example, an incident that occurred during his stay in England in the summer of 1847. We had taken him, as a pleasant rural experience, to the annual haymaking at Hillside, Highgate, thus introducing him to an English home full of poetry and art, of sincerity and affection. The ladies of Hillside, the Misses Mary and Margaret Gillies[1]—the one an embodiment of peace, and an admirable writer, but whose talent, like the violet, kept in the shade; the other the warm-hearted painter—made him cordially welcome; so, too, our kind and benevolent host, Dr. Southwood Smith, surrounded at this merry-making by his five sweet and clever little granddaughters, Gertrude and Octavia Hill and their sisters. The guests likewise, a number of cheerful, intellectual people, prepared to ride, with flags in their hands, on the last load of hay, in the gaily decorated waggon, or join in whatever else the pastime might be, were equally anxious to do honour to Andersen.

"Immediately after our arrival the assembled children, loving his delightful fairy tales, clustered round him in the hayfield, and watched him make them a pretty device of flowers; then, feeling the stiff and silent foreigner somehow not kindred to themselves, stole off to an American, Henry Clarke Wright, whose admirable little book, *A Kiss for a Blow*, some of them knew, and who, without any suggestion of condescension or of difference of age, entered heart and soul into their glee, laughed, shouted, and played with them, thus unconsciously evincing the gift which had made him earlier the exclusive pastor of six hundred children in Boston. Soon poor Andersen, perceiving himself forsaken, complained of headache, and insisted on going indoors, where Mary Gillies and I, both most anxious to efface any disagreeable impression, accompained him; but he remained irritable and out of sorts.

"Hillside, with its inmates, was endeared to each member of my family by many pleasant ties, and I do not think one feature of the life

[1] The death of Margaret Gillies occurred so recently as July 1887, at the ripe age of eighty-four. She was truly a link with the past, for in her early years she had met in Edinburgh society Sir Walter Scott, Lord Erskine, and Lord Jeffrey! As a miniature painter she was remarkable not only for her talents, but for the fact that she was one of the pioneers amongst English lady artists. Indeed, it is not too much to say that it is owing in a considerable degree to her example and exertions that the path of Art has been made easy for all the sister-women who have come after her. She painted Wordsworth, Dickens, and Mrs. Marsh, the novelist; and for many years exhibited regularly at the Royal Academy a goodly number of portraits. She studied oil-painting for a short time in Paris under the brothers Henry and Ary Scheffer, and painted a few works in oil. But water-colour was the medium in which she was destined to acquire most fame. She joined the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours in 1852 or 1853, and since that time had been a regular and valuable contributor to the Society's exhibitions. Amongst her best-known pictures are "Past and Future," "The Wounded Page," and "Una and the Red Cross Knight," etc., etc.

and place, even to the single daffodils in the park-like field, which did not get double and spoil themselves like others of their tribe, has faded from my memory. It was our chief haunt at our favourite Highgate, where, and to Hampstead, with its old mansions stuck here and there amidst groups of noble trees and its wild heath, we were never tired of going during our residence in Avenue Road. Even then the builders were steadily invading these rural precincts. It was quite heart-breaking to witness the demolition of grand old trees and the absorption of green fields. * * *

"Parliament Hill and the adjacent Highgate fields were and are still untouched, and rise before me like a beautiful picture of a verdant spot such as a poet must love with his whole heart; the very place to convey van-loads of little children from the slums of London, set them down in the grass, and see their joy and wonder as, for the first time in their lives perhaps, they lift their faces into the pure air of heaven, and are bathed in the sunshine of God. Surely the praiseworthy movement now afloat to preserve this grand open space from being covered over with houses, and thus irretrievably lost as a health resort to our overgrown metropolis, will be crowned with success.

"Dear to me is the spacious field, entered from the west through brickfields above the Vale of Health, and skirting Lord Mansfield's demesne of Caen Wood, especially for the sake of its old mound or barrow surmounted by ancient, scathed Scotch firs. How often have we sat there on the dry turf! Behind lay sombre London in its smoky atmosphere; to the left the wooded heights of Hampstead and its heath, over which the sun sets splendidly; before us the dense foliage of Caen Wood, and to the right, seen beyond green slopes and the chain of five ponds with their fresh, flowing water, the villas and plantations of Highgate hill, surmounted by the church."[1]

It is pleasant to think that the "daffodils" are still there, and that one of the "clever little granddaughters" is the mistress of the newer Hillside, having married Mr. Charles Lee Lewes, an honoured name both on its own account and its eminent literary associations.

"Thomas Southwood Smith, author and physician, was born about 1790. He first attracted attention by a work entitled *The Divine Government*, written in 1814. Of this Wordsworth in a letter says: 'The view Dr. Smith takes is so consonant with the ideas we entertain of Divine goodness, that were it not for some Scriptural difficulties I should give this book my unqualified approbation.' The argument is, that it seems probable, judging by analogy, that pain is a correcting process, whether physical, mental, or spiritual, and that the whole human race will be finally saved.

[1] *Reminiscences of My Later Life.*

"He employed his leisure in the composition of *A Treatise on Fever*, which at once took its position as a standard medical work. He assisted in the promotion of the *Westminster Review*, and wrote the article on *Bentham's System of Education* in the first number. To this review he became a regular contributor, and it was his papers on the anatomical schools which brought the abuses of the old system of surgery so prominently before the public. He reprinted the main part of these articles under the title of *The Use of the Dead to the Living;* and his argument, it is well known, prepared the way for the passing of the law which extinguished the horrible traffic of the resurrection-men. His next scientific labours were some articles on physiology and medicine for the *Cyclopædia*, and soon after he finished his celebrated treatise on *Animal Physiology* for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. The success of this work suggested the idea of treating the subject in a still more comprehensive manner, and hence, in 1834, his *Physiology of Health*. Dr. Smith had long been the disciple and physician of Jeremy Bentham, and attended him in his last illness. A characteristic anecdote is related of the expiring philanthropist. During his last illness he asked his medical attendant to tell him candidly if there was any prospect of recovery. On being informed that nature was too exhausted to allow of such a hope, he said, with his usual serenity, 'Very well, be it so; then minimise pain.'

"In 1837 Dr. Smith was appointed by the Government to enquire into the state of the poor, with a view to see how far disease and misery were produced by unhealthy dwellings and habits. His enquiries led to the passing of the Acts for procuring improved drainage, and ultimately to the establishment of the Public Board of Health, of which he became a leading member. Thus Dr. Southwood Smith was the father of all those great sanitary reforms which have now assumed national proportions, and which in London exhibit their effects in the gigantic scheme of metropolitan drainage, and pursue their active enquiries into all causes of destruction of health and social decency into the remotest and most obscure corners of the United Kingdom.

"Dr. Southwood Smith died at Florence on the 10th December, 1861, a hale old man, and was buried in the beautiful Protestant cemetery there; a handsome marble obelisk has been erected to his memory by his family and friends, with a medallion profile, executed by Mr. Hart, the sculptor, of Florence."[1]

The preparatory bust of the artist will be found in the entrance hall of the Literary Institution, presented by Miss Margaret Gillies.

Besides a cottage in a dell, called "The Limes," but popularly known

[1] *Men of the Time.*

as "HONEYMOON VILLA," part of the property of Mr. Alan Block of Parkfield, there are no more houses on the right side of the Park, the ground belonging to the houses in The Grove above.

The first house on the left, after passing the park entrance to Caen Wood Towers, is Elm Lodge, occupied by MR. OTTO GÖSSELL, previously by MR. S. POPE, Q.C.; it was built by MR. GEORGE BASEVI, F.S.A., an architect of very considerable note.

Mr. Basevi was educated by Dr. Burney, and was a pupil of Sir John Soane. Amongst numerous other works he furnished the designs for Belgrave Square, the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, and the Highgate Grammar School.

In 1845, whilst superintending the restorations of Ely Cathedral, he was examining the roof with Dean Peacock, when he missed his footing and was killed by the fall.

A curious memorial brass covers his remains in the Cathedral, of which a reduced copy hangs in the Literary Institution.

The next and last house in the Park is BEECHWOOD, in the occupation of MR. WILLIAM PIPER; it was built by MR. NATHANIEL BASEVI (brother of George Basevi), barrister-at-law, whose sister was the mother of the late LORD BEACONSFIELD.

Mr. Basevi married the niece of the late SIR ROBERT PEEL, who, it is stated, when on a visit to his relatives suggested the present very appropriate name of the house—it being surrounded by beech-trees of great size and beauty. Thus the house has associations with two of the leading statesmen of the Victorian era. It has already been mentioned that the house stands almost if not quite on the site of Fitzroy House.

The BASEVIS were a prominent family in the Anglo-Jewish community. Naphtali Basevi, the grandfather of Maria, the mother of Lord Beaconsfield, was one of the early presidents of the Jewish Board of Deputies which initiated the struggle for Jewish emancipation.

The Basevis seceded from the synagogue with their kinsmen the Disraelis. It is somewhat remarkable the number of families of note among the Jewish community—including the Disraelis, Basevis, Bernals, Gideons (from whom Mr. Childers is descended), Lopez, Ximines, Uzziellis, Drummond-Wolffs, Herschells, Palgraves, etc.—who have taken this decided action.

The road from Fitzroy Park to The Grove was probably the road from the stables, which were on the top of the hill, to Fitzroy House.

There were two large houses in Hampstead Lane erected on the Southampton estate, both of which have since become absorbed in the beautiful CAEN WOOD TOWERS property.

One of them, which stood opposite the School Pavilion, was erected

by Mr. Charles Crawley, and a second, on the present site of Caen Wood Towers, was built by Mr. George Crawley. It is to the liberality of the Crawley family that the Grammar School is indebted for the gift of the beautiful school chapel, which in common gratitude should be called "The Crawley Chapel," for the gift was a far greater one pecuniarily than that of the original foundation of Sir Roger Cholmeley.

The house erected by Mr. Charles Crawley in its later days was called Dufferin Lodge. It was the suburban residence of Lord Dufferin, and his mother the Countess of Gifford, who was one of the three granddaughters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, the Duchess of Somerset and the Honourable Mrs. Norton being her sisters. The family were distinguished for their personal and intellectual gifts.

Lady Gifford was the authoress of several ballads and songs, the best known of which is, probably, "I'm sitting on the stile, Mary." She died at Dufferin Lodge on the 13th June, 1867.

Frederick Temple-Hamilton-Temple Blackwood, first Earl and 5th Baron Dufferin, was born, the heir to an Irish barony, at Florence on the 26th June, 1826, and claims descent from the Scottish family of Blackwood, notices of which can be traced in the records of Scotland from an early period. His father was a captain in the Royal Navy, who married Helen Selina, eldest daughter of Thomas Sheridan, Esquire (and granddaughter of the celebrated Richard Brinsley Sheridan). On his death in 1841 his only son, the subject of this notice, then a youth of fifteen at Eton, succeeded to the title and estates of his family. Succeeding at so early an age, it is a remarkable circumstance that at his birth in 1826 the present Lord Dufferin stood three removes from his inheritance. In the space of five years no fewer than three barons died; and for many years there were living at the same time three widowed ladies bearing the title of "Baroness Dufferin."

Lord John Russell being then Prime Minister, and Lord Dufferin belonging to the ministerial side in politics, he was, in 1850, at the age of twenty-four, created a baron of the United Kingdom. This gave him a seat in the House of Lords.

Four years later his introduction to official life was made by his appointment to the post of Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen. In 1855, during the Crimean war, Lord Dufferin, in the character of special attaché, accompanied Lord John Russell, the British representative, to a Conference of the great Powers held at Vienna. The failure of Lord John's proposals led to his retirement from the Aberdeen Ministry; but though the Conference proved abortive, it at least afforded to Lord Dufferin some experience in the business of diplomacy, invaluable to him as a young man destined for public service.

In the following year, 1856, Lord Dufferin's activities were turned

in a direction quite different from the concerns of European politics. In his schooner-yacht *Foam* he visited Iceland, Jan Mayen, Spitzbergen, and the coasts of Norway, and on his return home published *Letters from High Latitudes*, giving an account of his voyage, which speedily ran through several editions, and has maintained its character as a popular book ever since.

In 1864-66 Lord Dufferin held the office of Under-Secretary for India, and afterwards for a time that of Under-Secretary of State for War. In December 1868, under the Government of Mr. Gladstone, he was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and this latter post he held until April 1872, when he was appointed Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada. Meantime, several other honours had been conferred upon him. He was made a Knight of St. Patrick in 1863, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of his own county, Down, in 1864, and created a Privy Councillor in 1868. Finally, he was raised to the dignity of Earl in the peerage of the United Kingdom in November 1871

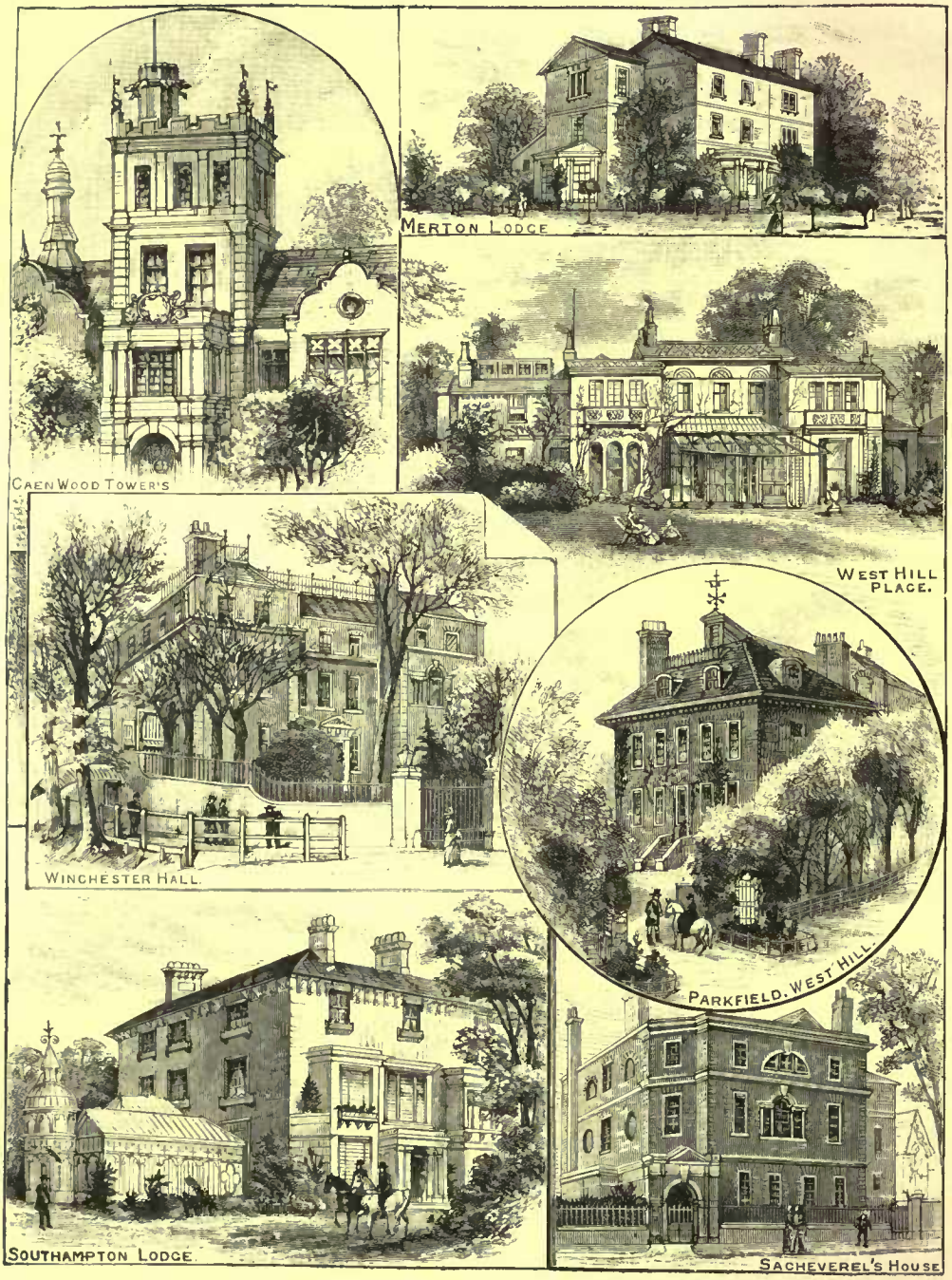
It is not necessary to touch on the difficulties encountered by Lord Dufferin during his term of office in Canada. It is sufficient to say that he won golden opinions from all sorts of men, and did much by personal influence and example to stimulate the loyalty of the Canadians and to consolidate the relations between the Dominion and the mother-country.

Earl Dufferin was Ambassador Extraordinary to St. Petersburg in 1879-81, Ambassador Extraordinary to Constantinople 1881-4, and subsequently appointed to his present high position as Viceroy of India.

Mr. Edward Brook, J.P., on acquiring Dufferin Lodge and the adjoining house, erected by Mr. George Crawley, removed them, and in 1870 erected the beautiful residence called Caen Wood Towers. The finely-proportioned tower of the house, with its characteristic finials, is one of the most striking objects of the surrounding landscape. The house is now in the occupation of Mr. Francis Reckitt, J.P.

Some photographs of the sylvan scenery of the grounds of Caen Wood Towers, presented by Mr. Reckitt, will be found at the Literary Institution. It is difficult to imagine the existence of spots suggestive of such "silent glades" within five miles of the Royal Exchange.

The western portion of the Southampton estate was laid out on the surveyor's plans accompanying the sale conditions, as a proposed road, a little to the east of the present continuation of Millfield Lane, divided into *many* useful plots of building land! Accordingly, this portion was purchased by Lord Mansfield as a matter of protection, as no doubt it was *intended* it should be. The frontage of his lordship's magnificent property consequently now extends from Hampstead Heath, to the wall on the western side of Caen Wood Towers.


CAEN WOOD TOWER'S
MERTON LODGE
WEST HILL PLACE.
WINCHESTER HALL.
PARKFIELD, WEST HILL.
SOUTHAMPTON LODGE.
SACHEVEREL'S HOUSE

CAEN WOOD.

The earliest record of this estate is, that at the suppression of the monasteries the monks of Waltham held property in St. Pancras called "Cane Lond," with woods, etc., valued at £13 per annum,[1] and it is to them probably we owe the ponds formed by damming up the Fleet almost at its source for the storage of fish—an important item in the numerous fasts of the early Church.

Lysons finds a probable derivation of the name from a Reginald de Kentewode, a Dean of St. Paul's, and certainly "Ken Wood" is not far removed from "Kentewode;" but the family name is more likely to be derived from the locality than that of the locality from the name of the family.

The suggestion we would make is that, like the name of the chapelry—St. Michael, the tutelary saint of Normandy—the name Caen is another evidence of the residence of the Norman bishops in Highgate. At Caen the Conqueror built the castle, and in the Abbey Church of St. Stephen his body rests. What therefore would be more natural than that the woods surrounding the hunting-lodge of the Norman bishops should be called by a familiar name reminding them of their Norman home?

MSS. exist giving an *Account of Ken Wood, from some papers of Sir Harry Vane and his family, and bearing the respective dates of* 1658, 1661, 1674, etc.[2] In the first Sir Harry Vane says:—"The estate of Ken Wood appeared to him to require handling well, the home domain being peculiarly good, and capable of much improvement, but that he felt the price asked too great by £100, and so persuaded his friend John Bill[3] not to purchase, as that little castle of ruinous brick and stone[4] could only be used for materials to build another house, near thirty acres in waste, as ponds and the moate, a deal of great trees to be cut down, and many serious expences he had not yet considered."

Another paper—that of June 1661—states, Mr. Bill purchased this estate of Sir James Harrington, who had fled the country fearing the effects of the Restoration. It then consisted "of 280 acres of land well covered with large timber, and also is stated a capital messuage of brick, wood, and plaster, eight cottages, a farm-house and *windmill*, fishponds, etc." He then appears to have demolished the old house, as he states "he had

[1] Harrison's *MSS.*, 701.

[2] Copies of these papers from the originals are in the possession of Mr. Ambrose Heal.

[3] "John Bill founded the *London Gazette* in 1666. His father was buried in St. Ann's, Blackfriars, in 1630."

[4] This was probably the remains of the old monastic buildings; it stood at the end of the Lime Tree Walk. Some old brick walls, etc., are shown in the earlier representations of the house.

formed a place that he could live in with comfort, and surrounded twenty-five acres with a brick wall." This John Bill afterwards married the widow of Sir Thomas Pelham, and daughter of Sir Harry Vane; and these papers also show that Sir Harry Vane was hidden here in the disguise of a carman some weeks before his capture and trial.

In the month of January 1661 Thomas Venner, a wine-cooper, and one of the fifth-monarchy men, with about fifty of his fanatical followers, sought a retreat in Ken Wood until the following Wednesday, when Mr. Bill states he was glad to be rid of their company, he having in the meantime lost four sheep and two cows.[1]

"The madness of these men went so far as to expect the personal reign of Christ upon earth; they believed that they and the rest of their sect were called by God to reform the world, and make all the earthly powers (which they termed Babylon) subservient to the kingdom of King Jesus; and in order thereto they declared they would never sheathe the sword till the carnal powers of the world became a 'hissing and a curse;' and in the warmth of their zeal they taught and believed that one of them was alone sufficient to subdue ten thousand of their adversaries. They also declared that, when they had 'led captivity captive' in England, they would go to France, Spain, Germany, etc., and rather die than take the wicked oath of supremacy and allegiance; that they would not make any league with monarchists, but would rise up against the carnal to possess the gate of the world, to bind their kings in chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron.

"On the 6th of January, 1661, about sixty of these deluded men sallied forth from their meeting-house in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, completely armed, and resolutely determined to proceed in the execution of their imaginary designs.

"They first marched into St. Paul's Churchyard, where questioning one unhappy man who he was for, and he answering, 'For God and King Charles,' they instantly murdered him. Sir Richard Brown, the Lord Mayor, being informed of this insurrection, immediately hastened with a party of the trained-bands to suppress it, but was soon routed by these misguided rioters. They then marched up and down the streets of the city, proclaiming 'King Jesus,' Who they said was their invisible Leader; but being informed that a party of horse was coming to oppose them, they thought proper to retreat. In Beech Lane they killed a head-borough who ventured to obstruct them, and then retired to Caen Wood near Hampstead, where they passed the night. On the following morning they were routed from the wood by a party of horse, and several of them were taken prisoners, but the remainder assembled and returned tc London, where they divided into two parties. One of these

[1] Pretty good evidence of the class of men concerned in this so-called "religious rising."

parties advanced towards Leadenhall, and from thence to Eastcheap, where being pursued by a party of the trained-bands, a smart skirmish ensued, and the rioters were obliged to disperse. The other party, with Venner at their head, attempted to surprise the Lord Mayor's house, intending to have taken his lordship prisoner, but he not being at home, they marched to Wood Street, where they were encountered by a party of the trained-bands, whom they resisted with great intrepidity. But a body of horse arriving, Venner was at length wounded and taken, and two others killed; on which the rest retreated towards Cripplegate, where they took possession of an alehouse, and obstinately defended themselves for a considerable time, till the house being surrounded by the horse and trained-bands, who kept incessantly firing, seven of the insurgents were killed, and the rest not being able any longer to withstand their adversaries were all taken prisoners. In subduing these misled people twenty of the king's troops were killed, besides several of the trained-bands and others.

"A few days after the insurrection was suppressed, Venner with eleven of the most notorious were tried at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, and, being found guilty, were executed in different parts of London."[1]

Little appears to be known of Sir James Harrington, except that he was a regicide. *The Loyall Martyrology and Dregs of Treachery, with the Catalogue and Characters of those Regicides who sat as Judges on our late Dread Soveraign of ever Blessed Memory, with others of that Gang, most Eminent for Villany, by William Winstanley* (1665), gives the following: "Sir James Harrington was to have suffered the like punishment (to go with halters about their necks to Tyburn, where having threaded that triple tree, they returned to the Tower to suffer perpetual imprisonment, their estates confiscated, and they degraded from all titles and armes of gentility), but he having his liberty upon bail from the Sergeant-at-Armes, gave them the slip, and most unworthily left his bail in the lurch." He died at the age of forty-nine.

On 25th July, 1661, the following petition was presented to the House of Lords.

"Petition of KATHERINE LADY HARRINGTON, the distressed wife of Sir James Harrington. She is the daughter of Sir Edmund Wright,[2] who was a loyal subject and great sufferer for His late Majesty, and the wife of a miserable gentleman of ancient family, who has justly fallen under the displeasure of His Majesty and of Parliament, and is reserved to pains and penalties, which will fall not on him only, but on the innocent also, on her and her twelve poor undisposed children. She prays at least

[1] *History of London*, Harrison.

[2] Sir Edmund Wright (Lord Mayor) was buried in St. Lawrence Jewry in 1618; there is a window to his memory.

the small proportion of her own father's inheritance, in which her husband never had any interest, except in her right, may be preserved her, that so the punishment of her husband may not extend to take away the bread of his innocent relations. Award: Proviso saving the lands settled on Dame Katherine Harrington in jointure."[1]

The gardens during Sir James Harrington's occupation seem to have attracted notice, from the following advertisement:—

"Austen (Ra.) *Treatise of Fruit Trees, with the Spirituall Use of an Orchard*, engraved title, 4to, with autograph of John Aubrey, and a manuscript notice of the house and garden of Sir James Harrington at Highgate, 6*s*. Oxford, 1653."

Mr. Bill directed by his will that this estate should be sold after the decease of his lady, which was accordingly done, and the DUKE OF ARGYLE became the purchaser; but the Duke does not appear to have retained it long, as in the year 1720 it was the property of Mr. T. Dale. Mackay (otherwise Defoe) says: "This fine seat, late the Duke of Argyle's, now belongs to one Dale, an upholsterer, who bought it out of the bubbles of the South Sea affair." "From another account," Lysons says, "I find that the Duke of Argyle only leased the property of Ken Wood to Dale, as on his prosecution by government respecting the said South Sea robbery, that he regained possession, and at his death devised it to the MARQUIS OF BUTE, who now resides here many months in the year. It is very elegant in appearance, and although commodious is very unfit for a nobleman of his distinction. Its attractions to him were its privacy yet close neighbourhood to the metropolis and the court; indeed there is not to be found in such close vicinage of London such scenery as the thirty-five acres that compose the grounds. They are most rich in natural beauty; the undulations are gentle yet sheltering, and the deep mass of woodland, which imparts a name to the domain, is an adjunct to the picturesque."[2]

Howitt[3] says: "The property was devised by the DUKE OF ARGYLE to his nephew John, third EARL OF BUTE, who is only too well remembered in the opening of the reign of George III. for his unpopularity. Bute was the favourite of the widow of Frederick Prince of Wales, mother of George III., a connection of public scandal. By this influence he was made minister of the young king. He soon showed himself so incapable that he was compelled by universal opinion to resign. Bute married the only daughter of the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who, of course, resided much here as Countess of Bute. It is curious that in Lady Mary's letters to her daughter she always spells the name of the place 'Caen.' The earlier possessors spelt it 'Ken'; and it is singular, that though in the patent of the earldom to Lord Mansfield it is spelt 'Caen,' Lord Mansfield himself, in his letters, to the end

[1] *Journal House of Lords.* [2] Lysons' *Environs.* [3] *Northern Heights.*

of his life spelt it 'Ken.' The word would seem to have originated in 'ken,' a view; but there was a very early Dean of St. Paul's, named Reginald de Kentewode, from whom it and Kentish Town may have derived their appellation."

It is quite evident that Howitt had no suspicion of the probability of the Norman origin of the name.

"Lord Bute, though so very unpopular as a minister, and as the close friend of the Princess of Wales, must have had some very good qualities as a man. He appears to have been very amiable in his family, and to have lived on the best of terms with his wife. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in her letters to her sister the Countess of Mar and her daughter Lady Bute, always spoke of him with great respect and esteem. A good trait of Lord Bute is mentioned by Mrs. Piozzi. Dr. Johnson having said that 'knowledge was divided amongst the Scots like bread in a besieged town, to every man a mouthful and to no man a bellyful,' and some officious fellow having carried this to Lord Bute when he was minister, he only replied, 'Well, well, never mind *what he says;* he will have the pension for all that.'" [1]

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, in her *Letters*, says:—"I well remember Caen Wood House, and cannot wish you a more agreeable place. It would be a great pleasure to me to see my grandchildren run about the gardens. I do not question Lord Bute's good taste in the improvements round it, or yours in the choice of furniture. I have heard the fame of the paper-hangings, and had some thoughts of sending for a suite, but was informed that they were as dear as damask is here, which put an end to my curiosity."

In another letter she congratulates her daughter on the comparative leisure that she enjoys at "Caen Wood."

"The Earl of Bute sold Caen Wood in 1755 to Lord Mansfield, who, on his death, devised it to go with the title to his nephew Lord Stormont, whose descendants now possess it. Lady Mary Wortley Montague's daughter brought Lord Bute seven sons and six daughters, so at that time the house and grounds of Caen Wood resounded with life enough. It is now very little occupied, its proprietor being much more partial to Scone Palace, his Scotch residence. In fact, this is one of the worst features of the exclusive system by which enormous properties in land are managed in England. In this little populous island thousands of acres of the most beautiful parts of it, created for the general benefit, are shut up for the greater part of the year, and are seen only by a few bailiffs and labourers. It is a condition of exclusiveness that exists in no other country of the world besides England.

"Before the Earl of Bute, however, inherited Caen Wood, there was

a little boy already riding up from Scotland on his pony, with a little meal-sack hung from its neck, in order to take possession of it.

"This was WILLIAM MURRAY, the eleventh child and fourth son of VISCOUNT STORMONT of the Castle of Scone, which, says Lord Campbell, 'in a dilapidated condition frowned over the Tay, in the midst of scenery which for the combination of richness and picturesqueness of beauty is unsurpassed.' Lord Stormont had married a lady of the ominous name of 'Scott of Scotstarvet,' who brought him so many children that they were in danger of being, in Scotch phrase, 'starvet,' for, 'To add to the difficulties of the poverty-stricken viscount,' says Lord Chancellor Campbell, 'his wife although of small fortune was of wonderful fecundity, and she brought him no fewer than fourteen children. For these high-born imps oatmeal porridge was the principal food which he could provide, except during the season for catching salmon, of which a fishery near his house, belonging to his estate, brought them a plentiful supply.'[1]

"Willie, the fourth son, showed symptoms of great talent, and therefore much care was taken of his education—that is, so far as the scanty means of his father would allow.

"He was sent to the Grammar School at Perth till he was fourteen; and there is a tradition that he was so short of money that he and two other boys used to join at one candle in preparing their lessons over night for the next day. As the family was out-and-out Jacobite, and his second brother James had actually joined the Pretender, there was little hope of assistance from the nobles who supported the reigning family, and law seemed the only profession for the lad to succeed in. It was resolved to send him up to Westminster School, where, by the influence of Bishop Atterbury (a thorough Jacobite), it was hoped he would be admitted and well looked after. But how was he to get there? A coach ran once a week from the Black Bull, in Canongate, Edinburgh, to the Bull and Mouth, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, performing the journey in ten days! But the fares were excessive, and beyond reach of the Stormont purse; it was therefore resolved that the boy should travel up *on his pony*. On this most formidable journey for a boy of fourteen, to run the gauntlet of highwaymen and cheats and expenses at wayside inns, William Murray set off from Scone on March 17th, 1718. Making some stay with relatives in Edinburgh, he jogged along southwards.

"He could draw on the contents of his meal-sack at noon by some brookside, and extemporise 'crowdy' whilst his pony grazed, and thus in *two months*, short of *one week*, that is, on May 8th, he arrived in London! Here he was consigned to the care of one John Wemyss, who had been born on his father's estate, and now practised as an apothecary

Lives of the Chief Justices.

in the metropolis. Being entered of Westminster School, he made good use of his time and aptitude for learning, and acquired a wonderful passion for the higher practice of law by listening to the pleadings in Westminster Hall. Like other aspirants for legal fame, Murray had his early difficulties ; but he had a Scotch indomitable perseverance, and a mild and pliant manner, that worked his way.

"Moreover, all his contemporaries attribute to him a silvery toned voice, exquisitely modulated, which influenced almost irresistibly his hearers. We need not say more than that in 1742 he became Solicitor-General, had distinguished himself both at the Bar and in Parliament in the highest degree, and in 1745 found himself called upon to appear as Government prosecutor against the Scotch rebel lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and Lovat. This must have been an awful business for him. They were martyrs to the cause which had been the enthusiasm of his youth, the cause in which his parents and all his family were engaged heart and soul. His second brother James had early and openly gone over to the Pretender, and had been created Earl of Dunbar by him in anticipation of success. Yet Murray went through the trial and condemnation of the rebel lords with great self-command. Only once was he seen to flinch, when old Lord Lovat complimented him on his speech against him, adding, 'But I do not know what the good lady your mother will say to it, for she was very kind to my clan as we marched through Perth to join the Prince.'"[1]

In 1754 he succeeded Sir Dudley Rider as Attorney-General, and was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1756, and created Baron Murray of Mansfield, and Earl Mansfield in 1776.

It is outside the scope of our plan to follow Lord Mansfield in his great career as a lawyer and legal reformer. It will suffice for our purpose to quote the dictum of Chief Justice Buller, *that Lord Mansfield was the founder of the commercial law of this country.*

He died at Caen Wood 20th March, 1793.

As the riots of 1780 affected Highgate happily only to a limited extent, but were exceedingly disastrous to Lord Mansfield, it is fitting they should be alluded to here.

We who live in these peaceful times can form but an inadequate conception of the horrors either of warfare abroad or of the confusion and misery of popular tumults at home. Scenes of the latter description have not been enacted in the great metropolis since those of the year 1780, commonly called the "Gordon Riots."

Detachments of the Cambridgeshire Militia were stationed in Highgate and Hampstead, and large quantities of ammunition deposited in the vaults of the churches. As far as display went, preparations appear to

[1] Howitt.

have been made for defence rather than prevention, for in the incursions of the rioters into the suburbs, and even as far as Highgate, the demands made at the houses for money were complied with as a means of momentary security; and numberless were the sums extorted at the doors of the panic-struck inhabitants; in fact, it became unsafe for any person without a "blue ribbon," denoting his sympathy with the mob, to appear in the streets during several days, and this even in districts protected by the military.

Amongst the sufferers by the ravages of the infuriated mob, the Earl of Mansfield was one of the greatest; his house in Bloomsbury Square was burnt to the ground on the 6th June, 1780, and he, with Lady Stormont, escaped only by hastily quitting it. The loss was estimated at £30,000. His books in the valuable library cost £10,000, and comprised a choice collection of law-books and scarce manuscripts.[1] Maddened by this success, the word of command was, "To Ken Wood!" intending that mansion should share a similar fate. The route taken by the rabble was through Hampstead, to the "Spaniard's Tavern," kept at the time by a person named Giles Thomas. He quickly learnt their object, and, with coolness and promptitude, persuaded the rioters to *refresh themselves thoroughly* before commencing the work of devastation, throwing his house open, and even his cellars, for their entertainment; but secretly despatching a messenger to the barracks for a detachment of the Horse Guards, which, arriving through Millfield Lane, intercepted their approach northwards, and opportunely presented a bold front to the rebels, who by that time had congregated in the road, which then passed within a few feet of the mansion. Whilst some of the rioters were being regaled at the "Spaniard's," others were liberally supplied by John Hunter, an old and faithful steward of the Earl, with strong ale from the cellars of the house, out of tubs placed by the roadside.

"So then the Vandals of our Isle,
Sworn foes to sense and law,
Have burnt to dust a nobler pile
Than ever Roman saw!

"And Murray sighs o'er Pope and Swift,
And many a treasure more;
The well-judged purchase and the gift
That graced his lettered store.

"*Their* pages mangled, burnt, and torn,
The loss was *his* alone;
But ages yet to come shall mourn
The burning of *his own*."

COWPER.

Dr. William Wetherell (grandfather of Mr. N. T. Wetherell), who was the family medical attendant, also happened to be on the spot, and with great presence of mind addressed the mob, and so gained time. The liquor and excitement soon completed the exhausted condition of the rabble, who thus became doubly disqualified for concerted mischief; for, great as were their numbers, their daring was not equal to an attack on the comparatively small number of military, who, the leading rioters felt, would show them no mercy; they consequently abandoned their intention, and returned to the metropolis in as much disorder as they had quitted it.

Thus fortunately was Caen Wood House rescued from demolition, and thus also were preserved a gallery of paintings and a library, the loss of which would have been as disastrous as the destruction of the valuable legal library in Bloomsbury Square. That the mob did other mischief is plain, from the following document, which is from a receipt of one of the constables of the Hundred of Ossulston:—"Received 8*s.* 6*d.*, being the proportion taxed and assessed for and towards the payment of the several taxations and assessments which have been made upon the said Parish (amounting to the sum of £187 18*s.* 7*d.*), towards an equal contribution, to be had and made for the relief of the several inhabitants of the said Hundred; against whom, the several persons who were damnified by rioters within the same Hundred, in the month of June 1780, have obtained verdicts, and had their executions respectively."

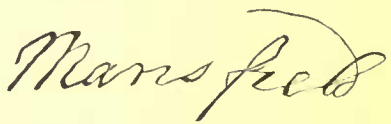
Miss Hawkins thus quotes the opinion of her brother[1] respecting Lord Mansfield's wonderful gifts:—"Of Lord Mansfield's intellectual powers, his great comprehension, or his eloquence, it is needless to say a word, as the concurrent testimony of all who can form a judgment of him has already placed him among the first men of his time; but of the wise and honourable use of those talents it may be permitted to one who perfectly well remembers him, though but in his latter days, to mention that of which he was an ear-witness. Many a time I have heard him deliver the decision of the Court on abstruse points of law, with a profundity of reasoning, where scarcely even a well-informed mind could follow him, and with an accuracy and precision of judgment so satisfactory as to induce the parties in the cause, when apprised of the issue of their lawsuit, to instruct their counsel to make their acknowledgments to the court, as having been the means of restoring peace and harmony to private families, and having done everything that the parties desired. He was not what was considered a profound lawyer, when the term is applied to technical niceties in pleading, nor did he seem to have any very elevated opinion of that species of knowledge or of those who possessed it."

[1] Henry Hawkins.

"Mr. Wallace, who had been Attorney-General, and who was deeply versed in that department of legal information, and Mr. Howarth, who, however honourable and praiseworthy his conduct might be, was infinitely inferior to Wallace, happened to die at the same time. When Lord Mansfield was told of their death he scarcely expressed any concern for Mr. Wallace, but very great regret for Mr. Howarth."[1]

"His lordship, it is well known, had too much of the spirit of John Knox, or something equally unfettering, to pay any regard to the holidays appointed by the Church of England. He had not suspended the business of the court in which he presided for the sake of Ash Wednesday, or even this decision of 'currat lex' had given offence to some who regarded the commencement of Lent; but making an attempt to proceed with business on Good Friday he was resisted by Serjeant Davy, who, on his announcing his intention, told him that his lordship would be 'the first judge that had done so since Pontius Pilate.'"[2]

This uncompromising spirit accounts for the surly remark of the great champion of orthodoxy, Dr. Johnson, for on Mr. Henry Hawkins calling upon him shortly after the death of Lord Mansfield, and mentioning the event—"Ah! sir," growled the Doctor, "there was little learning and less virtue."[3]



A few words respecting the house and its treasures, which so few of Lord Mansfield's neighbours have had the privilege of seeing, will doubtless be acceptable. "The grand front, which is near the side of the road leading from Highgate to Hampstead, is opposite the wood that gives name to the house; the garden front, which is more extensive than the other, commands a fine view of rich meadows, falling in a gentle descent and relieved by some noble pieces of water.[4] This view is terminated by the spires of London and distant hills of Kent. The most remarkable room in the house is the library, a beautiful apartment sixty feet by twenty, from designs by Adam, and ornamented with paintings by Zucchi. In this room is a whole-length portrait of the first earl, by Martin, and a fine bust of him by Nollekens. There is another bust of his lordship when young in the hall, one of Sir Isaac Newton, and the antique bust of Homer, which was bequeathed to the first Lord Mansfield

[1] *Memoirs, etc.*, by L. M. Hawkins.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] The Highgate Ponds.

by Pope.[1] The paintings in the hall are by Rebecca. In the breakfast parlour is a bust of Pope, and a portrait of Sir Christopher Hatton. In the other rooms are some portraits well deserving of notice, particularly those of Pope, Garrick, the Duchess of Queensberry, and a good head of Betterton the tragedian, said to be by Pope, who had been instructed in the art of painting by his friend Jarvis; two landscapes, supposed to be by Claude, a piece by Teniers, and Wilkie's 'Village Politicians.' Here, too, are some fine portraits, among which is the picture of the Lord Chief Justice by Sir Joshua Reynolds, from which a well-known engraving has been made. The music-room was painted by Julius Ibbetson, and exhibits in panels the various operations of agriculture (fancifully represented as carried on by unattired children), interspersed with views in North Wales. On the death of the Earl of Mansfield in 1792 the house was improved and enlarged very considerably (under the direction of Saunders the architect). The pleasure grounds, including the wood which gives the name to the place, then contained about fifty acres. Their situation is naturally beautiful, and the hand of art has been successfully employed in making them still more picturesque. On the right of the garden front of the house is a hanging wood of tall spreading trees, and on the left the rising hills are planted with clumps and produce a pleasing effect. A fine shrubbery immediately before this front, and a serpentine piece of water, render the whole a very enlivening scene. The cedars of Lebanon are fine, and are shot up to a great height, with their leaders entire. One of them was planted by the first earl. A serpentine walk nearly two miles in extent leads round the most interesting parts of the grounds. Few noblemen's seats have been raised in a more charming situation."[2]

Before quitting Caen Wood, it should be recorded that his late Majesty William IV. paid a visit on the 23rd July, 1835, to this seat, accompanied by several members of the Royal Family, the Duke of Wellington, and many of the nobility. On that occasion a great entertainment was prepared by the late Earl of Mansfield, and a triumphal arch erected on Hampstead Heath, under which the king received an address from his loyal subjects. The visit was held as a day of great festivity in both Highgate and Hampstead.

Park Gate[3] stood on the site of the "Spaniard's Tavern," and was the western entrance to the Bishop's Park, but two diversions of the road into Highgate have taken place. The original road, in passing from the

[1] "Driven in Mr. Gillman's gig to Caen Wood, and its delicious groves and alleys (the finest in England), a grand cathedral aisle of *giant* lime-trees, *Pope's favourite composition walk.*"—COLERIDGE.

[2] *History of St. Pancras*, Palmer.

[3] In a map in Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1772, Park Gate is marked.

"Spaniard's" along the hollow between the trees now standing within the grounds, ran within a few feet of the front of the mansion. As will be seen by the map, a new road was made by Lord Mansfield a few hundred yards to the north, which commands a magnificent panorama. This alteration, which was greatly to the advantage of the property, was presumably made in 1786, when Lord Southampton altered the other end of the lane (the parish boundary-stone, enclosed in the grounds, bears date 1738). By this alteration Lord Mansfield enclosed some of the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which has recently been arranged, by the surrender of the lease of the woodlands opposite, thus facilitating the formation of the new road called "Bishop's Avenue." But this alteration of the road blocked up what was doubtless an old highway—"Millfield Lane"—which had fallen into disuse when the West Hill Road was made (see page 169). Lord Southampton altered the other end of the Lane about the same time, diverting the road, which before ran within twenty-seven feet of Fitzroy House, at the cost of £500.

The present possessor of Caen Wood is William David Murray, 4th Earl of Mansfield, born 21st February, 1806; succeeded his father in 1840; sat as M.P. for Woodstock 1829, Aldborough 1830, Norwich 1832-7, Perthshire 1837-40; was a Lord of the Treasury 1834-5, and Lord High Commissioner of Scotch General Assembly 1852 and 1859, Lord Lieutenant of Clackmannan, and D.L. for Perthshire.

His son William David, Viscount Stormont, was born in 1835, and served in the Crimean campaign, three of *his* sons being in the army.

The titles of the family are Baron Scone 1605, Viscount Stormont 1621, Earl of Mansfield 1776.

The family seats are Scone Palace, Perthshire; Cumlongan Castle, Dumfriesshire; Schaw Park, Clackmannanshire; Balvaird, Fifeshire; and Caen Wood, Highgate.

Opposite the end of the Caen Wood grounds, adjoining the "Spaniard's," is Erskine House, once the residence of the witty Lord Erskine, a *protégé* of Lord Mansfield, and who afterwards became Lord Chancellor under the Grenville Ministry.

Lord Erskine was far in advance of the political views of the day, and was a staunch advocate for reform, especially in the army, to touch the privileges of which, was considered extremely revolutionary. Edmund Burke visited him at his house overlooking Caen Wood, and, greatly admiring the extensive prospect, said: "Ah! this is just the place for a reformer, for all its beauties are beyond reach—you cannot destroy them!"

"Lord Erskine was probably the greatest forensic orator that Britain has produced. He was the third and youngest son of Henry David, tenth Earl of Buchan, and was born in Edinburgh on the 10th January,

1750. From an early age he showed a strong desire to enter one of the learned professions; but his father, whose means had barely permitted him to afford the expense of a liberal education for his two elder sons—one of whom, afterwards the well-known Harry Erskine, was studying for the Scotch bar—was unable to do more than give him a good school education at the High School of Edinburgh and the Grammar School of St. Andrew's. He attended the University of St. Andrew's for one session, after which it was decided that he should join the navy; and in the spring of 1764 he left Scotland to serve as a midshipman on board the *Tartar*. His buoyancy of spirit and the opportunity for study which he had on board a man-of-war (?) reconciled him to his new mode of life; but on finding when he returned to this country, after four years' absence in North America and the West Indies, that there was little immediate chance of his rank of acting lieutenant being confirmed, he resolved to quit the service. He entered the army, purchasing a commission in the 1st Royals with the meagre patrimony which had been left to him. But promotion here was as slow as in the navy; while in 1770 he had added greatly to his difficulties by marrying the daughter of Mr. Daniel Moore, M.P. for Marlow, an excellent wife, but as poor as himself. In these depressing circumstances he happened to be quartered where the assizes were being held, and lounging into court one day was invited on the bench by his father's old friend Lord Mansfield. He was told that the barristers who were pleading were at the top of their profession; yet he felt that he could do as well, if not better, himself. He confided his plan to Lord Mansfield, who did not discourage him; and to his mother, a woman of remarkable determination of character, who strongly advised him to quit the army for the law.

"Accordingly, on the 26th April, 1775, he was admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn. He also on the 13th January following, entered himself as a gentleman commoner on the books of Trinity College, Cambridge, but merely that by graduating he might be called two years earlier. He placed himself as a pupil under Mr. Buller, and, when that eminent lawyer was elevated to the bench, he studied under Mr. Wood, and was called to the bar on the 3rd July, 1778. His success was immediate and brilliant. An accident was the means of giving him his first case, Rex *v.* Baillie, in which he appeared for Captain Baillie, the lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital, who had published a pamphlet animadverting in severe terms upon the abuses which Lord Sandwich, the First Lord of the Admiralty, had introduced into the management of the hospital, and against whom a rule had been obtained from the Court of King's Bench to show cause why a criminal information for libel should not be filed. Erskine was the junior of five

counsel, and it was his good fortune that the prolixity of his leaders consumed the whole of the first day, thereby giving the advantage of starting afresh next morning. He made use of this opportunity to deliver a speech of wonderful eloquence and courage, which captivated both the audience and the court. The rule was discharged, and Erskine's fortune was made. He received, it is said, thirty retainers before he left the court! In 1781 he delivered another remarkable speech, in defence of Lord George Gordon—a speech which gave the death-blow to the doctrine of 'constructive treason.' In 1783, when the Coalition Ministry came into power, he was returned to Parliament as member for Portsmouth. His first speech in the House of Commons was a failure; and he never in parliamentary debate possessed anything like the influence he had at the bar. He lost his seat at the dissolution in the following year, and remained out of Parliament until 1790, when he was again returned for Portsmouth. But his success at the bar continued unimpaired. In 1783 he received a patent of precedence. His first special retainer was in defence of Dr. Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, who was tried in 1784 before Mr. Justice Buller at Shrewsbury for seditious libel—a case memorable for Erskine's bold yet dignified vindication of the independence of the bar, and for the speech which he subsequently made before the court at Westminster against a motion for a new trial. In 1789 he was counsel for Stockdale, a bookseller, who was charged with seditious libel in publishing a pamphlet in favour of Warren Hastings, whose trial was then proceeding; and his speech on this occasion, probably his greatest effort, is a consummate specimen of the art of addressing a jury. Three years afterwards he brought down the opposition alike of friends and foes by defending Thomas Paine, author of *The Rights of Man*—holding that an advocate has no right, by refusing a brief, to convert himself into a judge. As a consequence he lost the office of Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, to which he had been appointed in 1786; the Prince, however, subsequently made amends by making him his Chancellor. Among Erskine's later speeches may be mentioned those for Horne Tooke and the other advocates of parliamentary reform, and that for Hadfield, who was accused of shooting at the king. On the accession of the Grenville Ministry in 1806 he was made Lord Chancellor, an office for which his training had in no way prepared him, but which he fortunately held only during the short period his party was in power. Of the remainder of his life it would be well if nothing could be said. Occasionally speaking in parliament, and hoping that he might return to office should the Prince become Regent, he gradually degenerated into a state of useless idleness.

"As a lawyer he was well read, but by no means profound. His

strength lay in the keenness of his reasoning faculty, in his dexterity and the ability with which he disentangled complicated masses of evidence, and above all in his unrivalled power of fixing and commanding the attention of juries, while the singular grace and attractiveness of his manner endeared him to all with whom he came in contact.

"In 1772 Erskine published *Observations on the Prevailing Abuses in the British Army*, a pamphlet which had a large circulation; and in later life, *Armata*, an imitation of *Gulliver's Travels*. His most noted speeches have repeatedly appeared in a collected form. There is a good account of his life in Lord Campbell's *Chancellors*, and an interesting estimate of his character in Lord Abinger's recently published *Memoir*."[1]

Lord Erskine died on 17th November, 1823.

[1] *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

CHAPTER VI.

TRADITIONS—CUSTOMS—GOSSIP.

Prophecies—The Highgate oath—The taverns—The Highgate ordinary—Dick Whittington and "The Stone"—Parliament Hill—Traitor's Hill—The Plague of 1665—The Fire of London, 1666—Earthquakes, storms, etc.—Records of the Middlesex Sessions respecting obstruction, trespass, etc.—Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton—General Monk—An incident in the life of John Bunyan—Foot race—The Earl of Essex—The Grand Duke Cosmo—Nonjurors—Recusants—Number of horses to pull a waggon regulated by Act of Parliament—Green Street races—The Pancras Spa—The Old Pond—The Model Yacht Club—Highgate tokens—Highgate and Her Majesty—Accident on West Hill—Coronation festivities—Jubilee fête at Highgate—The beacon fires at Hampstead and round London—The Jubilee fête at Hornsey—Schools in Highgate—Note on Finchley tolls—Rating of the Hundreds of Middlesex, 1615.

Notes of residents who cannot be identified with any particular house:—Dr. Atterbury—Sir Richard Baker—Mrs. Barbauld—Sir Henry Blount—Sir Thomas Pope Blount—Charles Blount—Sir William Mainwaring—Sir John Pettus—Sir William Pritchard—William Platt—Sir Hugh Platt—Rev. Joshua Sprigge—Joseph Towers, LL.D.—Rev. David Williams—Lord Chancellor Yorke.

RANCIS of Verulam,—who, in spite of Dr. Draper, will still be generally known as the *great* Lord Bacon,—who if he did not leave "his bones" amongst us, exhaled his last breath in Highgate, remarks in his *Novum Organum* that "out of monuments, names, wordes, proverbes, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books, and the like, we do save, and recover somewhat from the deluge of time."

This extract happily illustrates a portion of the history of Highgate, dealing with items of information of the most diverse character, which do not readily lend themselves to any arrangement excepting that of the very general heading of this chapter; and yet, insignificant as they are, the progress of a neighbourhood is often the best marked by notes handed down in its local and often traditionary gossip, seemingly hardly worth recording; yet a time may come when these very trifles may be regarded as matters of curious interest.

From the wide diversity of subjects it is hardly possible to deal with them with anything like an intelligent continuity of text; it will therefore be more convenient to arrange them as distinct paragraphs.

Prophecies, etc.

Brayley[1] has given an extract from the epigrams of Thomas Freeman, a native of Gloucester, published A.D. 1614 under the title of *London's Progresse.* All the predictions of this effusion, by the progressive increase of buildings up Highgate Hill, are in rapid course of fulfilment :—

> "Why how now, Babell, whither wilt thou build?
> The old Holbourne, Charing Cross, the Strand,
> Are going to St. Giles's in the Field:
> St. Katerne she take Wapping by the hand,
> And Hogsdon will to Highgate erst belong.
> London has got a great way from the streame;
> I think she means to go to Islington,
> To eat a dish of strawberries and creame."

Islington is now linked to Highgate by the long chain of houses built at Holloway, and North London is connected with the West by the Camden Road. Mother Shipton's prophecy ought to make believers in the old lady somewhat uneasy—although happily the last line postpones the evil day, at all events for the present :—

> "Before the guid folk of this
> Kingdom be undone,
> Shall Highgate Hill stand
> In the *middle* of London."

But the most ominous is an old legend, the authorship of which cannot be traced :—

> "When London reaches Highgate town,
> Then England's glory shall come down."

The Highgate Oath.

"Have you been sworn at Highgate?" was a question once asked of and understood by almost all coaching travellers; but with the advent of railways the allusion has become utterly meaningless and obsolete.

Swearing on the horns, as it prevailed at Highgate, was a source of much vulgar popular amusement, and, it may be added, of considerable private annoyance.

An old inhabitant of Highgate stated in 1842, that sixty years before that date (about 1780), upwards of eighty stage coaches stopped every day at the "Red Lion" alone! and there were certainly upwards of twenty more inns in the village, and that "out of every five passengers three were sworn."

[1] *Londiniana.*

It was a jocular usage of the place, beyond the memory of man, especially encouraged for the private advantage of the landlords. On the drawing up of coaches at the inn doors, particular invitations were given to the company to alight, and after as many as could be collected were got into a room for purposes of refreshment, the subject of being sworn at Highgate was introduced, and while a little artifice easily detected who had not taken the oath, some perhaps expressed a wish to submit to the ceremony. It often happened, however, that before these facts could be ascertained, the horns were brought in by the landlord, and as soon as they appeared, enough were usually present to *enforce* compliance. The horns, fixed on a pole of about five feet in height, were placed upright on the ground, near the person to be sworn, who was required to take off his hat, and all present having done the same, the landlord in a loud voice proceeded to "swear in." What is called *the oath* is traditional, and varies verbally in a small degree. It was taken down in writing by Prickett from the lips of different persons who administered it, and after a careful collation of the different versions, the following may be depended on as correct. The landlord, or the person appointed by him, proclaims aloud :—

"Upstanding and uncovered! silence!" Then he addresses himself to the person he swears in, thus—"Take notice what I now say unto you, for *that* is the first word of your oath,—mind *that!* You must acknowledge me to be your adopted father, I must acknowledge you to be my adopted son (or daughter). If you do not call me father, you forfeit a bottle of wine; if I do not call you son, I forfeit the same; and now, my good son, if you are travelling through this village of Highgate, and you have no money in your pocket, go call for a bottle of wine at any house you think proper to go into, and book it to your father's score. If you have any friends with you, you may treat them as well; but if you have money of your own, you must pay for it yourself. You must not say you have no money when you have, neither must you convey the money out of your own pocket into your friend's pockets, for I shall search you, as well as them; and if it is found that you or they have money, you forfeit a bottle of wine for trying to cozen and cheat your poor old ancient father. You must not eat brown bread while you can get white, *except* you like the brown the *best;* you must not drink small beer while you can get strong, *except* you like the small the *best;* you must not kiss the maid while you can kiss the mistress, *except* you like the maid the *best*, but sooner than lose a good chance you may kiss them both. And now, my good son, a word or two of advice :—keep from all houses of ill repute, and every place of public resort for bad company; beware of false friends, for they will turn to be your foes, and inveigle you into houses where you may lose your money and get no redress;

keep from thieves of every denomination. And now, my good son, I wish you a safe journey through Highgate and through this life. I charge you, my good son, that if you know any in this company who have not taken this oath, that you cause them to take it, or make each of them forfeit a bottle of wine, for if you fail to do so, you will forfeit a bottle of wine yourself. So now, my son, God bless you! kiss the horns, or a pretty girl if you see one here, which you like *best*, and so *be free of Highgate*." If a girl was in the room (as she might be, *quite by accident*), she was usually saluted; if not, the horns were kissed. This option was not allowed formerly. As soon as the salutation is over, the swearer-in commands "Silence!" and then addressing himself to his new-made son, he says, "I have now to acquaint you with your privilege as a freeman of this place. If at any time you are going through Highgate, and want to rest yourself, and you see a pig lying in a ditch, you have the liberty to kick the animal out and take its place; but if you see three pigs lying together, you must only kick out the middle one and lie between the other two. God save the king!" This important privilege of the freemen of Highgate was first discovered by one Joyce, a blacksmith, who kept the "Coach and Horses."

There was one circumstance essential for a freeman of Highgate to remember, "and *that* is the first word of the oath," "mind *that!*" If he failed to recollect *that*, he was subject to be re-sworn from time to time, and so often, until he remembered *that*. Failure of memory was deemed want of comprehension, which was no plea in the high court of Highgate,—"mind that!" The custom, in all probability, originated at the "Gate House Tavern;" it being the oldest inn, and forming part of the toll gate (as it once did), it possessed greater influence than any other.

The swearer-in usually performed the ceremony in a black gown, mask and wig, and was accompanied by a person who acted as his clerk and carried the horns.

Concerning the origin of this custom, a traditional account is to the effect that Highgate being the place nearest to London where cattle rested, on their way from the north to Smithfield, certain graziers were accustomed to put up at the Gate House for the night; but as they could not wholly exclude strangers, who, like themselves, were travelling on their business, they brought an ox to the door, and those who did not choose to kiss its horns, after going through some burlesque ceremony, were not deemed fit members of their society. But whatever was the origin of the custom, there is but little doubt it was practised in Highgate for some three hundred years!

Here is a record of it two hundred years ago, and it is referred to as a well-understood custom :—

1688, May 12th.—Letter from John Gell to his brother Philip, being an account of a journey to London :—"At Highgate, some in Sir Lionel Pilkington's coach were sworn."

Tomlins[1] says : "Bullock's Horns were formerly erected over the Gate House door, as a symbol of Authority in collecting the Tolls for the droves of Horned Cattle, and had its origin in the Park Keepers or Foresters staff of office ; which was a pair of huge antlers mounted upon a pole of about 5 feet long, and such a pair still grace the bar of the Gate House Inn." (See page 373.)

Barnaby Harrington's *Itinerarium* gives the following quaint lines published in 1623, for he has journalised his sottish jollities in the time of James I., and left a memorial of his arrival at this place, where it appears he drank from the crumpled horn.

"Thence to Highgate, where I viewed
City I so dearly lo'ed,
And i' th' horn of matriculation
Drank to the Freshmen of our nation,
To his memory saluted,
Whose branched head was last cornuted."

Daniel[2] alludes to the doings of the brethren of Bull Feather Hall, and quotes a scarce tract entitled Bull Feather Hall (see opposite page).

This club, as the tract informs us, used to meet in Chequer Yard in Whitechapel, their president being arrayed in a crimson satin gown, and furred cap surmounted with a pair of antlers (a skit upon the right worshipful magistrate of London), and on a cushion lay a cornuted sceptre and crown ; "the bretheren of this solemne and grete fraternite drank out of horn cups, and were sworn on admission upon a blank horn book ;" but let the chronicler of this fraternity speak for himself. "As yet the revenues of Bull Feather Hall are but small, and what doth appertain to it, is dispersed, as Horn Fair, the toll of all the Gravel up Highgate Hill. They have some propiety (property) in Hornsey, and Cow Lane, and a considerable quantity of plate, the horners owe them."

The manner of their going from Busby's Folly[3] to Highgate :—"On Monday the second of May, some of the Fraternity met at Busby's Folly in Islington, where, after they had set all things in order, they thus marched out, ordine quisque suo ; First, a set of Trumpets, then the Controller, or Captain of the Pioneers, with thirty or fourty following

[1] *Perambulations of Islington.*
[2] *Merrie England.*
[3] Busby's Folly was on Pentonville Hill, at the corner of Penton Street, now the Belvedere Tavern.

him with pickaxes and spades to level the hill and baskets withall to carry gravel. After them another set of Trumpeters, and also four that did wind the horn, after them followed the Standard, alias an exceeding large pair of Horns fixed on a pole, which three men carried with penants

BULL FEATHER HALL;

OR,

THE ANTIQUITY AND DIGNITY OF

HORNS

Amply shewn;

AS ALSO A DESCRIPTION OF THE

MANNERS, RIGHTS, CUSTOMS, AND REVENUES

BELONGING TO THE INGENIOUS AND NUMEROUS SOCIETY OF

BULL FEATHER HALL.

An exact relation of their manner of going to Highgate with Trumpets and Horn musick, and their pioneers intended for the levelling of the Hill.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY OF

BULL FEATHER HALL, 1664.

on each tip; the Master of the Ceremonies attending it with other officers. Then followed the flag with the Arms of the Society, with horned beasts drawn thereon.

"In this equipage they marched, and in very good order, attended by

multitudes of people" (who, by our chronicler's account, seem to have been highly excited by this procession). "Approaching near the Gate the Viceroy of the Gravel Pits came out to meet him with his Mace and Cap. After they had gone through the Gate they came back, and so round the pond, and then came up to the Gate again, where one made a speech."

The oath administered on adopting a brother seems not to have materially differed from that later in use, and the Horns evidently have reference to an ancient passage toll levied at Highgate upon horned cattle and gathered by some park-keeper, or manor bailiff, who showed his authority by a staff surmounted with a sign not to be misunderstood. In Hone's *Every-day Book* is the following letter:—

"Sir,—In illustration of the custom of swearing on the Horns at Highgate, described at page 79 of the *Every-day Book* of the present year, I enclose you a Song which was introduced into the pantomime of Harlequin Teague, performed at the Haymarket Theatre in 1742; if you think it worthy the columns of your invaluable work it is at your service.

"I am, etc.,
"Pasche."

SONG BY THE LANDLORD OF THE HORNS.

"Silence! take notice, you are my Son,
Full on your father look, Sir;
This is an oath you may take as you run,
So lay your hand on the horn book, Sir.
Horn-a-by, Horn-a-by, Highgate and horns,
And money by hook or by crook, Sir.
Hornaby, etc.

"Spend not with cheaters, nor cozeners, your life,
Nor waste it on profligate beauty;
And when you are married be kind to your wife,
And true to all petticoat duty.
Dutiful, beautiful, kind to your wife,
And true from the cap to the shoe tie.
Dutiful, etc.

"To drink to a man, when a woman is near,
You never should hold to be right, Sir;
Nor unless 'tis your task to drink *small* for *strong* beer,
Or eat *brown* bread when you can get *white*, Sir.
Manikin, Canikin, good meat and drink
Are pleasant at morn, noon, and night, Sir.
Manikin, etc.

"To kiss with the maid when the mistress is kind
A Gentleman ought to be loth, Sir!
But if the maid's fairest, your oath does not bind,
Or you may, if you like, kiss them both, Sir.
Kiss away both you may, sweetly smack night and day,
If you like it, you are bound by your oath, Sir.
Kiss away, etc.

"When you travel to Highgate, take the oath again
And again, like a sound man and true, Sir;
And if you have with you some more merry men,
Be sure you make them take it too, Sir.
Bless you, Son, get you gone, frolic and fun,
Old England and honest true blue, Sir!
Bless you, etc."

The custom has been alluded to by Byron in his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*:—

"Some o'er thy Thamis row the ribbon'd fair,
Others along the safer turnpike fly;
Some Richmond Hill ascend, some scud to Ware,
And many to the steep of Highgate hie.
Ask ye, Bœotian shades! the reason why?
'Tis to the worship of the solemn horn,
Grasp'd in the holy hand of mystery,
In whose dread name both men and maids are sworn,
And consecrate the oath with draught, and dance till morn."
Canto 1*st*, LXX.

An old landlord told Hone that "no one came to Highgate in anything of a carriage without being sworn, and so much was doing in this way that at one time I was obliged to hire a 'swearer-in.' I have sworn one hundred to one hundred and twenty persons a day! Parties of tailors used to come up on Mondays to initiate new shopmates; officers of the Guards; ladies and gentlemen arranged dinner-parties for the fun of the initiation; and for admission to sundry convivial societies, the freedom of Highgate was indispensable."

In 1826 Hone states the particular horns in use at nineteen of the taverns[1]:—

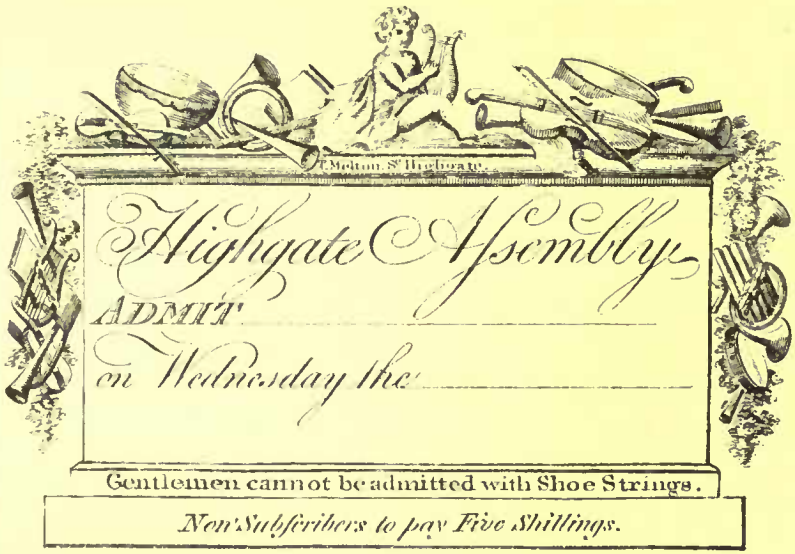
1, The Gate House—stag's horns; 2, the Mitre—stag's horns; 3, the Green Dragon—stag's horns; 4, the Red Lion and Sun—bullock's horns; 5, the Bell—stag's horns; 6, the Coach and Horses[2]—ram's horns; 7, the Castle—ram's horns; 8, the Red Lion—ram's horns; 9, the Wrestler—stag's horns; 10, the Bull—stag's horns; 11, the Lord Nelson—stag's horns; 12, the Duke of Wellington—stag's horns; 13, the

[1] One of the oldest heads of horns, once belonging to a well-known Highgate tavern, has recently been presented to the Literary Institution by Dr. Forshall.

[2] Stood on the site of the National Schools.

Crown—stag's horns; 14, the Duke's Head—stag's horns; 15, the Cooper's Arms—ram's horns; 16, the Rose and Crown—stag's horns; 17, the Angel—stag's horns; 18, the Flask—ram's horns; 19, the Fox and Crown—ram's horns

In addition to these taverns, there were the Black Dog,[1] on the site of St. Joseph's Retreat; the Brown Bear, opposite the Green Dragon; the White Lion, a little above the Angel on the other side, a very noted house for assemblies, balls, and public meetings, and very popular with the citizens. It was a very old house, with two projecting wings, and was taken down about 1830. In front of this inn were a row of trees, and the road was so narrow as scarcely to admit of two carriages



passing.[2] At the corner of Swain's Lane was another old house called the Cow and Hare, in front of which the long lines of pack-horses, after toiling up Swain's Lane, would enjoy a grateful rest and quench their thirst in the waters of the pond.

The Castle Inn was famed for its beautiful bowling green,[3] which was supported by subscription clubs. The lease of this inn was purchased by the managers of the Working Men's Club some fifteen years since, and in the interest of the neighbourhood the licence was abandoned.

According to the "county records," the following were the number of

[1] The proprietor of the Black Dog advertises for a stray dog in 1739.

[2] In a passage by the side of the White Lion lived "old Martin," who hired out sedan chairs, then much in request by ladies going to and returning from evening parties.

[3] Extending from Castle Yard, towards the offices of the Local Board.

ale-houses in Highgate and surrounding places in the time of Edward VI. : "Highgate, 5 ; Isseldon, 13 ; Grenestret, in the parish of Kyntyshtowne, 1 ; Muswell Hill-juxta-Harnyngsey, 1 ; Hampsted, 3 ; Hollowaye, 3 ; Fynchley, 3 ; Harnsey, 3."

Professor Tomlinson, in his interesting papers on the *Chronicles of the Four Seasons*, has some remarks on the antiquity of the use of the horn, both as a drinking vessel and also as a badge of office. He says :—

"The Danes used the horn as well as the Saxons, and after them the English. Thus Chaucer says :—

> "'Janus sits by the fire with double berde,
> And drinketh of his bugle horn the wine.'

Hence the common expression 'the horn,' applied to a drinking cup to this day. The cattle doctor gives medicines to sick beasts by means of a horn, a custom which seems to have been derived from the ancients. Horns for blowing were used for collecting cattle and driving them out to pasture in the morning, also for summoning the people on various occasions ; thus the horn is now used (or was till lately) at Canterbury for assembling the Burgmote Court. The horn seems also to have been a badge of office for those whose duty it was to summon the people. It was also used in the earliest times as an instrument of war. The horn, for whatever use employed, was often made of rich material, and adorned in a most elegant manner.

"Thus lands were granted by the gift of a hunting horn, as well as of a drinking horn, when they were well known to have belonged to the donor. In some cases the two descriptions of horn were united in one. Thus the Pusey horn served for blowing or drinking ; the dog's head at the orifice turned upon a joint, by which means the horn could either be opened for blowing, or shut for the holding of liquor. The college of Corpus Christi at Cambridge was also founded by the gift of a horn which belonged to the guild of Corpus Christi, the original founders of that college. This horn was presented to the guild by their alderman, John Goldcorne, about the year 1347. Masters, in his *History of Corpus Christi College*, speaking of guilds generally, and of that of Corpus Christi in particular, says that on the day of election of the officers 'they usually feasted together, when they drank their ale, of which they kept good store in their cellars, out of a great horn, finely ornamented with silver gilt, and which is still remaining in the college treasury. * * * There are further chronicles of the conveyance of land by the horn in the manor of Borstal, or Boarstall, Bucks.'"

For the exhibition of the Horners' Company at the Mansion House in October 1882, Mr. George Potter published the following leaflet entitled

Illustrations of Customs in which the Horns bore a prominent part.

No. 1.

"Swearing on the Horns at Highgate."

" It's a custom at Highgate, that all who go through,
Must be sworn on the horns, sir !—and so, sir, must you !
Bring the horns !—shut the door !—now, sir, take off your hat !—
When you come here again, don't forget to mind *that !* "

A Woodcut by "G. C."

Followed by a description of the ceremony, from *Hone's Everyday Book*, 1825-7.

No. 2.

"Swearing at Highgate."

Woodward, del. Cruickshank, sculp.

London : Published by *Allen & West*, 15, Paternoster Row, Aug. 27th, 1796.

Woodcut coloured by Hand,

From Woodward's Eccentric Excursions.

No. 2a.

A Woodcut representing the Ceremony.

R. Cruikshank, del. H. White, sc.

" Johnny the maid for the mistress refused,
Because he'd been sworn at Highgate,
By the monstrous horns at Highgate."

Followed by a Song, "The Monstrous Horns at Highgate."
C. Dibdin.

No. 3.

"*Swearing at Highgate.*"

"Pray, Sir, lay your Right Hand on this Book, and attend to the Oath :—You swear by the Rules of Sound Judgment that you will not eat Brown Bread when you can have *White* except you like the Brown better, that you will not Drink Small Beer when you can get Strong, except you like the Small beer better—But you will Kiss the Maid in preference to the Mistress, if you like the Maid better —So help you Billy Bodkin—Turn round & fulfill your Oath."

Published 12th Sepr., 1796,

By *Laurie & Whittle*, 53, Fleet Street, London.

Copper(?)plate Engraving.

No. 4.

"*Swearing on the Horns at Highgate.*"

A Photograph from a Painting (?)

Published as the Act directs, November 21st, 1878,

By *L. Laby*.

Query—Where is the original from which this was taken?

N.B.—I also possess "The Highgate Horn Boke," which commences : "The sun shone cheerily on the 20th of October, 1846, as we left our Villa in Mortimer Street, Cavendish Square, to join certain lovers of Antiquity and old customs, in Clarendon Street, Euston Square, to proceed from thence to the Old Gate House at Highgate, with the intent of being sworn upon the Horns."

Being a manuscript account of the pilgrimage,

By *T. Purland*, otherwise "Master Zigzag."

Illustrated with pen and ink sketches

By "Madrigalus" and others.

"*Administering the Oath at Highgate.*"

Printed for and sold by *Bowles and Carver*,

No. 69, in St. Paul's Churchyard, London.

"Since printing this list I have obtained a copy of the above, which completes the series of illustrations of this subject with which I am familiar. References to others would be much esteemed.—G. POTTER, *April*, 1887."

Before leaving the old Highgate inns, the well-known Sunday ordinary at the Gate House should be mentioned. At one time it was very popular, and considered a fitting termination to a Sunday morning's stroll over the fields.

The charge, which was one shilling per head, could hardly be called high, and the dinner seemed sufficiently attractive to fill the room.

A curious print published in 1784 represents some of the characters who frequented it. A second print, after the style of Rowlandson, was drawn and engraved by Robert Cruikshank, entitled "The Highgate Ordinary; or, Every Hog to his own Apple." This print may be seen at the Literary Institution.

The ordinary is still continued; but as railways have opened up wider fields to the Sunday excursionist, its glories have departed.

"A singular circumstance connected with this ordinary is worth preserving. A constant visitor at this *table d'hôte* was accustomed to take considerable notice of a very attractive young girl who waited at table, and from passing observations drew her at length to become the partner of his Sunday evening rambles. After some time he made known his passion to the object of his affections and was accepted. He informed her that his occupation would detain him from her all the week, but that he should dine at home on Sunday and leave regularly on the Monday morning. He would invest in her own name and for her exclusive use £2,000 in the Three-and-a-Half per Cent. Consols on their marriage, but she was not to seek to discover who he was, or what he did, for should she once discover it, he would never return to her again. Strange as were the terms, she acquiesced, was married, and everything went on for a time amicably and comfortably. At length woman's nature could hold out no longer; she must at all hazards discover her husband's secret. She tried to suppress the desire, for she really loved him, but, Eve-like, she could resist no longer, and therefore on his leaving her as usual one Monday morning, she disguised herself as well as she could, and followed him from Highgate to London, when he entered a low coffee-shop, from whence after a while he issued—yes, her husband—in the meanest possible dress, and with a broom began to sweep the crossing near Charing Cross. This was more than she could bear, she made herself known, and reviled him for his deceit. After an angry discussion, she saw her husband return to the coffee-shop, again dress himself in his gentlemanly attire, and bidding her farewell, depart no more to return. Grieved and annoyed, she returned to Highgate. His marriage bestowment maintained her in comfort, but it left her solitary."[1]

"It may be inferred that the Gate House Tavern, possessing as it did interesting historical associations, a delightful rural situation, and affording

[1] *History of St. Pancras*, Palmer.

good accommodation, attracted many visitors from the metropolis, who became *habitués* of the hostelry. Among them was William Hone, the antiquary and topographist. Another visitor was George Cruikshank, the artist, who, before his total abstinence days, had been Bohemian enough for his face to be well known at urban and suburban taverns, and to take part in the proceedings of a Vauxhall masquerade attired as a dustman. A more frequent visitor at the tavern was his brother Robert, in the early part of his life a seaman, but who became a pupil of his father, Isaac Cruikshank, and for the remainder of his days followed art as a profession. His illustrations to Pierce Egan's *Life in London* gave him celebrity, and he was associated with Thomas Wageman and R. W. Buss in the illustration of Cumberland's *British and Minor Drama*, a voluminous collection of plays edited by George Daniel. Among his *confrères* at the Gate House Tavern were George Daniel and William Upcott, the sub-librarian for many years of the London Institution, who had a store of personal anecdotes concerning its principal librarian, Richard Porson, the celebrated Greek scholar. Daniel and Upcott both resided for many years in Islington, and had tastes in common as bibliopoles and print collectors. One of their Highgate cronies was John Grant, who in 1802 succeeded Nathaniel Norton as the Principal of the Old Crouch End School, Hornsey, a position which he held for more than forty years. Grant was a Scotch graduate, a capable schoolmaster, and the author of *A Grammar of the English Language* and of the *Institutes of the Latin Language*. He died in June 1846, and was buried in Hornsey Churchyard. Grant seldom missed spending his evening at the Gate House Tavern, and, as he grew old, used to ride on a donkey to and from his favourite resort. There are traditions that, when a very old man, the services of the animal were superseded on more than one occasion by the shoulders of a faithful friend who, finding that the donkey was disabled for the errand, volunteered to do duty for it, rather than that the infirm schoolmaster should be deprived of his nocturnal glass and gossip.

"There were old-fashioned clubs, the 'Ash Sticks,' the 'Aged Pilgrims,' and the 'Ben Jonson,' whose summer dinners used to be held here. Among their members were F. W. N. Bayley, Pierce Egan, Leman Rede, Bell of *The Dispatch*, Pearman the vocalist, Warren the water-colour artist, Thistleton the architect, Charles Whitehead, author of the novel *Richard Savage*, and Alexander Lee the musical composer. In later times the coffee room was often the resort of Archibald Henning (who drew the first cartoon for *Punch*), and of Kenny Meadows, closely associated with the pictorial staff of our most popular comic paper in the early days of its history, George Hodder, Thackeray's amanuensis, Henry Mayhew, John Ogden the Shakespearian scholar, Cornelius Webbe,

author of *The Man about Town*, and Henry Baylis. Another social coterie, the 'Universal Club,' whose roll has included the names of Balfe, Wallace, and Loder, the composers, and William Sawyer, Frank Talfourd, and R. B. Brough, the authors, has often held its summer meetings here. Its president for many years was Dr. J. E. Carpenter, the well-known song-writer, who on his death two years since was succeeded in the office by our neighbour, Mr. Plomer. Other local names, too, have been associated with this society: the late Donald W. King, the vocalist, the late Mr. Milner, and a gentleman who is connected with public work in Hornsey, Colonel Bird.

"This historic tavern is the headquarters of the Highgate Lodge of Freemasons, which was consecrated, in September 1871, by Brother Richard Henry Marsh (P.M. 1196), who was professionally known on the stage as Henry Marston. It was the only lodge ever consecrated by that esteemed and highly skilled Brother of the Craft. Since that period it has been presided over by sixteen Masters, and has on its roll about sixty members. During the time of its existence the Highgate Lodge of Freemasons has subscribed more than £1800 to the different Masonic institutions. In 1881 a Chapter of Royal Arch Masons was formed in connection with it."[1]

"The quiet little hostelry at West Hill, the Fox and Crown, has also its memories of interesting *convives*, and is said to be the last tavern where the Highgate oath lingered. On summer days professional men about town, like Tom Prest, who wrote the romance of *Ada the Betrayed*, Denvil the tragedian, and Bruton the comic song writer, glad to be free of the heat and crowd of the Strand, would journey up to Highgate, ramble about its adjacent fields, and then turn into the quiet parlour of the Fox and Crown for a crust of bread and cheese and a cup of honest ale. Among the frequenters of the tavern in the early part of Her Majesty's reign were Matthew Pitman the racquet-player, Edney the vocalist and schoolmaster, Flexmore the dancer, and a *posse* of actors from Sadler's Wells: Billy Williams, Villiers, Campbell, Richardson, and Dry. Worrell, a well-known comedian at the Haymarket and Adelphi, was occasionally a visitor. He was born in Highgate, and educated by Dr. Duncan, who kept an academy in the hamlet. His pupil was fond of recalling the fact that his taste for acting was engendered by witnessing the efforts of some strolling players whose arena for declamation was a little barn-stage fitted up by the benevolent aid of Mrs. Coutts, afterwards Duchess of St. Albans, erected somewhere in the vicinity of the Fox and Crown.[2] Jeremiah Crooks, who carried on a private business in second-hand books, and Dixon the water-colour

[1] *Hampstead and Highgate Gazette*, May 1887.
[2] Southwood Lane.

artist, also frequented the tavern. Crooks had been an astrologer, but in his latter days relinquished that unlawful calling, feeling that it was incompatible with the religious views to which he was converted by the Rev. William Dodsworth, a minister of Christ Church, Albany Street, Regent's Park. Crooks, who was an earnest man, with a wooden leg, used to mortify the flesh during Advent and Lent by abandoning the use of the artificial limb and uncomfortably hobbling about by the help of a couple of walking-sticks. Dixon taught drawing in several schools about suburban London, and painted water-colour pictures of its most striking scenes and historic buildings. He made a rather clever picture of the Fox and Crown, which at one time hung at the back of the bar."[1]

"Dick" Whittington and "The Stone."

"About the year 1360, it is recorded that Richard Whittington was travelling to Highgate, for near the foot of the hill stands an upright stone, inscribed 'Whittington Stone,' which marks the spot where at least two others originally stood, the first of which is traditionally said 'to have been that on which Dick of the nursery rhyme sat down to ruminate on his hard fortune, on his way back into the country, after running away from his master's house, on account of the ill-usage he had experienced from the cook-maid.'

"The tradition relates, that while sitting pensively on this spot his ears were on a sudden assailed by a peal from Bow Bells, which seemed to urge him to retrace his steps by the suggestive jingle of:—

"'Turn again, Whitting*ton*,
Thrice Lord Mayor of Lon*don*.'

"And that in remembrance of this incident a stone was placed on the above spot at Highgate Hill by the desire of Whittington, after he had risen to wealth and eminence in the city, for the convenience of mounting or dismounting his horse at the foot of the hill in his rides which he was accustomed to take in the neighbourhood.

"The original stone, which lay flat on the ground, was broken into two pieces; these fragments were removed many years ago by the surveyor of the roads, and placed as kerbstones against the posts at the corner of Queen's Head Lane, Islington."[2]

The following was the inscription on the last stone, which, for want of proper protection, was so defaced as to be scarcely discernible, and is now replaced by another with the same legend:—

[1] *Hampstead and Highgate Gazette.*
[2] *Beauties of England and Wales.*

"WHITTINGTON STONE.

Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London,

1397 . . . Richard 2nd.
1409 . . . Henry 4th.
1419 . . . Henry 5th.

Sheriff in 1393."

Sir Richard Whittington built the original prison of Newgate, part of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the east end of Guildhall, and virtually he was the founder of the Whittington Almshouses.[1]

In the year 1745 a print was published from a drawing by Chatelain described as *A View of Highgate from Upper Holloway*,[2] taken from a point a little below the place where the original Whittington Stone stood, in which the stone appears as the base or plinth of a cross, with part of the pillar still remaining; and it has been suggested that what was formerly called "Whittington's Stone" was nothing else than a wayside cross in front of the chapel of St. Anthony, erected for the purpose of attracting the notice of the traveller to the unhappy inmates of the Lazar House, and as a means of soliciting the alms of the charitable, and consequently erected long after the time when Whittington flourished. "Considering that, according to a note of Thoms in his edition of Stow,[3] the earliest narrative of Whittington's roadside adventure is to be found in a work published as late as 1612,[4] and that the existence of what served for a wayside seat can in every probability be shown to have been commenced long after Whittington had ended his prosperous days, we are afraid we must dismiss, not only the story of the 'cat,' but also the very pretty legend which shows the favourite hero of our childhood as making his escape from the drudgery to which he had been consigned in the house of the rich London merchant, Fitzwarren, and resting by the wayside cross at Holloway."[5]

"In the whole of the legendary history," observes a writer in the *Saturday Magazine*, "there does not appear to be one single word of truth further than this—that the maiden name of Lady Whittington was Alice Fitzwarren." "Whittington's cat," continues the writer above quoted, "has not escaped the shrewdness of those persons who have a wonderful inclination to discover a groundwork of historical truth in popular legends, for in some popular History of England the story has been *explained*, 'as it is called,' and two or three country newspapers have copied the explanation with evident delight. Sir Richard Whittington was, it seems, the owner of a ship named *The Cat*, by which he acquired the greater part of his wealth."

[1] *Survey of London*, 1603.
[2] Hung in the Institution.
[3] London, 1842.
[4] Johnson's *Crown Garland of Roses.*
[5] Walford's *Old and New London.*

Thus the tradition of the cat as well as the history of the stone seem equally doubtful. Fortunately for the children, the tale is likely to last as long as it is wanted ; the doubt will only arise when the nursery is done with. So, long live the cat !

There is a circumstance connected with one of the best-known portraits of Whittington which shows how completely his name is associated with the traditional cat. The portrait was originally engraved with one hand resting on a skull—a favourite pose of the older engravers—but the skull has evidently been altered at a later time into a cat, which has not by any means been a successful operation, as the skull can be plainly traced in the peculiar outline of poor puss.

Although the cat and the stone may disappear, the name of the fine old city worthy has a far happier connection with Highgate, where the Whittington Almshouses are a well-known, and have the reputation of being a well-managed, charity.

> "When swords and spears" (cats and stones) "are turned to rust
> Good deeds will blossom in the dust."

Stow[1] states :—"The hospital, or almes house, called God's House, for thirteen poor men, with a colledge called Whittington Colledge, founded by Richard Whittington, mercer, now suppressed, but the poore remaine and are paid their allowance by the mercers."

The report of the Charity Commissioners states that "Sir Richard Whittington, by his will, bearing date Sept. 5th, 1421, and proved in the Court of Hustings, devised to his executors his tenements in the parish of St. Andrew, near Castle Baynard, and in the parishes of St. Michael Bassishaw and St. Botolph without Bishopsgate."

Under the above will, the executors, John Coventry, John Carpenter, and William Grove, founded a college of priests, called Whittington College, near Paternoster Row, which was dissolved under the Act of Edward VI., and an almshouse, called Whittington's Almshouse.

It appears that, in 1822, the Mercers' Company, having about £6,600 in hand from the estates of Sir R. Whittington, commenced the present almshouses, near the Highgate Archway. For this purpose, they accepted a lease, bearing date 1st January, 1823, of a piece of ground in the Archway Road in the parish of Islington, for nine hundred and ninety-nine years from Michaelmas then last, at the yearly rent of £120.

An additional piece of land, containing 1 a. 0 r. 2 p., was taken of the Archway Company for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, at the rent of £35 ; and the sum paid for the buildings in 1822 and three

[1] *Survey of London.*

following years was :—£13,494 2*s.* 10*d.* to the builders ; £1,534 1*s.* 5*d.* extra fittings ; £1,954 4*s.* 0*d.* solicitors' and surveyors' charges. Total £16,982 8*s.* 3*d.*

The houses contain apartments for the tutor and twenty-four almspeople. The tutor is in holy orders, and receives £125 per annum, besides his proportion of other gifts.

The inmates are single women, above the age of fifty-five years, not having freehold property to the amount of £20, or other property to the amount of £30 per annum ; they receive a yearly stipend of £30 each, besides other gifts, with the advantage of medical attendance and the assistance of the nurses.

The yearly payments made by the Mercers' Company at the date of the report (1838) were as follows :—

	£	*s.*	*d.*
To the tutor or master	125	0	0
Matron...	54	0	0
Four almspeople from the old houses, £33 12*s.* each ...	134	8	0
Ditto allowance of £5 5*s.* each	21	0	0
To 24 almspeople, at £30 each	720	0	0
Nurse	40	0	0
A night nurse, 5*s.* a week	13	0	0
Gardener, clerk, etc.	65	2	0
Gatekeeper, 11*s.* per month	6	12	0
Apothecary, yearly	63	0	0
New River Company	30	0	0
	£1,272	2	0

"Some idea of the wealth of Sir R. Whittington and the little value he set on money may be inferred from the following circumstance :—At an entertainment given to King Henry V. at Guildhall, after his conquests in France, the king was much pleased with a fire which Sir Richard had caused to be made of choice woods, mixed with cinnamon, cloves, and other spices and aromatics. The knight said he would endeavour to make it still more agreeable to his Majesty, and immediately tore and burnt in that fire, the King's bond of 10,000 marks due to the Mercers' Company, and divers others to the amount of £60,000 sterling, an immense sum in those days."[1]

"Sir Richard Whittington was interred in the Church of St. Michael, Cornhill, where a splendid monument was erected to his memory. Thomas Mountain held the rectory, with the mastership, when the college was dissolved (the site is now Paternoster Church), and, possessed by an ungovernable spirit of avarice and folly, imagined that immense

[1] Entick's *London.*

treasures were deposited with the body, which he determined to convert to his own use. With this sacrilegious intent, he opened the tomb, but he found nothing but the body wrapped in lead."[1]

Parliament Hill.

Professor Hales, in his interesting lecture on this subject,[2] states that this hill is often referred to as that from which the conspirators of the "Gunpowder Treason" assembled to witness the "blowing up" of the Houses of Parliament; but this tradition may, from very satisfactory reasons, be summarily dismissed.

A second explanation, as to the origin of its name, is from a tradition that the parliamentary generals charged with the defence of London planted cannon upon it,[3] but this too is very unlikely, as the higher grounds of Highgate and Hampstead would easily have commanded it, and, as far as is known, the extreme posts northward of the parliamentary fortifications were at Islington and Pentonville.

Professor Hales suggests, with far more reason, that the name is connected with the parliamentary elections for the county, which were once held on it, and further that these elections were so held because the hill was previously the meeting-place of the Saxon "Folk-moot," or "the gemote" of the Hundred or the Shire, a suggestion full of old-world thought.

The Professor's arguments are exceedingly interesting: (*a*) the position and character of the hill; (*b*) the name "Parliament Hill"; and (*c*) the fact that the Middlesex elections were to a quite recent time held in the immediate vicinity,[4] "hills being very commonly selected by our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, as also by the Danes, for their meeting places." Several authorities are given by the Professor in support of this assertion; and we know this very interesting fact, that in the early days of the House of Commons the knights of the shire were elected at the shire-moot; and we know also that till the beginning of the last century the knights of the shire for Middlesex were elected at a spot closely contiguous (something over half a mile), a spot more easily accessible to the modern traveller, and nearer the centres of modern life, viz., at the point of Hampstead where the "Spaniard's" and the North End Roads divide, just in front of the inn called "Jack Straw's Castle." Professor Hales submits that, "putting together all the three considerations, there is at least a high probability that Parliament Hill was in mediæval times

[1] Entick's *London*.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, April and May 1887.
[3] Thorne's *Environs*.
[4] The Middlesex elections were held on Hampstead Heath till 1700.

the scene of one of those old assemblies which form so leading a feature in the political constitutions of the old Teutonic race. If it is objected that the hill, however admirable in many ways for a folk-moot, is yet too far from the centre of the shire to have been convenient for any such use, there is this sufficient answer ready, viz., the ground near 'Jack Straw's Castle,' where we know as a fact that the parliamentary elections for the county *did* take place till their transference to Brentford in 1700, is scarcely one whit more central. Of course there is a difficulty, but clearly the difficulty does not specially affect the theory now propounded. It might perhaps be suggested for its explanation that in the Anglo-Saxon days, when the folk-moot was first held here, there was but a scanty population in Western Middlesex. Probably, for, except where the higher ground and the hills arose, as at Wembley and at Harrow and Hillingdon (near Uxbridge), forest and marsh very generally prevailed."[1]

There was probably a gallows near Parliament Hill; there was one in use till comparatively recent times near "Jack Straw's Castle," in the kitchen of which house the mantle-tree over the fireplace is said to have been made from the gibbet-post from which Jackson, a notorious highwayman, was hung for the murder of Henry Miller in 1673.[2]

> "As often upon Hampstead Heath
> Have seen a felon long since put to death
> Hang crackling in the sun for parchment skin,
> Which to his ear had shrivell'd up his chin."[3]

Parliament Hill is sometimes called "Traitors' Hill," thus confounding it with another hill of some height, but limited in extent, in the grounds of Lady Burdett-Coutts, and which is a very striking object from the western side of the cemetery.

There are two conjectures as to the origin of the latter name. The first is, that the "traitors" referred to were followers of Jack Cade. And for this perhaps, though doubtful, there is something to be said, for Stow tells us that in the rising of 1461 Thomas Thorpe, Baron of the Exchequer, was beheaded by the insurgents at Highgate.[4]

The second explanation is, the same tradition that is equally associated with Parliament Hill, viz., that the Gunpowder Plot conspirators one morning in November in the year of grace 1605 posted themselves on this eminence in order to have a good view of the blowing up of the Houses of Parliament. "This somewhat amusing anecdote seems to be

[1] Professor Hales.
[2] Park's *Hampstead.*
[3] *The Triennial Mayor*, 1691.
[4] Lysons' *Environs of London*, ii. 430.

a pure invention of a popular fancy. Certainly the eminence would have been well chosen for the spectacle, though Primrose Hill would have served the purpose better. And no one can assert that Catesby and his friends never did take their walks abroad in these peaceful fields and gloat in imagination over the volcano they were constructing. But probably the story is idle enough. The plotters had something more to do just then than to enjoy even at a safe distance their diabolical explosion. That explosion was to be the signal for a busy campaign, and they were all on the alert to set about it. We may be quite sure not one of these fiendish fanatics was lounging about our hill on Tuesday, the 5th." Early on the morning of that day "those of the plotters who were in town were aware that their plot was discovered! Richard Johnson"—the Guy Fawkes who lives on for ever in effigy, as we are annually privileged to see—"had been seized the preceding midnight, and, though he had disclosed nothing, it was clearly time to be gone. One Henry Tatnall met two gentlemen, afterwards thought to be conspirators, in Lincoln's Inn Fields that morning, and heard one say, 'God's wounds! we are wonderfully beset, and all is marred.' They were soon tearing along the road for Dunchurch. Rookwood started last, but, better mounted, overtook Keyes about three miles beyond Highgate, then Catesby and John Wright, beyond Brickhill, then, a little further on, Percy and Christopher Wright, and 'they five rode together; and Percy and John Wright cast off their cloaks, and threw them into a hedge, to ride more speedily.' And so to Ashby St. Leger's, Rookwood having covered the eighty miles in seven hours! Then on to Dunchurch, where it was soon got out that the grand blow that was to have been struck, whatever it was, had been thwarted, and all was lost."[1] And we know exactly where the other thirteen conspirators were that day of horror and shame. The nearest connection that day any of the gang had with the hill with which we are now concerned was that some of them may have ridden wildly by a little to the east of Parliament Hill, or close by the other so-called Traitors' Hill, along one of the old north roads. We may perhaps picture them frantically galloping along the old Maiden Lane[2]—along what is now called at various points York Road, Brecknock Road, Dartmouth Park Hill, and so through Highgate; "but certainly not quietly awaiting the rise of the curtain which was to reveal the devilish scene they had been arranging."[3]

Before leaving the hills there is a curious old record of the neighbouring height of "Harrow," which is worth chronicling, unlikely as it seems.

'Below Laleham, where Cæsar crossed the Thames, within view of

[1] Professor Hales. [2] Tomlins' *Perambulations of Islington.* [3] Professor Hales.

the river stands 'Harrow on the Hill,' being the highest ground in this whole country, and therefore made choice of by William Bolton, the last Prior of great St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, to build him a house on, to preserve him from a Deluge which was prognosticated, from certain eclipses and watery signs, was to happen in the year 1524.

"With this, not only the vulgar, but also learned men were so unreasonably infatuated, that they victuall'd themselves (as both Hall and Speed confidently report) and went to high grounds for fear of being drowned. Amongst whom was this Prior, who not only provided himself with a house here at Harrow, but carried all sorts of provisions with him thither to serve him for the space of two months."[1]

The Plague, A.D. 1665.

At the end of 1664 there had been rumours in London that the plague was causing many deaths in the seaports of the Continent; but no authority existed to recommend and to enforce cleanliness of home and street, and there was no knowledge of what in our day is called sanitary regulations. The streets in London and in the chief towns were narrow, the roofs overhanging them on each side; the gutters in the middle of the public way, obstructed by filth, which seethed in the warm rays of the summer's sun, and rotted under the winter's rain. The houses, without proper accommodation for ventilation and health, undrained and unclean, were fitting places to attract pestilence, and to retain it when it did come. The winter and spring of 1665 had been unusually mild and dry. There was an entire lack of the rains which generally restore the verdure of the world in April and May. The sun gave forth excessive heat from a cloudless sky. Bishop Burnet says: "A great comet raised the apprehensions of those who did not enter into just speculations concerning those matters."[2] Pepys writes: "The 7th of June was the hottest day that I ever felt in my life. This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and 'Lord, have mercy upon us' writ there; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that to my remembrance I ever saw."[3] "The pestilence spread rapidly. The great heat of the air, the impure water, the gutters black with accumulated filth, the narrow and close streets, the absence of all rain and refreshing wind, and especially the dread which filled the hearts of the citizens, made London an easy and quick prey to the plague. All who were able to escape hastened from the city. The streets were thronged by the carriages and waggons bearing away families and such of their effects as could

[1] Camden's *Britannia*. [2] *History of Our Own Times*. [3] *Diary*.

easily be moved. Panic reigned throughout the land. Each borough made regulations for preventing the entrance of strangers, and for the general security. Every inn was shut against travellers. The gates of towns were barricaded against them, and they were driven back with blows and execrations from villages they attempted to pass through. They whose callings or other circumstances compelled them to remain in London were terrified by almanacs and 'predictions,' which foretold horrors to come, and by fanatics and madmen, who shrieked, as they ran through the streets at night, horrible announcements of the judgments of heaven against the city doomed to destruction. On all sides quacks proclaimed their unfailing cures,—the miserable race who live upon the sufferings, the weaknesses, and the fears of mankind. Enormous quantities of 'plague-water' were given to the poor by the charitable, or were sold by the vociferating impostors, who, smitten by the pestilence, sometimes died while extolling and offering their remedies. The king and his court fled before the plague to Oxford, which by wise precaution of cleansing and draining remained free from contagion. Pepys writes early in August: 'The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the night not sufficing to do it in. All through that month, the great heat of the air continued, with a cloudless sky by day, and with a peculiarly oppressive atmosphere at night; and the citizens died by thousands.'[1]

"In September, a month which is often peculiarly fatal in seasons of pestilence, great fires were ordered to be kept burning in every street, in hope that they might purify the polluted air. Towards the end of the year, the rain which had long been withheld fell heavily and continuously. As the days became cooler and shorter, the plague gradually decreased. Richard Baxter, in a letter to Richard Hampden, states that 'the number that died in London, besides all the rest of the land, was about *one hundred thousand*, reckoning the quakers, and others that were not put in the bills of mortality. The rich moving out of the city, the greatest blow fell on the poor. At first so few of the more religious sort were taken away, that, according to the mode of too many such, they began to be puffed up, and boast of the great difference God did make; but quickly after, they all fell alike. Yet not many pious ministers were taken away. I remember *only* three, who were all of my acquaintance.' It is scarcely possible for people who live in a time of health and security to apprehend the dreadful nature of that pestilence. How fearful people were thirty or forty if not a hundred miles from London, of anything they bought from drapers' or mercers' shops, or of goods that were brought to them, or of any person who came to their houses!

[1] *Diary.*

How they would shut their doors against their friends; and if a man passed over the fields, how one would avoid another as *we did in the time of the wars;* how every man was a terror to another. One great benefit the plague brought to the city, it occasioned the silenced ministers more openly and laboriously to preach the Gospel, to the exceeding comfort and profit of the people, insomuch that to this day the freedom of preaching cannot, by the daily guards of soldiers, nor by the imprisonment of multitudes, be restrained."[1]

This must have been an anxious time for Highgate, for there are several records of the citizens of the humbler sort who could not get any conveyance, trying to make their way to the purer air of the northern hills on foot. De Foe mentions a case "of three persons who intended to go to Highgate, but were stopped at Holloway, where they would not let them pass, and so avoiding the town, they left Hornsey on the left hand and came into the great road about Stamford Hill on that side."

In the lower lands of Islington the disease was very fatal, no less than five hundred and ninety-three persons dying of the plague in 1665; ninety-four in one week, from 29th August to 5th September.[2] But there is no record of any death in Highgate, although far more distant places, such as Watford and St. Albans, did not escape. In fact, the register shows only sixteen burials in Highgate for the whole year, which was but about the average number. But there were fifty-eight cases in Hornsey, which being the parish burial-ground might have included those dying in Highgate whose friends were unable to pay the burial fee for interment in the old chapel ground. These small numbers are the more remarkable considering the number of infected corpses carted from the Metropolis and shot into a pit on Highgate Common. This pit is in a hollow on the right side of Muswell Hill Road, adjoining the wood, and still goes by the suggestive name of "Churchyard Bottom;" where, at a few feet from the surface, have been found vast quantities of human bones intermixed with a darkened strata of earth.

The following extract from a letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury from John Hercy his servant, refers to Highgate during an earlier outbreak of the plague, in 1603:—

"There died as reporte goethe of the sicknesse in and aboute the suburbs of London above 3,000 this last weeke, and in the other weeke before 3,385. I beseeche yo Lor^p^ to be pleased to directe yo^r^ Lres according to yo^r^ laste, for I cannot get any lodginge otherwise than w^th^in 10 miles of London. In innes at

[1] *Life of Baxter*, by Rev. J. H. Davies, Rector of St. Nicholas, Worcester.
[2] Weekly bills of mortality.

Highgate, and other places w^th^in four or fyve miles ꝩf London, I may have choise of lodgings, but they are so dangerous by reason of the genāll infection y^t^ I dare not to adventure in any of them.

"Yo^r^ Lop^s^ servante,
"Jo. Hercy."

The Fire of London, A.D. 1666.

This year, John Dryden's *annus mirabilis* brought to England no alleviation of trouble and disaster; other calamities besides that of war were approaching; the city which had been smitten with plague was now to be given to the flames. The summer of 1666 was very hot, and with less rain than many years before. The Thames was very low in its bed, and there was scarcely water enough to supply the daily wants of the citizens. The houses in London to a large extent were built of timber filled up with plaster, and the overhanging roofs were mostly thatched. Warehouses for oil, spirits, turpentine, and other inflammable materials were intermingled with the dwellings, excepting in Thames Street, where were the larger storerooms of the merchants who traded with Northern Germany, France, and Holland. Pepys and Evelyn in their *Diaries*, and Baxter in his *Autobiography*, have left trustworthy accounts of one of the most terrible calamities which has ever visited the metropolis of a civilized nation. On Sunday the second day of September, when the heat was great and the sky cloudless, and with a violent east wind blowing upon the city, a fire broke out in a small shop in a lane near the place upon which the Monument was afterwards built. Pepys was awakened by the cries of citizens running to give help; and, later in the morning, as the fire was rapidly driven to other streets, he rowed up the river in order that he might note and report upon the extent of the conflagration. He saw the houses, dried by the unusually great heat of a long summer, kindled with frightful rapidity. He hastened to Whitehall to inform the king. For once Charles was thoroughly frightened. He directed Pepys to order the Lord Mayor to have intervening houses pulled down, to stay the progress of the fire. He saw—as in our day men saw in the burning of Chicago—large masses of ignited roofs driven by the wind, and falling upon other roofs, which they immediately kindled. As night drew on, Pepys saw the fire sweep, with a roar like that of a great tempest, from street to street, lighting up the spires of churches "in a most horrid, malicious, bloody flame, not like the fire-flame of an ordinary fire, and making an arch more than a mile long." The king rode with his brother through the streets in fear and anxiety; doing all he could, and commanding what he thought expedient to be done; directing large supplies of provisions

to be given to the houseless and hungering people, and sending all that could be obtained from his palace to feed the mothers and their children. Pepys adds characteristically: "None of the nobility came out of the country at all, to help the king, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at the fire. Some of the courtiers said, 'Now the rebellious city is ruined, the king is absolute, and was never king indeed till now!'" Evelyn writes: "*September 2nd.* This fatal night, about ten, began that deplorable fire near Fish Street Hill in London.—*3rd.* I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and son and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld the dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water-edge. All the houses from the Bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the 'Three Cranes,' were now consumed. The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was as light as day, for ten miles round, after a dreadful manner), when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season; I went on foot to the same place and saw the whole south part of the city burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill (for it likewise kindled back against the wind as well as forward), Tower Street, Fenchurch Street, Gracious Street, and all along to Bainard's Castle, and was now laying hold of St. Paul's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it, so that there was nothing heard but crying out and lamentations, and running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house, and street to street, at great distances the one from the other; for the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, and devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and everything. Here we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats ladened with what some had the time and courage to save, as on the other, carts, etc., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewn with movables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen for above forty miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above ten thousand houses, all in one flame; the noise, and the crackling, and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of

towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm, and the air about all so hot and inflamed that at least one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still and let the flames burn on, which they did for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The cloud also of smoke was dismal, and reached upon computation near fifty-six miles in length."[1]

"The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields and Moorfields as far as *Highgate*, several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty. * * * I then went to Islington and *Highgate*, where one might have seen some *two hundred thousand people*, of all ranks and degrees, dispersed and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss, and though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief; which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld."[2]

The author of an *Account of the Burning of the City of London*, published by special authority of the King and Council, states:—"His Majesty, fearing that other orders might not have been sufficient, had commanded the Victuallers of his Navy to send bread into Moorefields, Islington, *Highgate*, etc., for the reliefe of the poor and distressed."

Bishop Burnet states:—"The King and the Duke were almost all day long on Horseback with the guards seeing to all that could be done, either for quenching the fire, or for carrying of persons and goods to the fields all about London.

"The most astonishing circumstance of that dreadful conflagration was that notwithstanding the destruction that was made, and the great confusion in the streets, I could never hear of any person that was either burnt or trodden to death. The King was never observed to be so much struck with anything in his whole life as with this. But the citizens were not so well satisfied with the Duke's behaviour, they thought he looked too gay, and too little concerned."[3]

A writer upon the Fire of London, who was in town by seven o'clock on Tuesday morning, and whose account has been published by Malcolm,[4] says:—"It (the fire) came to St. Paul's about noon, and thrusting forwards with much eagerness towards Ludgate, drove those from the work who had been employed all that day in levelling the houses on the River Fleet. It rushed like a torrent down Ludgate Hill, and by 5 o'clock was advanced as far as Fleet Conduit. Despairing then of ever seeing this

[1] Evelyn's *Diary*.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *History of Own Times.*
[4] *Londinum Redivivum.*

place more but in ashes, we went to Hornsey, four miles off, that in our way to *Highgate* we might discern with what rage and greediness it marched up Fleet Street."

The flaming city must have been a sublimely awful sight from our hill top; it appeals to our humanity, even after the lapse of two hundred and twenty years, in the remembrance of the pitiable sufferings of literally thousands of persons, some formerly in affluent circumstances suddenly reduced to beggary, obliged to seek shelter under the canopy of heaven, with but the rudest protection, formed with whatever could be hastily rescued from the devouring flames.

Doubtless our woods were full of fugitives, and as Highgate even at that time had many wealthy residents, let us hope it proved itself equal to the occasion, and brought comfort and succour to the thousands who were ready to perish, without waiting for the Order in Council commending the poor fugitives to "such charitable and Christian reception, lodging, and relief to their persons as conveniently may be."

Earthquakes, Storms, etc.

Cole[1] records a dreadful earthquake on 8th March, 1749, one month after the *former* one, 7th February, 1749. On the 8th February, 1750, between 12 and 1 o'clock at noon, the shock of an earthquake was felt over London and Westminster; several walls were thrown down, and the shaking was distinctly felt at Highgate and Hampstead.[2]

Brayley[3] has given an account of two others; his words are these:—

"Great alarm was excited throughout the Metropolis and its neighbourhood, in the beginning of the year 1761, by two shocks of earthquakes; the one occurring on the 8th February, and the other on the 8th March. The first shock was most visibly felt along the banks of the Thames from Gravesend to near Richmond; at Limehouse and Poplar several chimneys were thrown down by it, and in several parts of London. The Furniture was shaken and the Pewter fell to the ground at *Highgate* and Hampstead."

Noorthouck states[4]:— "On the 1st September, 1768, in the evening, the heaviest rain fell at London and the country round that had been known in the memory of man. In a few hours the waters poured down Highgate Hill with incredible violence, and the adjacent houses were filled almost to the first floor, immense damage was done, and as it happened in the night many were awakened in the greatest consternation."

[1] MSS., British Museum.
[2] Noorthouck, *History of London.*
[3] *Londiniana.*
[4] *History of London.*

Early Records of the Middlesex County Sessions relating to Obstruction and Trespass in Highgate and its Neighbourhood.

"24*th March*, 4 *Edward VI.*—True bill that, at *Highgate*, co. Midd., on the said day, Antony Kendall of the said parish, yoman, obstructed a certain ancient public way within the Bishop of London's park leading from Hyndon to *Highegate*, by enclosing the same way with ditches and fences and gates fitted with locks."

"1*st November*, 1 *Mary.*—True bill that at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., on the said day Nicholas Eve of London, draper, stopt a fowte way leading from *Heyghgate* to the parish church of Harnesey aforesaid."

"24*th February*, 10 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that on the said day James Bearde, late of London, gentleman, Henry Lynforde alias Lytforde, late of *Haringaie*, co. Midd., yoman, Thomas Hardinge, late of *Highgate*, co. Midd., taillour, Andrew Browne, late of London, yoman, Henry Hansell, late of Strowde Grene, co. Midd., laborer, and ten unknown malefactors, forcibly expelled William Proctour of London, goldsmith, from a messuage or tenement and forty-eight acres of field and pasture, lying at *Strowde Grene* in the parish of *Hornsey*, co. Midd., and having so dispossessed him of the said messuage and land still keep him out of the same."

"21*st March*, 10 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that at Stoke Newington, co. Midd., on the said day (being Lord's day), Robert Harrington, clerk, John Sparke, laborer, Roger Walsheman, carpenter, and Thomas Shepparde, laborer, all of *Haringsgaye* alias *Harnesey*, co. Midd., broke into the close of William Patten of Stokenewington, esq., and trod down the grass growing there."

26*th March*, 11 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that at *Harringay*, alias Harnesey, co. Midd., on the said day Martin Warner of Islington, gentleman, Edward Bussell of Kentyshe-towne, laborer, and Chistopher Dunston of Islington, yoman, with four unknown persons, entered lawlessly and by force into a certain close of two acres, now or lately in the occupation of John Draiper, being the freehold of Robert Harrington, clerk, prebendary of the prebend of *Browneswood in Harringay* aforesaid, and disseised the same Robert Harrington of and expelled the said John Draiper from the said close, and from that day even till now have kept and do keep them out of it."

"2*nd April*, 11 *Elizabeth.*—True bill that at *Harnesey*, co. Midd., on the said day William Paten of Stoke Newyngton, co. Midd., gentleman, and John Ferne of the same place, yoman, together with many unknown persons assembled riotously and with arms and with violence, made unlawful entry on a certain close called 'Lyttle Kyngsfyeld,' being the freehold of Robert Harrington, clerk, prebendary of the prebend of *Browneswood* of St. Paul's Church in London, and parcel of the said prebend, and have expelled the same Robert from it and disseized him of it, still keep him out of it."[1]

Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton.

"In the year 1636 Bastwick, a doctor of physic, having printed a pamphlet called *Flagellum Pontificis Episcoporum Latialium*, thought

[1] *Middx. County Records Sessions Rolls.* Edited by John Cordy Jeaffreson.

to reflect upon the bishops, and also a Litany in pursuit of the same design, was brought to the Star Chamber; as were Henry Burton, for two sermons published by him, full of railing against their lordships, and William Prynne, for pelting Laud, who had so ill-used him, in a pamphlet or two, with other prelates of the persecuting stamp. They jointly drew up an answer, but could get no counsel to sign it, through fear of the Court; and though they petitioned for liberty, in their default to put in their answers under their own hands, yet they were refused, as they were also denied the liberty of exhibiting a cross bill against Laud and his adherents, and they taken *pro confessis* for their obstinacy in not answering in due form of law. They received sentence to this effect: Prynne to be fined to the king £5,000, to lose the remainder of his ears in the pillory, to be branded on the cheeks with the letters S. L., for a schismatical libeller, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Carnarvon Castle;[1] Bastwick and Burton to be fined in the like sum of £5,000, to be pilloried and lose their ears, the first to be imprisoned in the Castle of Launceston in Cornwell, and the second in the Castle of Lancaster. Lord Stafford's letters and despatches state they stood two hours in the pillory, Burton by himself, being degraded in the High Commission Court three days before. The place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropped. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his wife (De Foe's daughter) got a stool and kissed him; his ears being cut off she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief and carried them away with her. Mr. Ingram, subwarden of the Fleet, told the king there were not less than 100,000 people gathered together to see Burton pass by betwixt Smithfield and *Highgate;* his wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along."[2]

General Monk.

"Feb. 3rd, 1660.—All things being quieted in the City the General took his own time to walk leisurely that morning into London, but before he entered he made a stand at *Highgate*, when the army, being then but 5,800 men, came again to rendezvous, and there received orders for the manner of their march into the City. The three regiments of horse first, and the General mounted at the head of them, with his trumpets before him, accompanied with the Juntos Commissioners, and some of his own principal officers, with several other persons of quality that had the curiosity of courtesy to meet him at his several stages on the way. After the horse marched his four regiments of foot: and in the after-

[1] Prynne was appointed by Charles II. Keeper of H.M. Records in the Tower.

[2] *Historical and Critical Account of the Life and Writings of Charles I.*, and Lord Stafford's *Letters.*

noon he made his entry into Gray's Inn Lane; when at the Rolls he made a stop at the Speaker's door, but being not yet returned from the House the General went on into the Strand; where being told the Speaker's coach was coming near, the General alighted from his horse and with much ceremony complimented the Prince of the Senate and his legislative Mace in the Boot of the Coach."[1]

Grimble states[2] that "near Barnet he drew up all his forces, and then takes up his quarter and the next day marches to London; and in his march about *Highgate*, rendezvous*es* again and then gives orders for the manner of their march to Whitehall, the regiment of horse first, and he mounted at the head of them accompanied by the Commissioners of Parliament and several Officers of the Army, and other persons of distinction; after these marched the foot. And thus in February he enters London by Gray's Inn Lane, and so to Whitehall, where the Princes lodgings were prepared for him. Success and Prosperity are the best Quarter-masters and harbingers for an Army."

The events of General Monk's life are exceedingly interesting, and from an important page of the history of England, for Monk was one of the principal instruments of the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne of England.

Price states[3] that Oliver Cromwell wrote thus to one of the officers in his army:—"'Tis said that there is a cunning fellow in Scotland called George Monk, who lies in wait there to serve Charles Stuart; pray use your diligence to take him, and send him up to me." Monk was afterwards created Duke of Albemarle.

John Bunyan.

The following incident in the life of John Bunyan has an association with Highgate. It occurred in 1674, and is narrated as the experience of Agnes Beaumont. The story is as follows:—

"In those days, and in a farmhouse still pointed out, there lived at Edworth, a village on the Bedfordshire border towards Hertfordshire, a farmer named John Beamont or Beaumont. He was widowed, and his unmarried daughter Agnes, then in her twenty-first year, kept his house, a married son and a married daughter living at adjacent farms in the parish. The whole family had at one time felt the influence of the Nonconformist preachers. Some of them, indeed, had been sufferers for conscience' sake, as we gather from William Foster's *Act Book*, where it is reported that John Beaumont the son, with his wife Elizabeth, were presented by the churchwardens of Edworth at the Court of the Archdeaconry held at Bedford in the spring of 1669, for refusing to come

[1] Harleian MSS., No. 4,320. [2] *Life of Monk.* [3] *History of the Restoration.*

to sacrament at the parish church the previous Easter, and were fined accordingly. John Beaumont, the father, had himself been more than once deeply moved under Bunyan's own preaching. 'Some time before,' says Agnes, 'my father had heard him preach God's word, and heard him with a broken heart, as he had several others, and afterwards would cry to the Lord in secret as well as I.' But by-and-bye some Edworth neighbour, who had great ascendency over him, contrived to turn his mind against the meetings and the preachers, and especially against Bunyan himself. His daughter Agnes had, however, joined the Bedford Church at Gamlingay in December 1672, the account of her admission being the first entry made in the Church book in Bunyan's handwriting after he became pastor, he himself also inscribing her name in the Church roll, spelling it thus—Agniss Behemont. In February 1674 she was anxious to be present at a meeting of the Church to be held at Gamlingay. With much reluctance her father gave his consent, she going over in the morning to her brother's house, to join him and others on the journey. Here an unexpected difficulty arose; John Wilson, with whom it had been arranged she should ride to Gamlingay, for some reason failed to come; the February roads were impassable on foot, and the only horse that could be spared from the work of the farm was to carry her brother and his wife, pillion-wise, to the meeting. In the midst of this perplexity Bunyan himself unexpectedly rode up on his way thither also, and was asked to take up Agnes behind him. Knowing the elder Beaumont's feeling he hesitated. 'Your father will be grievous angry,' said he, 'if I should.' Overcome at length, however, by her entreaties, he started, taking her with him. From a distant field the old man saw them together, a sight at which his anger knew no bounds. He was too far away to prevent their going; but on her return Agnes found the door of her home relentlessly bolted against her, her father from within refusing to open till she would promise to break with these people and all their ways. That cold February night, wrapped in her riding-dress, she spent in the barn. Next morning, her father being still inexorable, she crossed the fields to her brother's house, remaining there till the following Sunday, when, after much exercise of mind and in deep anguish of spirit, she yielded to her father's will, and returned to her home. She had only been back two days, when on Tuesday, as they were alone in the house together, her father was strangely, fatally seized, and suddenly died.[1]

"That same day, as she was bending over the dying man, a clergyman named Lane was sending forth a scandalous story at Baldock Market concerning Bunyan and herself. This man, though preaching at Edworth, lived at Bedford, and therefore knew them both, and had

[1] Brown's *Life of Bunyan.*

recognised them riding together 'at Gamlingay town end.' His story, and that of John Beaumont's strange and unexpected death, now went forth together.

"It was known that there had been bitter difference between father and daughter, followed by tardy and quite recent reconciliation; there needed but one stroke of malignant ingenuity to complete the whole. This was furnished by a neighbouring lawyer named Farrow, who, writhing under the recent rejection of his suit by Agnes, gave forth that she had poisoned her father, and that Bunyan had furnished her with the means of doing it. The whole parish was in commotion, the funeral deferred, and the coroner called. For those most deeply concerned it was a time of painful anxiety. 'I did not know,' writes Agnes, 'how far God might suffer this man and the devil to go. It also troubled me to think that in case I suffered, another as innocent as myself must suffer too,'—referring, of course, to Bunyan and his implication in the charge; 'but the Lord knew our innocency in this affair, both in thought, and word, and deed.'

"Under official investigation the cruel charge came to nothing. Comparatively rude as was the medical science of those days, it was sufficient to show that though John Beaumont's death was painfully sudden, it was simply natural. The innocent, therefore, were acquitted, and their accusers covered with shame. Agnes outlived this anxious time by nearly fifty years. She was twice married; her second husband was a Mr. Story, a man of large wealth and high Christian character, who lived at *Highgate* in one of the houses on the western side of High Street, where she was much esteemed for her virtue and intelligence, and where she died 28th November, 1720, aged sixty-eight. In compliance with her own request she was buried in the graveyard of the Tilehouse Street Chapel at Hitchin, where an inscription keeps up her memory and the remembrance of her story."[1]

Foot-race through Highgate.

Birch's Manuscripts[2] contain the following curious account of a foot-race in the reign of James I. from London to St. Albans, in a letter from John Chamberlayne, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carlton (about A.D. 1610):—

"My very good Lord,—We were never at so low an ebb for matter of news, especially public; so that we are even fain to set ourselves a work with the favourite entertainments that you have lightly seen or heard of; as on Wednesday with a race

[1] Addl. MSS. 2414. Narrative of the Persecution of Agnes Beaumont. This MS., in the British Museum, if not in the actual handwriting of Agnes, is evidently a contemporary document.

[2] 4174, British Museum.

of two footmen from St. Albans to Clerkenwell; the one an Englishman belonging lately to the Countess of Bedford, but now to the king; the other an Irish youth, who lost the day, and I know not how much money laid upon his head. The sums no doubt were very great, when the Lord of Buckingham for his part went away with £3,000, and it is said for certain there was more than twice as much more lost that day.

"The Irish youth serves Sir — Howard, a younger son of the Lord Treasurer; and the general opinion is that if the race had been shorter, and the weather and ways not so extreme foul, our man would have been put to the worse, though he had made good proof of himself heretofore, and is a very lusty able fellow, but carried it more by main strength, so that the other gave over 'twixt this and *Highgate*, when he was not twice his length behind him. This story were not worth the telling but you may see we have little to do when we are so far affected with these trifles, when all the Court, in a manner, Lords and Ladies, went as far as Barnet, and though the weather was so foul yet he was scant *file de bon mere* that went out to see, inasmuch that it is verily thought there was as many people as at the King's first coming to London, and for couriers on horseback, they were so pitifully bewrayed and bedaubed all over, that they could scarce be known one from another, besides divers of them come to have falls and other mishaps by reason of the multitude of the horses. So I recommend you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your lordship's to command,

"JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE."

THE EARL OF ESSEX IN HIGHGATE.

At the latter end of the reign of Elizabeth, upon the occasion of Essex being appointed Governor of Ireland, we read that when he took his departure from London he was attended with the acclamations of the populace, and was accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. The object of his journey was to disperse the rebels in Ireland. It is thus recorded by Stow:—

"The Earl of Essex rode from his house in Seding Lane, March 27th, toward Isendume, Highgate, and to St. Albans, that night, accompanied by a great train of noblemen and gentlemen on horseback, etc., on his journey to Ireland in the year 1599, upon his being made Governor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland."[1]

JAMES I. AT HIGHGATE.

Bearcroft states that "King James, on his accession to the throne of England, was pleased to show a very remarkable regard to the family of the Howards, as having been sufferers for the Queen of Scots; and out of respect for Lord Thomas Howard[2] (and at the same time to imitate the steps of Queen Elizabeth) the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and 500 of the chief citizens met His Majesty on horseback near Highgate, on the King's approach towards London from Scotland, on the 7th May,

[1] Stow's *Chronicle*.

[2] The Arundel family.

1603. His Majesty was pleased to be conducted in a grand procession to the Charter House, and to keep his Court there four days." [1]

The Grand Duke Cosmo in Highgate.

"His Highness had an opportunity of seeing several dances in the English style exceedingly well regulated, and executed in the smartest and genteelest manner by very young ladies," etc. "And he went out again to Highgate to see a children's ball, which, being conducted according to the English custom, afforded great pleasure to His Highness, both from the numbers, the manner, and the gracefulness of the dancers." [2]

Non-jurors.

Non-jurors was the name given to that portion of the Episcopal clergy of England who at the coronation of William and Mary refused to take the oath of allegiance to these sovereigns, believing that they had unlawfully possessed themselves of the throne abdicated by James II. They were great champions of the doctrine of passive obedience on the part of subjects towards kings; and as the triumph of the Prince of Orange was obtained at the expense of that doctrine, it was impossible that they could, consistently with their antecedents, acknowledge him as their rightful king. The House of Commons allowed them six months longer than laymen to make up their minds, but declined to adopt the amendment of the Lords, that the oath should not be imposed on the clergy. They refused, and were consequently deprived of their sees and benefices. The non-jurors comprised Archbishop Sancroft, eight bishops, and about four hundred of the inferior clergy.

Amongst the list of forfeitures is the name of Daniel of *Highgate*, Middlesex, and Letitia Hawkins states that "a member of her mother's family lost Sheldrake's Farm (? Sherricks) for the same reason." As she does not mention the name, it may be the forfeiture here referred to.[3]

There is a letter, dated "Highgate, 20th August, 1690," from Bishop Sherlock to Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, upon his being satisfied of the lawfulness of taking the oath to William and Mary.[4]

Recusants.

Recusants, in English law, are persons who refuse or neglect to attend at the worship of the Established Church on Sundays and other days

[1] Historical account of the Charter House.

[2] *Notes from Travels of Cosmo III., Grand Duke of Tuscany, in England* 1669.

[3] For further information on "Non-jurors of 1715" see the work of Mr J. Orlebar Payne, a resident of Highgate.

[4] Sir E. Malet's MSS.

appointed for the purpose. The offence, as a legal one, may be held to date from 1 Elizabeth, c. 2 ; but there were four classes punishable under the statutes against recusancy—simple "recusants;" "recusants convict," who absented themselves after conviction; "popish recusants," who absented themselves because of their being Roman Catholics ; and "popish recusants convict," who absented themselves after conviction. It was against the last two classes that the statutes were mainly directed. In addition to the general penalties of recusancy, the popish recusants for wilfully hearing mass forfeited 100 marks (£66 13*s.* 4*d.*) ; and for saying mass 200 marks, or £133 6*s.* 8*d.*, in addition (in both cases) to a year's imprisonment. They were disabled, unless they renounced popery, from inheriting, purchasing, or otherwise acquiring lands ; they could not keep or teach schools under pain of perpetual imprisonment. Popish "recusants convict" could not hold any public office ; could not keep arms in their houses ; could not appear within ten miles of London under penalty of £100 ; could not travel above five miles from home without licence ; could not bring any action at law or equity ; could not have baptism, marriage, or burial performed, except by an Anglican minister ; all under penalties of forfeiture and imprisonment. Protestant dissenting recusants were relieved from the penalties of recusation by the Toleration Act of 1 William & Mary, c. 18. Catholics were partially relieved in the year 1791, but not completely till the Emancipation Act of 1829.[1] So long did the reaction after Mary's bloody reign continue ere it was expended.

The following records refer to Highgate and neighbourhood:—

"*29th March*, 29 *Elizabeth.*—True bill against Robert Wilford, of Hoxton, co. Midd., Esq., and his wife Mary, Edward Isam of Clerkenwell, gentleman, and Francis Yattes of *Higate*, gentleman, for not going to church, chapel, or any usual place of common prayer, from 29th March, 29 Elizabeth, to 3rd October then next following.

"*2nd July*, 31 *Elizabeth.*—True bill against George Mackwork, Esq., and John Jones, yoman, both of *Harnesey*, co. Midd., for not going to church, chapel, or any usual place of common prayer, from 2nd July, 31 Eliz., to 28th Sept. then next following.

"*10th January*, 36 *Elizabeth.*—True bill against Katherine, the wife of Anthony Kytchyn, of *Harnesey*, co. Midd., gentleman, alias Katherine Kytchyn of the said parish, spinster, for not going to church, from the said 10th January to 13th of February then next following. Also against John Charnocke, gentleman, his wife, Elizabeth Charnocke, and Dorothy and Edith Charnocke, spinsters, of Muswell Hill, in the parish of St. James's, Clerkenwell.

"*3rd April*, 4 *James I.*—Forty-two true bills against recusants for not going to church, chapel, or any usual place of common prayer, include name of Lady Jane Lovell, late of *Hornsey*, co. Midd., widow.

[1] Chambers's *Encyclopædia.*

"*G. Session Michaelmas*, 17 *James I.*—Gyllett, late of Edmonton, widow, for her misdemeanour about the interment of her dead husband, who was a recusant, whom she caused to be carried to the *cemitery* of *Hornesey*, and there to be buried not one foot deep in the soil, whereby his head and feet remained uncovered and exposed, to the hurt, etc., and the contempt, etc."[1]

The following curious records, relative to driving more than six horses in a waggon, contrary to proclamation, do not set forth where the offences occurred, but it *must* have been in Middlesex, and as most of the waggoners lived north of Highgate, and so would pass through it going into London, as the road over the hill was then made, they would probably refer to the Highgate district, where six horses were "all too few" to pull the heavy waggons up the Hill.

"*7th February*, 18 *James I.*—Recognizances taken before William Duckett, Esq., J.P., of Roger Griffin of Oxford, carier, in the sum of ten pounds, and William Warden, also of Oxford, carier, in the sum of twenty pounds; for the appearance of the said William Warden at the next Session of the Peace for Middlesex, to answer, etc., 'for driving above *five* horses in his waggon.' Also on the same file five other similar sets of recognizances taken before the same Justice of the Peace, for the appearance at the Session of the Peace next ensuing the date of the Recognizances, of certain carriers:—viz., Lambert Searle, John Wells, and Richard Sparks, all three of Odium, co. Southampton, John Pooley of Edgworth, co. Midd., and Richard Mathewe of Wattfeild, co. Hertford—each of them being so bound to answere 'for drivinge above *five* horses in his carte.' Also the recognizances, taken before the same Justice of the Peace, of Thomas Franckum of Sadberie, co. Gloucester, carier, in the sum of forty pounds; for the said Thomas Franckum's appearance at the next Session of the Peace for Middlesex, to answer 'for driving six oxen and three horses in his wayne."—G.D.R., 16th Feb., 18 James I.

"*25th May*, 20 *James I.*—Recognizances taken before Richard Lowther, Esq., J.P., of Robert Newman of Wades Mill, co. Hartford, yeoman, and Edward Sybly of the same place, yeoman, in the sum of twenty pounds each; for the said Robert Newman's appearance at the next session of the Peace for Middlesex, 'to aunsweare for going with seaven horses in his cart contrary to His Majesties late proclamation.' Also, on the same file, recognizance, taken on the 18th May, 20 James I., before Sir John Weld, Kt., George Huxley, Esq., and Arthur Robinson, Esq., Justices of the Peace, of John Blany of Cambridge, co. Cambridge, carrier, in the sum of forty pounds; 'for the said John Blany's appearance at the next Session of . . . for Middlesex, to answer 'for travelling in the high way with a waggon with foure wheeles and six horses therein contrary to His Majesty's Proclamation."—G.D.R., 5th June, 20 James I.[2]

Green Street Races, 1733.

Green Street was the name of the village lying between the foot of West Hill and Kentish Town, and therefore closely associated with Highgate.

[1] *Middlesex County Records.* [2] *Ibid.*

"To be run for on the New Course at Kentish Town on the 24th instant, a Purse of Ten Guineas, by any horse, mare, or gelding that never won above the value of 15 guineas in money or plate at any one time; 14 hands, to carry 10 stone; all above or under to allow weight for inches. To run four times round the mile course for a heat, no less than three to start; to pay one Guinea entrance or two at the post.

"On the 25th a Purse of Five Guineas will be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding that never won above that value in plate or money at any one time; those of 14 hands to carry 10 stone; all under to be allowed weight for inches as usual; to run four times round the mile course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay half a Guinea entrance or a Guinea at the post.

"On the 26th a Silver Cup, of three Guineas value, will be run for by ponies not exceeding 12 hands; to carry 7 stone, all under to be allowed weight for inches as usual; to run four times round the course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay *7s. 6d.* entrance, or *15s.* at the post.

"On the 27th a neat Hunting Saddle and Bridle (and a Whip for the second horse) will be run for by hunters carrying 10 stone; no less than three to start; to pay *7s. 6d.* entrance at the post.

"On Monday, the 1st of October, a Silver Punch Bowl of Ten Guineas value (given by John Wiblin, at the White Horse, to whom the said course belongs) will be run for by Galloways not exceeding 14 hands high, that never won above fifteen guineas in money or plate at any one time; to carry 9 stone; all under to be allowed weight for inches as usual; to run four times round the course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay one Guinea entrance, or two at the post.

"On the 2nd day of October a Purse of Five Guineas will be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding that never won above the value of ten Guineas in money or plate at any one time; those of 13 hands 3 inches to carry 9 stone; all above or under to be allowed weight for inches as usual; to run four times round the course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay half a Guinea entrance, or a Guinea at the post.

"On the 3rd of October a Cup of Three Guineas' value will be run for by hunters; those of 14 hands to carry 10 stone; all under to give and take weight for inches; to run four times round the mile course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay *7s. 6d.* entrance, or *15s.* at the post.

"And on the 4th day of October a neat Hunting Saddle and Bridle (and a Whip for the second horse) will be run for by hunters of 14 hands high, that never won any prize before; to carry 10 stone; all under to be allowed weight for inches as usual, four times round the mile course for a heat; no less than three to start; to pay *7s. 6d.* entrance at the post.

"All horses, mares, or geldings that start for either of the above-mentioned Purses or Plate, except the Three Guinea Cups and Saddles, are to be brought to the Subscribers' houses eight days before the days of running, and to be entered four days before that time, or to pay double entrance, and then to be entered by twelve o'clock, to prevent disputes. Every horse, etc., that is fairly entered for a day's sport shall be brought into the field by two o'clock, and start at three precisely, and to run according to articles, which will be shown the day of entrance. All the horses, etc., to be entered at the White Horse, by John Wiblin, Clerk of the Course.

"Any person may have ground to build on, or have a booth ready built of any sort; no one to be allowed to bring their liquors out of carts through the hedges into the said course to prejudice the booths; nor any people with barrows or baskets, to sell fruit or drams, without a ticket from the Clerk of the Course. There are men provided to take care of the fences and gates, which will be open for all foot people, but no carts or horses to be there at the time of running, except the racehorses.

"N.B.—There having been some objections made heretofore to the course, for the greater safety of the horses and their riders a small field is taken in, that they may with more ease ascend the hill.

"*Note.*—The mare commonly known by the name of the Ratcatcher's Mare is excepted against."[1]

"Yesterday, July 5th, 1733, at the horseraces at Kentish Town, four horses started for a purse of 30 guineas, which was won by Gordon's black horse, which he was taken upon for highway robbery near Knightsbridge about three months ago. There was very good sport, the odds of the field being six to four against the said horse."—*Daily Postboy.*

Just below Green Street was the "Horn's Tavern," to which the following refers.

The Pancras Spa.

The following rare handbill refers to the waters at Pancras. Only one copy is known:—

"At Edward Martin's, at the Hornes at Pancras, is that most excellent water highly approved of by the most eminent physitians, and found by long experience to be a powerful antidote against rising of the vapours, also against the stone and gravel. It likewise cleanses the body, purifies and sweetens the blood, and is a general and sovereign help to nature. I shall open on Whitson-Monday, the 24th of May, 1697, and there will be likewise dancing every Tuesday and Thursday all the summer season at the place aforesaid. The poor may drink the waters gratis." Then

[1] Palmer's *History of St. Pancras.*

follow sixteen lines of rhyme in praise of "this noble water," and inviting ladies and gentlemen to drink of it.[1]

"Pancras Wash.—A few days since the water was so deep that it almost came up to the windows of the stage coaches. One horse was drowned, and others narrowly escaped the same fate."[2]

"Judge Jeffreys, of infamous memory, resided in Kentish Town. His house stood on the site of the old workhouse."[3]

"Highway robberies were so frequent up to 1820, that patrols crossed the fields from *Highgate* to Kentish Town, etc., to escort pedestrians at stated intervals."[4]

THE PONDS ON THE TOP OF THE HILL.

(THE SITE NOW KNOWN AS SOUTH GROVE.)

THE PONDS.

In 1819 there was a formal complaint made at the "Court Leet" that drainage found its way into the ponds, which was the only source of water supply for the poor and those who did not possess wells of their own, and from which they had drawn their supplies for two hundred years!

[1] Palmer's *St. Pancras*.
[2] Newspaper cutting, April 1786.
[3] MSS., Heal.
[4] From an old Highgate resident.

Well water was carted up the Hill, and was retailed at twopence per pailful, but the price by competition eventually fell to a halfpenny. Old Jack Foster, who resided in a picturesque old cottage at the bottom of Townsend's Yard, was the popular purveyor. He died in June 1865, aged eighty-four.

JACK FOSTER'S COTTAGE AND WATER-CART.

The water from the wells in Southwood Lane was of some celebrity for the purpose of bathing weak eyes, being strongly impregnated with iron; persons not only came from very great distances to fetch it, but it was sold in London as "*Highgate* eyewater."

In 1816, during the severe drought, the ponds dried up, and one of them was so hardened by the sun's rays that Gillman and Atkins's menagerie was exhibited on the site, the novelty of the position considerably assisting the attraction.

In 1845 the two ponds were thrown into one, at a cost of £438 8*s.* 2*d.*, of which sum the Parish of St. Pancras contributed £60, and the remainder was raised by subscription.

In 1864, the water of the New River supplying the houses, the pond was no longer a necessity, and, being neglected, became a source of very considerable nuisance, and in fact danger to the health of the surrounding residents. Accordingly the pond was filled up, and the sum of £640 raised by subscription to plant and lay out the enclosures. Towards this sum the parish made no contribution whatever.

This arrangement answered its purpose for some twenty years, when, the fences getting out of repair, and as the trees, which had made con-

siderable growth, were being gradually destroyed, an appeal was made to the parish to take over the ground as an open space, which eventually it did, filling in the hollow of the old pond with many hundred loads of rubbish, covering it with asphalt, and placing on it some convenient seats.

The site of the pond made by the old hermit some five hundred years since is now a pleasant resting-place for the pedestrian after the ascent of the Hill, and a much appreciated playground for the children; and from the formation of the ground, rising gently to the centre in order to provide a good fall for the rain, it is now about the last place in Highgate which would be suggestive of a standing sheet of water.

HIGHGATE MODEL YACHT CLUB.

The Highgate Ponds (Millfield Lane) have been much appreciated by the Highgate boys of succeeding generations as being specially adapted for the manœuvres of their mimic vessels, and this appreciation has doubtless existed as long as "the boys" and the "Ponds" have been on paddling acquaintance.

In 1850 there was a very successful club, the rules having a very nautical smack indeed. The following are extracts from its Laws and Regulations about 1850.

Rule I.—The Club shall consist of a Commodore, Vice-Commodore, Treasurer, Secretary, Recorder, and Ordinary Members.

Rule VIII.—That four feet be the maximum size of any Yacht to be entitled to sail for prizes given by the Club; the measurement to be made from the stern-post to the foot of the cutwater, along the keel; and no vessel to exceed five feet of deck.

Rule IX.—That the Club Flag be the British White Ensign, with Yellow Lion in the centre of the Red Cross. The *Bourgee* to consist of a White Ground, with Red Cross, and Yellow Lion in the centre of the Red Cross.

Rule X.—That Yachts sailing in a match be managed by Members only. That Cutters be restricted to Mainsail, Foresail, Jib, and Gaff-Topsail; Yawls to Trysail, Foresail, Jib, Gaff-topsail, Mizen, and Mizen-Topsail. Schooners—Canvas unlimited, Square-sail excepted. This rule to be modified by any alterations which may be laid down in the sailing regulations for any given Regattas.

Rule XI.—That any Yacht having carried the prize in two successive Club Matches be unqualified for sailing at the next Regatta.

Rule XII.—That any Yacht fouling another by the negligence or wilfulness of the Owner or other Members sailing the same shall pay the full amount of damage done, and in addition the fine of 5*s.* for the Funds of the Club.

Rule XIII.—That any Member having a boat, and wishing to sail her in any Regatta, must pay 2*s.* 6*d.* for tonnage dues, irrespective of size.

Rule XIV.—That any Member being unavoidably absent from a Meeting, may send his vote by proxy, a printed paper having been submitted to him for that purpose, to which he must affix his signature.

Rule XV.—That all protests be lodged with the Secretary.

A. RIVINGTON, *Secretary.*

The Highgate Model Yacht Club.

MATCH 1.

FOR A SILVER CUP,

On TUESDAY, the 2nd AUGUST, 1853, *at Three o'Clock, precisely,*

For Yachts not exceeding 4 ft. keel, and 5 ft. deck, as described in Rule 8 of the Club.

The Course to be twice up and down the Lake, but no interval to be allowed between the Heats.

Entrance Fee, 2s. 6d.

YACHTS.	OWNERS.	SAILING COLOURS.
LADY OF THE LAKE ...	L. VULLIAMY	White and Blue.
FORTUNE'S FAVOURITE	R. CLAY	Red and White Diagonal.
VICTORIA AND ALFRED	A. RIVINGTON	Blue Ground with White Cross.
FLYING CLOUD	A. GARDINER	Red and White Cross with Blue Ground.
ARIEL	C. P. WILMER	White.
MOSQUITO	J. SMITH	Black and White.
RED ROVER	J. PARKINSON	Red.
SURPRISE	H. VULLIAMY	Blue, White and Red.
KING DEATH	R. R. HOLMES	Skull and Marrow Bones.
CORSAIR	C. P. WILMER	Red and Black.
DOLPHIN	L. L. VULLIAMY	Blue and Red, with White Cross.

MATCH 2.

FOR A GOLD SEAL,

At Four o'Clock.

For Yachts not exceeding 2 ft. 6 ins. keel, and 3 ft. deck, measured as in Rule 8.

The Course to be once up and down the Lake.

Entrance Fee, 2s. 6d.

YACHTS.	OWNERS.	SAILING COLOURS.
TITANIA	E. ATKINSON	White Ground with Blue Cross.
MOSQUITO	J. SMITH	Black and White.
ROVER	C. P. WILMER	Blue and White Diagonal.
THETIS	A. FLETCHER	Blue.
MOSQUITO	J. PARKINSON	White and Red.
KING DEATH	R. R. HOLMES	Skull and Marrow Bones.

CANVAS UNLIMITED.

Every Yacht to carry her Sailing Colour at her Main Mast Head.

All disputes to be settled by the Umpires.

ALEXANDER RIVINGTON,
ROBERT LODGE, } *Secretaries.*

HIGHGATE TOKENS.

Boyne, in his interesting work on Tokens, issued in the seventeenth century, mentions four as having been issued by innkeepers at Highgate, as follows :—

1. O. Thomas Childe=(A Sugar Loaf). R., In Highgate, 1670. His Half Peny T.S.C.

2. O. Edward Cutler at y^e^ Gate=(A Gateway). R., House at Highgate, 1668. His Half Peny.

3. O. William Fisher at the=(An Angel). R., Angell, in Highgate, 1669. His Half Penny, W.S.F.

4. O. William Prockter at y^e^ (A Lion rampant). R. Red Lyon, at Highgate, his Halfe Penny, 1668.[1]

Three of the above inns still exist. Query, what has become of the "Sugar Loaf"? Or was it a grocer's token?

The letters T.S.C. and W.S.F. are initials of Christian and surnames of husband and wife. O. Obverse, R. reverse of the coin.

HIGHGATE AND HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

The Fox and Crown, West Hill.—Over the door of this quaint little tavern are the royal arms, with the following inscription :—

THE FOX AND CROWN.

6th July, 1837.

This coat-of-arms is a grant from Queen Victoria, for services rendered to Her Majesty while in danger travelling down this hill.

"Fourteen days after Her Majesty succeeded to the throne of England she was taking the air on the Northern Heights with her mother, the Duchess of Kent, in a carriage drawn by four horses ridden by postilions, and, while descending West Hill, the horses became restive and plunged violently. The nature of the thoroughfare is of dangerous character for carriage traffic, from the peculiar sharpness of descent. Being without a drag chain, the carriage pressed upon the horses, which greatly increased their fright. At this unfortunate juncture of circumstances, the then landlord of The Fox, Mr. Turner, sprang forward, and in the most intrepid manner succeeded in blocking the wheels of the vehicle. Her

[1] From Cassini's illustrated copy of Prickett in the possession of Mr. George Potter.

Majesty, who was naturally much alarmed, alighted from the carriage and took refuge in the tavern. The horses were soon quieted, and a drag-chain procured and placed on the wheel. In about half-an-hour the Royal party left Highgate for Kensington, not without warmly acknowledging their indebtedness to the prompt and courageous services of Mr. Turner for his timely and fortunate aid in averting what might have been a terrible disaster. In addition to a handsome present in recognition of his services, the landlord was granted a licence to mount the Royal arms. He well deserved the honour, for without his ready help on that memorable July afternoon, just fifty years since, the Victorian reign might have been ephemeral and insignificant."[1]

The accident was kept almost a secret, for it was not until the 10th July that the *Times* had the following account, copied from *John Bull* :—

"On Thursday evening, as Her Majesty and the Duchess of Kent, with their attendants, were proceeding from Highgate to Kentish Town, in descending the hill, the carriage, not having a drag-chain, proceeded at a very rapid pace, and the horses became restive and plunged violently, and great anxiety prevailed for the safety of the Royal party. Fortunately, however, Mr. Turner, landlord of The Fox, rendered the most prompt assistance by affixing a chain to the wheel of the carriage. Her Majesty, who alighted at Mr Turner's house for a short time, while the preparations were being completed, was pleased to notice Mrs. Turner and her children in the kindest manner, thanked Mr. Turner for his prompt attention, and, seeing the ostler liberally remunerated for his trouble, took her departure for Kensington Palace, highly gratified at her providential escape."

In memory of this incident the sign of the house was altered from "The Fox" to "The Fox and Crown."

At the coronation of Her Majesty, June 28th, 1838, the loyalty and liberality of the inhabitants of Highgate was strikingly manifested ; there were 1,200 men, women, and children, and 1,000 haymakers regaled with a dinner in the North Road. The tables were 900 feet long, and the following is the quantity of refreshments provided :—1,268 lbs. roast beef, 141 plum puddings, each weighing 9 lbs., 600 lbs. bread, 670 lbs. potatoes, 350 cabbages, 1,600 pints of porter.

Order for bell-ringing at the Parish Church, Hornsey, on the occasion of the marriage of Her Majesty, addressed "Mr. Thomas Grimes, Hornsey" :—"The Ringers are desired by the Churchwarden to ring on the 10th February, being the day on which the Queen is to be married. To ring at 6, 9, and 12 a.m., and 3 and 6 p.m. To receive 6*s.* per bell, and £1 for a supper.[2]

[1] *Hampstead and Highgate Express*, June 1887.
[2] From Mr. G. Potter's collection.

Jubilee Fête at Highgate.

"The longest day in the year 1887 will be remembered by the young and old of Highgate as one of the brightest and happiest of their lives. On that, the great Jubilee Day, when all England was, as it were, *en fête*, when the Queen was proceeding through tens and hundreds of thousands of her subjects to a grand thanksgiving service in the old Abbey of Westminster; when a very peal of praise was arising from a million hearts beating in a thousand cities, the people of Highgate were preparing for *their* celebration of the glad event, which was to take a very practical form. Last month a meeting was held, and a discussion took place as to the best way of celebrating the Jubilee, and it was decided to hold a *fête*, to which the poor children and adults could be invited free of charge. Of course an undertaking of this kind needed considerable preparation, and a committee was at once formed for carrying the project into execution. They were divided into sub-committees, one of which arranged the sports, music, and other entertainments, another made all provision for a substantial meal, and a third, a kind of general purposes committee, saw to the performance of a lot of detail work. Invitations for subscriptions were sent out, and the cordial response that was made was quite sufficient to convince the committee of the general desire to celebrate the Jubilee of Her Most Gracious Majesty in Highgate by a demonstration that would mark it as a red-letter day in the memories of all the children, and give some pleasant recreation to the working population. To carry out these works the committee at once set to work. A large field or meadow adjoining Mr. Ward's farm, Fitzroy Park, was secured—for which, by-the-bye, the sum of £15 had to be paid—and the arrangements, which included a display of fireworks, were quite completed when the grand Jubilee Day arrived.

"With regard to this spot, a better and more suitable place for such an outing could not be found. Turning off from the Spaniard's Road, a short path leads into the meadow, where at once a magnificent view meets the eye. From the entrance for some distance the ground is level, and on the right-hand side lies a wood, whose trees, with their waving arms and rustling leaves—already growing sere and brown in the almost tropical sun—invite the weary one to their cooling shelter. To the left the ground gradually declines, rising again in a little while with another wood, in the midst of which, and surrounded with beautiful gardens, a castellated mansion appears. A flag is flowing from its topmost tower, its folds fluttering in the breeze that scarcely stirs the grass below. As the eye travels on toward the south a break in the hill appears, and one of the prettiest views of the city is obtained. St. Paul's Cathedral looms up through a slight mist on the extreme left, Westminster Abbey

and the Houses of Parliament are just included in the extreme right, while in the centre are plainly discerned the stations of St. Pancras, King's-cross, and Euston. The whole of the intervening space is a mass of houses, spires, and towers, in the near distance rising the tall tower of Holloway Castle. This, then, was the favoured spot, the Elysian field for the time being, of the inhabitants of Highgate, and right royally did they enjoy themselves. A programme of sports had been arranged, and besides this, numerous races for suitable prizes were run by the school children, and other amusements were provided, so that the spirit of enjoyment might not lag. Children know how to enjoy themselves, if let alone with their liberty, and there were not a few who on this occasion roamed about at their own sweet will, or played at such games as suited their inclination and age.

"As the afternoon drew to a close, the appetites of the guests—for such we must call them—began to grow keen, and at the appointed hour a thousand children were feeding with a zeal that was commendable. They were allowed to enjoy a good meal, but no time was lost, for others had to follow after them, until all were satisfied. Rogers, of Highgate, contracted for this part of the business, and that it gave entire satisfaction need not be mentioned. At last the evening shadows began to fall, the sun disappeared, the air grew chilly, and the large party of holiday makers, for the most part weary enough, gathered together to witness what turned out to be a splendid display of fireworks. These included rockets, crackers, and set pieces, the most interesting of the latter being a piece representing the letters V. I., surmounted by a crown. The last device having been fired, 'God Save the Queen' was played, and with thankful hearts, if with tired feet, the recipients of a cheerful and unselfish bounty wended their way home, with a knowledge that they had spent a happy as well as an innocent Jubilee." [1]

In the evening Highgate was very prettily illuminated, and the fluttering of many hundred flags gave life and colour to the scene. It is estimated that not less than five thousand persons were present at the *fête*.

Two trees were planted by the Vicar of St. Michael's, in the presence of a large number of children, in the shrubbery in front of the church.

The Treasurer of the fund was Mr. John Glover, J.P., Hon. Sec. Mr. Conway Tatham, assisted by a large committee of residents.

The surplus fund, about £50, was presented to the Local Dispensary.

The Beacon Fire at Hampstead.

One of the most striking incidents of the Jubilee was the beacon fire on Hampstead Heath, which lighted up all the western slopes of Highgate and Parliament Hill, the account of which is worth preserving.

North Middlesex Chronicle.

"The beacon fire on Hampstead Heath was built in a conical form, and was about forty feet in height and ninety feet in circumference at its base. The height to the top of its flagstaff was over fifty feet. A centre staff was raised, formed of three scaffold poles securely bound together by hoop iron. Three equidistant struts of railway metals were fixed to keep this centre pole in position, and were secured at its top by a wrought iron ring and chain. From the feet of these iron struts to the outside of the cone three flues were constructed of balks of old timber and boarding, so as to bring air from the outside to the centre of the fire, which was left as hollow as possible. When the fire was well alight it was interesting to see how well these flues at the base acted. Along each there was a tremendous rush of air and flame, and the heavy timber at the base of the fire was as completely consumed as the lighter fuel at the top. The fire was built of some six tons of old railway sleepers, kindly given, with the railway metals, by Mr. J. Macdonald, one of the committee. The Earl of Mansfield also gave a quantity of brushwood from Caen Wood. About thirty or forty loads of other materials were contributed by various inhabitants, all that had to be bought being 350 faggots. No coal or coke whatever was used, though the contrary has been erroneously reported. The instantaneous lighting was effected by an inflammable composition being placed at the top, from which a double quick match led to the ground. By this means the beacon was lit at the top immediately the beacon fire at Harrow became visible. A young lady lit the fire."[1]

The Jubilee Beacons round London.

Mr. H. J. Foley, author of *Our Lanes and Meadow-paths*, says in a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette*:—"With the object of seeing and appreciating the lighting of the beacons in honour of Her Gracious Majesty, I made my way to the summit of Hampstead Heath about nine o'clock on Jubilee night, and found a large crowd assembled on the flagstaff hill around a conical-shaped bonfire some thirty feet high. The glow of a brilliant but cloudless sunset was slowly paling in the north-western horizon, and a wide stretch of open country lay outspread in the twilight between. The atmosphere was clear to perfection, but, if I was to see the distant beacons lit, I knew it was useless to remain where my eyes would soon be dazed by the glare of a huge fire close beside me. So, remembering the wide landscape views I had once obtained from a green eminence to the west of the Heath, I made my way quickly to Telegraph Hill, and found that a few, a very few, wise folk had adopted the same plan. Here we had not only an equal view west-

[1] *Hampstead and Highgate Gazette.*

wards, but could enjoy broad prospects in two other directions, while the absence of all crowd permitted us to wander about at will. Unfortunately, rockets have been going up in all directions into the liquid amber gloaming, so that we look in vain for the ten o'clock signals. At length a blaze breaks forth in the neighbourhood of Harrow, speedily followed by a second farther off, probably on Uxbridge Common. The Heath rockets are sent whizzing upwards, and a moment after the bonfire bursts forth into a fiery tongue of flame. And now, turning our eyes from the light, we watch the answering fires shoot forth from far-off hills. Quickly they follow one another, till for two-thirds of a circle we are girdled with a horizon of twinkling lights. Some are mere sparks, others shine like street lamps a hundred yards away, while on nearer points we see the smoke illumined and agitated by the brisk east wind. It is a noble sight, these blazing emblems of the one prevailing sense of thankfulness for a long and glorious reign, starting up every here and there over that wide and silent sweep of rural country. Mill Hill, Barnet Ridge, Harrow, Weald Common, and Stanmore Heath, these are some of our nearer beacons. Yonder is a red blaze on Cooper's Hill, overhanging Runnymede, and to the right of this a tiny bright spot shows us Nettlebed Hill, the highest point of the Chilterns, thirty-five miles from where we are standing. To the right of Harrow Hill a similar dot of light tells us where Dunstable lies. Southwards we count no less than ten beacon fires upon the Surrey hills. To affix localities for these is in great measure conjecture, but surely the faintest and yet the highest can be no other than the beacon on the summit of Leith Hill, beyond Dorking. From the tower of Harrow Church a strong signal light is flashed across the intervening valley. More rockets burst in the sky on all parts of the horizon, the fires begin to dwindle, and we exchange the darkness of Telegraph Hill for the bright reflections from the illuminations in the mighty city at our feet, fully satisfied with our spectacle of one of the happiest and not the least successful celebrations of the Queen's Jubilee."

The Hornsey Jubilee Celebration

Was not held till the following Saturday, 25th June. "Although the Jubilee had been celebrated with more or less pomp and show in nearly every metropolitan district during the week, it was left for this little rural borough to put the cap on them all, and to finish the week's rejoicings by a festival equal, if not superior, to any of the kind yet given in London. The arrangements for the holding of the *fête* had been in progress for some time, and, with a strong and earnest committee, and the co-operation of the villagers, only Queen's weather was wanting to make it a success. Anxiety was visible in the faces of the children, and

not a few of the elder ones, as they arose on the eventful morning to see a clouded sky, and to feel a dull, close atmosphere. But the day turned out fine, and people, following its example, turned out also in fine style, until the afternoon, when the sun shone in all its summer splendour, driving the rain clouds to a considerable distance. The beautiful grounds of the Priory appeared suddenly to change into a fairy pleasure-ground, where happy men and women and lightsome children had nothing to do but romp and play in the sunshine all day long.

"During the Jubilee week Hornsey came out well in decorations and illuminations, the former being composed chiefly of flags and red bunting, and the latter of innumerable V.R.'s placed in conspicuous positions. Across the road in the High Street hung two large strips of bunting, on which were inscribed the words, 'God bless our Queen.' On Saturday these decorations remained, if indeed they were not added to, and as the day advanced it was soon seen that what was destined to be a red-letter day had dawned. The first tokens of the day's enjoyment were given by the arrival of nine gaily-coloured coaches, containing the girls from the King Edward Schools. The latter, to the number of a hundred and fifty, accompanied by a band, rode through the village and into the grounds, where they awaited the entry of the others. At noon a general muster of all the school children in the district took place. As these numbered about 2,500, it will be seen that the undertaking of getting them into anything like order was one of considerable difficulty. Willingness, however, goes a long way, and with a little experience added to it, the greatest difficulties may be surmounted. It was so in this case. Each school mustered in its own vicinity, and when all was ready the various contingents met at one point in the High Street, and the whole procession wended its way in perfect order to the Priory. The whole arrangement was organised by Colonel Bird, and its successful carrying out is sufficient praise to his skill and tact.

"First came the scholars from Hornsey Day and Sunday Schools, who had formed up at St. Peter's Church, Harringay. These, to the number of 1,400, were marshalled by Colonel Bird, and accompanied by the Millfield band to the general rendezvous in High Street. Here they were received by the Hornsey Fire Brigade, with their engine, and the working men of the Local Board, who had, with the band of the Y division, marched from the fire station in Tottenham Lane. While all the schools were assembling, selections of music were played by this band.

"The children of Crouch End Board Schools, numbering 1,100, formed up in their own playground, and, headed by the boys' military band from the Strand Schools, Edmonton, marched to Ribblesdale Road, where they halted, afterwards forming up in the rear of Colonel Bird's detachment.

"The Muswell Hill and Fortis Green children, numbering 200,

assembled at St. James's Church, under the superintendence of Mr. Noble, who marched them in admirable order to join the other schools.

"At one o'clock the whole of the above were in readiness for the grand march through the village. The procession was over a mile in length, and formed one of the most impressive spectacles ever seen in Hornsey. In the van was carried a large banner, on which were the words 'Hornsey Jubilee Festival,' on one side being 1837, and on the other 1887. Behind the school children followed a large number of young and old people who did not belong to any of the public schools of Hornsey, but who had been invited as living in the district. Each child on starting was given a bun, and on its arrival at the grounds, a medal, on the obverse side being the head of Her Majesty, and on the reverse, the occasion for which it was struck, viz., the Hornsey Celebration of the Jubilee. With bands playing and banners and flags flying, the procession marched along the street.

"At two o'clock the athletic sports commenced, about which it will be sufficient to say that the races were run with zest, and the various events much enjoyed, both by racers and lookers-on. A quarter of an hour later a dinner was given to the aged poor in one of the marquees. These included sixty-three old women from Edmonton Union, who had been brought in vans to the spot. It was a happy sight, and yet a solemn one, to see these old dames eating a Jubilee dinner, that by them would never be repeated. This was the second Jubilee one of them had seen, we were informed. At any rate, *she* would not see another. A little further off sat one who could not see at all; poor thing, she was blind. Her benefactors were unseen, but doubtless her heart was none the less thankful towards them. Others were in various stages of decay, but all looked happy, and one, when grasping the Colonel's outstretched hand, answered sprightly, to his query whether she was 'only thirty,' with the rejoinder that she was three times that age. The dinner to the aged, which had been enlivened with music by the Hornsey Police String Band, in due time came to an end, and Mr. H. R. Williams, mounting the platform, welcomed them all with a few sympathetic words. 'He was *glad* to see them,' he said, and their cheers told him the feeling was mutual. 'Some of those present,' continued the speaker, 'hardly expected to see the Jubilee, but there they were, and all rejoicing with the nation on the arrival of such a happy period. He would not ask them to drink the health of the Queen, because they had nothing to drink it with, but perhaps they would give her three cheers instead.' These were given with great heartiness, and of course a similar compliment was paid to Mr. Williams. The band then played 'God Save the Queen,' and the dinner came to an end.

"One feature concerning the festival was that it was not political or

religious in a party sense. For once in their lives partisans were united, showing that, after all, petty prejudices and paltry opinions are but skin deep, and that the divine attributes of love and humanity are ever flowing in a gentle stream beneath.

"At four o'clock the bugle sounded for the assembly of all the children to tea, and an hour later the aged poor were treated with a like refreshment, during which a vocal and instrumental concert was given. Vocal performances of an attractive character were also given at the rear of the house. Other entertainments were not wanting. There was a grand cricket match between the Police Y Division and the Alert Cricket Club, in which some remarkably funny playing was shown. The bowling of the latter club was very effective. The 'World-renowned De Factos' were present, with 'their wonderful illusions and magical entertainments, juggling, conjuring, etc.; Professor Percival amused many with a marvellous exhibition of ventriloquism; while a Punch and Judy Show was an endless source of fun.

"But all happy days have an end, and by-and-bye,

> "'Evening came,
> The setting sun stretched his celestial rods of light
> Across the level landscape,'

and a general movement towards the gates indicated that the *fête* was at an end. The King Edward School children went off first, preceded by their band playing a lively march, and the other schools filed out after their respective banners. The whole party were, however, not to separate without a few words from the owner of the beautiful grounds, by whose kindness and liberality such a happy day had been spent. On rising to speak, Mr. Williams was greeted with an ovation. 'He said he was glad to see so many present. It was one of those auspicious occasions that they would remember to the last day of their lives. He was thankful that the weather had been so fine, and hoped that they all had thoroughly enjoyed themselves. It had been a great pleasure for him to throw open his grounds for their use, but all the praise must not be given to him. They were greatly indebted to the committee of gentlemen who undertook the matter and carried it out so successfully. They deserved thanks more than himself. It had been a source of the greatest gratification to him and his wife and family, but the success of the whole affair had depended to a large extent upon the gentlemen around him. They had very frequently gone into the small hours of the morning when he had been asleep, and contributed so much towards the success of the entertainment that they deserved the best thanks of them all. He trusted they would all get safely home, and, having enjoyed a good day, long remember it as a worthy celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee.'

"The bands having played 'God Bless the Prince of Wales,' 'Rule Britannia,' and 'God Save the Queen,' in the words of which the people joined, three hearty cheers were given for Mr. Williams, and another three for Mrs. Williams and the family.

"This brought the *fête* to a conclusion, but it was some time before the grounds were cleared of the eight or nine thousand persons that, during the day, passed through the gates.[1]

"The promoters of the grand Jubilee *fête* at Hornsey on Saturday last must have had their hearts gladdened by the sight of the thousands of happy faces around them, and the proprietor of the beautiful grounds must have felt fully recompensed for the trouble he had taken in the affair, and the possible damage to his property by the frolicsome people that thronged his garden and lawn. The children in future years will retain grateful thoughts of the benefactors who were the means of carrying the idea into effect. Certainly the Hornsey children, nor the old people from the Union, ever spent such a day before in their lives. The annals of this district will at any rate contain one bright page."[2]

The surplus funds, about £59, were presented to the Great Northern Hospital.

SCHOOLS IN HIGHGATE.

The salubrious air of Highgate, and its convenient contiguity to the metropolis, rendered it a very favourite locality for schools, in which it rivalled Hackney; indeed, before the railways gave access to the seaside Highgate may be said to have been "principally schools and public houses."

In 1830 there were no less than nineteen boarding-schools in Highgate,—ten for girls and nine for boys,—and they practically absorbed all the larger houses.

Dr. Duncan's school at Arundel House for boys, and Mesdames Grignion[3] and Hall's for girls, in The Grove, next door to the old Hall, were both schools of some note.

In Queen Anne's time Mrs. Elizabeth Tuchin[4] advertises that "she still keeps her School at Highgate, notwithstanding Reports to the contrary. Where young Gentlewomen may be soberly Educated, and taught all sorts of Learning fit for young Gentlewomen."[5]

Mrs. Gilchrist's biographer says: "Anne Burrows (afterwards Anne Gilchrist) though only eleven is already a schoolgirl of five years' standing at the Misses Cahusacs, an evangelical school at Highgate,

[1] *North Middlesex Chronicle*, July 2nd, 1887.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Daughter of Charles Grignion the engraver.
[4] Sister of Tuchin of the *Observer*.
[5] Ashton's *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne*.

which gave some advantages in education ; not that the scholars thereof would now, any of them, take honours at Girton." In 1839 her father died, and her mother removed into a small house in Highgate. "A few months after her release from school (1844) we find the diligent student deep in Rousseau's *Confessions*. When, upon one occasion, Anne was studying Jean Jacques walking upon the terrace at Highgate cemetery, the vicar put in an unexpected appearance. After the usual salutations clericus asked, 'What is your book, Miss Burrows?' Realizing the situation, Anne replied, almost inaudibly, 'Rousseau's *Confessions*,' of which the last word only caught the parson's ear. 'St. Augustine's *Confessions?* Ah! good reading—very good book, my dear!'"[1]

NOTE ON FINCHLEY TOLLS.

A charter of King John, confirmed by Elizabeth and Charles I., exempted residents of Finchley as tenants of the Bishop. "Both they and their men are to be free of custom, toll, pontage, passage, payage, lestage, stallage, carriage, tollage, package, and every other custom throughout our whole land."[2]

"In 1774 the City disputed these rights, and in August 1779 a cause was tried in the Queen's Bench respecting a claim set up by the Corporation for a duty of 6*d.* per load on hay sold at Smithfield by an inhabitant of Finchley, who, represented by the parish authorities, pleaded the old charter ; but as it was not proved that the manor of Finchley belonged to the Bishops at that time, the verdict was given for the City."[3]

The case was badly got up, the feeling evidently being that the sixpenny toll was not worth incurring heavy law charges about, for the parish expenses were but £9 9*s.*

In this way, Finchley as well as Hornsey (which had similar privileges) has allowed the rights which its inhabitants possessed as tenants of the Bishop to fall into abeyance.

The White Lion, just below North Hill, Highgate, by the East End Station, was originally called "the dirt house," from the fact that the coaches were cleansed here from "the dirt" gathered in passing the stream in the valley. In Ogilby's map, 1674, this stream is shown as a considerable sheet of water.

THE HUNDREDS OF MIDDLESEX.

The following is a record of the rating made by the Middlesex magistrates in 1615 on the respective divisions of the Hundreds of the County of Middlesex, for the purpose of erecting the House of Correction at Clerkenwell. It is very interesting, as showing the comparative rating values of the different localities.

[1] *Life and Writings of Anne Gilchrist.* [2] Lambert's *History of London.*
[3] *Sketch of Finchley.*

21st October, 12 James I.—Ordered at S. P. held on the said day at Hickes Hall, "That a Rate and Taxacion for the levyinge and raysinge of the somme of 2,000 li. should be ymposed and rated and taxed upon the whole Countye of Middlesex (for the buyinge, buildinge, and finishinge of a House of Correccion for the say'd countye) in manner and forme followinge, viz. :—

(1) *The Hundred of Osulston.*

	£		£
St. Margaret's in Westminster	60	Hoxton	12
St. Saviour's and St. Clementes Danes	36	Hollowellstreete	12
St. Martyns-in-the Fieldes	48	Nortonfolgate	6
The Duchy of Lancaster	48	Stepney	70
Chancery Lane and Highe Holborne } Saffron Hill and Eelya Rentes }	48	Stratfordbowe	36
		Bromley	12
St Giles-in-the-Fieldes	36	Finnsburye-et-Wenlaxbarne	36
Paddington	8	Hammersmithe	20
Marybone	6	Eelinge	25
Chelsey	6	Cheswicke	16
Kentishtowne	20	Acton	16
Kensington	20	Willesdon	30
Fulham	20	Fryarne Barnett	20
Hampsteade	12	St. Johnstreete	25
St. Katherins	48	Clerkenwell	25
Estsmithfeild	40	Islington	25
Whitechappell	40	Finchley	25
Hackney	60	Hornsey	20
Shorditche	12	Stoke Newington	20

(2) *The Hundred of Edmonton.*

	£		£
Edmonton	40	Hadley	6
Tottenham	30	Enfielde	40
Southmyms	20		

(3) *The Hundred of Gore.*

	£		£
Harrowe and Pynnor	80	Stanmor Parva	10
Edgware	8	Kingsburye	12
Stanmur Magna	10	Hendon	50

(4) *The Hundred of Elthorne.*

	£		£
Newbrainforde	20	Woxbridge	20
Hanwell	12	Hillingdon	45
Greeneforde and Perryvall	24	Rislippe	50
Northall	24	Harfeld	15
Southall *alias* Norwoode	24	Ichenham	12
Heyes	40	Harmondesworthe	28
Cranford	6	Cowley	10
Harlington	36	West Drayton	20

(5) *The Hundred of Spelthorne.*

	£		£
Stanes	40	Sonburye	22
Stanwell	30	Hampton	22
Laleham	15	Tuddington	12
Shepperton	18	Hanworthe	10
Litleton	18	Feltham	18
Ashforde	18	East Bedfonte	18

(6) *The Hundred of Istleworth.*

	£		£
Istleworth	18	Heston	40
Twickenham	18		

In all . . . £2,043.

Followed by the appointment of Sir George Coppyn, William Smythe, Baptiste Hicks,[1] Knts., and Edmund Dobleday and Francis Michell, Esqs., Justices of the Peace, to act as collectors of the several sums of money promised by divers well-affected persons, by way of voluntary contribution towards the charges of building the said House of Correction.[2]

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

September 1828.—Henry Holmes, phrenologist, of High Street, Highgate, was fined £20 at Bow Street for breaking open his mother's coffin to take a cast of her head!

A Mr. Wright, of Crouch End, bought a second-hand stone coffin a bargain, and after keeping it for many years, was by the provisions of his will buried in it, in Hornsey Churchyard,—a nut to crack for *some* future antiquarian.

Morning Herald, July 1st, 1802.—"Cricket. Tuesday was played a grand match of Cricket on Hampstead Heath, between eleven Gentlemen of Mary-le-bone Club and nine Gentlemen of Hampstead and Highgate, with two men given in, for 500 guineas, which was won by the latter by 112 runs."

In the Court Rolls of the Manor of Haringey, in 1688, mention is made of a small piece of ground at Highgate, lying within certain fortifications, called "the Bulwarks."

In a letter from George Berkeley to Lord Percival, dated August 9th, 1715, he says: "The Highgate cobbler was whipped on Tuesday,

[1] Who built Hicks's Hall for the meeting of the Justices.
[2] Middlesex County Records.

and a mob of several thousands threatened to pull the executioner to pieces if he did not perform his office gently."[1]

In connection with "The Black Dog Tavern" the following stupid hoax was perpetrated in January 1763.

"Last night, between the hours of ten and twelve, a man went to seven or eight of the principal undertakers of the city, pretending he was under-gardener to Squire Johnson of Highgate, and that his master died that afternoon; and told each of them to come to the *Black Dog at Highgate* this morning by nine o'clock, where a gentleman would be to give directions about his master's funeral. Accordingly early this morning they all set out, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some on foot, and got to the place appointed within a little time of one another. Their astonishment was great to see so many of one profession at one house; but however great their surprise, they did not disclose the business which brought them there till the time was elapsed that the pretended gentleman was to meet them at, and he not coming the affair was opened, by which they found that they were all imposed upon by the same man, for upon the strictest inquiry they could make there was no such a gentleman to be found at Highgate as Mr. Johnson. The fellow got himself well paid for his invention, having begged some money from every one of them."[2]

Mary and Catherine Milton, nieces of the poet, daughters of his brother Sir Christopher, lived in Holloway as lately as 1735. "These ladies possessed a degree of health and strength that enabled them to walk a mile up the steep hill on Sunday to Highgate Chapel. One of them was ninety-two when she died, and they had allowed their name to be corrupted to Melton."[3]

Milton's granddaughter, Mrs. Foster, wife of a weaver, was also a resident of Upper Holloway about the same time, where she kept a small shop—probably removing there to be near her well-to-do cousins. *Comus* was represented at Drury Lane in 1750 for her benefit, which produced her £130. She died in 1754, aged sixty-six.[4]

NOTES REFERRING TO OLD RESIDENTS OF HIGHGATE OR ITS IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD WHOSE NAMES CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED WITH ANY PARTICULAR HOUSE.

Lewis Atterbury, LL.D., the elder brother of the celebrated Bishop of Rochester, was born in 1656, educated at Westminster, and elected a student to Christ Church, Oxon. He early took orders, and became preacher of Highgate Chapel, and Rector of Shepperton and Hornsey

[1] Egmont MSS.
[2] Newspaper paragraph.
[3] Hazlitt's edition of *Johnson's Lives of the Poets.*
[4] Newton's *Life of Milton.*

in Middlesex, which livings formed the extent of his rise in the Church. He was a plain, practical, and benevolent divine, and much attached to his brother, although thinking he had some occasion to complain of neglect from him. He founded a school for girls at Newport Pagnell. In 1691 Dr. Atterbury settled at Highgate, where he supplied the pulpit of the Rev. Daniel Lathom, who was very old, and laboured under the misfortune of the loss of his sight.

Upon the death of this gentleman our Doctor was in June 1695, by the unanimous votes of the six Governors or Trustees of Highgate Chapel, elected to be their preacher, and this office he held to the time of his death.

When he first resided at Highgate he observed what difficulties the poor in the neighbourhood there underwent for the want of a good physician or apothecary, and therefore he set himself in good earnest to the study of physic, and having attained a good skill therein, practised it (gratis) occasionally amongst his poor neighbours.

It is certain Doctor Atterbury applied for the Archdeaconry of Rochester, in the gift of his brother the Bishop, and had some encouragement to hope for it, though he did not succeed in obtaining it. The following letters which passed between the brothers relate to this matter; the decision of the Bishop seems to have caused the Doctor considerable disappointment.

To the Right Revd. the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

"DEAR BROTHER,—It is reported that the Archdeacon (of Rochester) is dead, and I have sent my servant to inform me whether it is so or not. I have since considered all that you said to me yesterday, and both from reason and matter of fact still am of opinion that there can be no just matter of exception taken. I shall only lay down two or three instances which be uppermost in my thoughts. Your Lordship well knows that Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, had a brother for his Archdeacon; and that Sir Thomas More's father was a puisny judge when he was Lord Chancellor; and thus in the sacred history did God Himself appoint that the safety and advancement of the patriarchs should be procured by their younger brother, and that they and their fathers should live under the government and protection of Joseph. I instance in these obvious examples only to let your lordship see that I have canvassed these matters in my own thoughts; and see no reason but to depend on your kind intentions, intimated in your former letter to

"Your most affectionate brother,

"And humble servant,

"LEWIS ATTERBURY."

The Bishop's reply was as follows:—

To the Rev. Dr. Atterbury at Highgate.

"BROMLEY.

"DEAR BROTHER,—Your letter directed to Westminster found me here this morning; I hope to be at Westminster to-morrow. In the meantime you may assure

yourself of anything that is within my disposal. At present the gentleman you mention is well, and likely to continue so. His distemper is the same as mine, though he has it in a worse degree. However, he is sixteen or seventeen years younger than I am, and may probably therefore outlive me. When he was in danger of late, the first person I thought of was you. But there are objections against that in point of decency, which I own stick with me, and which often I have laid them before you; you shall allow or overrule as you think fit. It had been a much properer post for my nephew, if God had pleased to spare his life.

"You need not mention anything of this kind to me, for you may depend upon it you are never out of the thoughts of

"Your ever affectionate brother,

"FR. ROFFEN."

The Bishop of Rochester to Dr. Lewis Atterbury.

"DEANERY, *Tuesday night.*

"DEAR BROTHER,—I hope you have considered the matter of the Archdeaconry, and do at least see it in the same light as I do. I protest to you I cannot help thinking it the most unseemly, indecent thing in the world, and I am very sure the generality of those whose opinions I regard will be of that opinion. I was so far from apprehending that such a station under me would be in the least welcome to you that I discoursed of it, and proposed it to another person some time ago, and am entered very far into engagements upon that head; and, had you not written to me, I do frankly own that I should never have spoken a word to you about it. Believe me when I tell you that this is a plain state of the fact; and should you at last come to be of my opinion, I daresay you will not at long run think yourself mistaken. I am sure I shall not be at ease till you are in some good dignity in the Church; such as you and I and all the world shall agree is every way proper to you.

"I am, dear brother,

"Yours most affectionately,

"FR. ROFFEN."

The Bishop of Rochester to his brother.

"*May 20th*, 1720.

"DEAR BROTHER,—The person to whom I told you I had gone very far towards engaging myself for the Archdeaconry was Dr. Brydges,[1] the Duke of Chandos's brother; and him this day I am going to collate to it. I hope you are convinced by what I have said and written that nothing could have been more improper than the placing you in that post immediately under myself. Could I have been easy under that thought, you may be sure no man living should have had the preference to you.

"I am, dear brother,

"Yours most affectionately,

"FR. ROFFEN."

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[1] Dr. Brydges was an old and intimate acquaintance of the Bishop. He died May 9th, 1728.

Dr. Lewis Atterbury to the Bishop of Rochester.

"HIGHGATE.

"DEAR BROTHER,—I am obliged to you for the favour of your last, and particularly for your giving me a reason for your disposal of the Archdeaconry and Prebend annexed when you was not obliged to give any reason at all. I cannot yet imagine what 'indecency' there can be to have raised your elder brother in place under you, which doth not bear more hard supposing that the person to be a brother of duke. There is more show of reason for the non-acceptance, but none for the giving it, and since your lordship was pleased to signify to me that I should overrule you in this matter, I confess it was some disappointment to me, though since you did not think well to bestow it upon me, I think you have given it to one of the most deserving persons I know of, who will add more to the honour of the place than I could have received from it. I hope I shall be content with that meaner post in which I am; my time, at longest, being but short in this world, and my health not suffering me to make those necessary applications others do; nor do I understand the language of the present time, for I find I begin to grow an old-fashioned gentleman, and am ignorant of the weight and value of words, which in our time rise and fall like stock. I did not think that Dr. Brydges would have took with an Archdeaconry, when his brother can make him a Bishop when he pleases: though had your lordship have put me in that post, I should not have endeavoured to have overruled you a second time.

"I am your affectionate brother,

"And humble servant,

"LEWIS ATTERBURY."

Dr. Atterbury was the author of "*A Good Subject on the Right Test of Religion;*" "*A Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson's Sermons,* being an answer to a popish book entitled *A True and Modest Account of the Chief Points in Controversy between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants;*" "*Tridentum: Letters relating to the History of Trent*" (4to; London, 1705); and he ordered his executor to publish all his manuscript sermons "that he shall think may serve to the honour of God, and bring no discredit to his memory."

The infirmities of old age and a stroke (though a gentle one) of the palsy made him less constant in the pulpit, and occasioned his going to Bath, where he died, after a short illness, on October 20th, 1731.

Dr. Atterbury had three sons, of whom the first and second died in their infancy; the third, named Bedingfield Atterbury, was born 8th January, 1693, and after a school education at Westminster was admitted at Christ Church, Oxford, and matriculated April 9th, 1712. There he studied till he took his degree in June 1718, and soon after deacon's orders. Those who knew him give him the character of a sober, modest, and ingenious young gentleman; but the hopes that his parents and friends conceived of him were soon disappointed, for he died of the smallpox December 27th, 1718. The mother grieved for the loss of an only son, and did not many years survive him, for she died on the 1st May, 1723. This was the "nephew" the Bishop refers to.

In the year 1712-3 Dr. Atterbury published a sermon entitled *The Perfect and Upright Man's Character*, a sermon occasioned by the death of Lady Gould, and preached in the Chapel at Highgate, March 22nd, 1712-3, and a similar one on the death of Sir William Ashurst in 1716; also a sermon preached upon the re-opening of the old Chapel after repairs, etc., in 1719.

Sir Richard Baker, an English historian of the seventeenth century, was born of a good family in Kent in 1568, and became a Gentleman Commoner at Oxford, whence he removed to one of the Inns of Court, and afterwards travelled on the Continent. Returning home in 1603, he was knighted by James I., and in 1620 he served the office of High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, having estates in that county. An unfortunate marriage with the daughter of Sir George Mainwaring, of Ightfield, in Shropshire, occasioned his ruin; for giving security for the debts contracted by that family he became insolvent, and was obliged to take refuge in the Fleet Prison, where after remaining some years he died in 1645. In his latter days he amused himself by turning author. Some religious pieces which he published have long since been consigned to oblivion, but his *Chronicles of the Kings of England*, first published in 1641, and afterwards continued by Edward Phillips, the nephew of Milton, and others, went through a great number of editions. Baker's *Chronicle* was a very popular book with county gentlemen. Addison, in the *Spectator*, Nos. 269 and 329, represents Sir Roger de Coverley as frequently both reading and quoting it, stating that the *Chronicle* "always lay in his hall window."

Fielding, in *Joseph Andrews*, states that Baker's *Chronicle* was part of the furniture of Sir Thomas Booby's country house.

Rev. Rochemont Barbauld, one of the ministers of the old Presbyterian Chapel in Highgate, was of Huguenot descent. He was a scholar and a gentleman, but his abilities were clouded by fits of mental aberration, which unfortunately terminated in suicide.

A happier remembrance of him is as the husband of the gifted Anna Letitia Aikin (Mrs. Barbauld), sister of the well-known Dr. Aikin, whose names are jointly associated in the *once* deservedly popular *Evenings at Home*.

Mrs. Barbauld's name is distinctly connected with a school at Palgrave in Suffolk, where her husband was sometime minister; and amongst her pupils, who always spoke of her with great affection, were Thomas Denman, afterwards Lord Chief Justice; William Gell (Sir), well known by his work on Pompeii; Lord Selkirk; the sons of Lord Templeton, etc., etc., and it was for the purpose of in-

fluencing the minds of these pupils she wrote her *Hymns in Prose* for children.

Mrs. Barbauld included amongst her friends—Charles Lamb and his sister, Crabbe, Montgomery, Mrs. Inchbald (Lamb called Mrs. Bar*bauld* and Mrs. Inch*bald* "the two bald ladies"), Maria Edgeworth, Dr. Priestley, John Howard, Josiah Wedgwood, Samuel Rogers, Crabb Robinson, etc. One of the chief characteristics of Mrs. Barbauld's style is the sprightliness of its fancy; her essays carry the weight and wisdom of the best English writings, whilst the imaginative strength of her language secures the attention of all thoughtful readers.

Some of the verses by which Mrs. Barbauld is best known, did not appear until after her death, and amongst these is what may be spoken of as the celebrated stanza from her poem on "Life." It is frequently quoted, as it may very well be, as if it were the piece complete in itself.

"LIFE.

"LIFE! I know not what thou art,
But know that thou and I must part:
And when, or how, or where we met,
I own to me's a secret yet.
But this I know, when thou art fled,
Where'er they lay these limbs, this head,
No clod so valueless shall be
As all that then remains of me.
O whither, whither dost thou fly,
Where bend unseen thy trackless course,
And in this strange divorce,
Ah, tell where to seek this compound I?
To the vast ocean of empyreal flame,
From whence thy essence came,
Dost thou thy flight pursue, when freed
From matter's base encumb'ring weed?
Or dost thou, hid from sight,
Wait, like some spell-bound knight,
Through blank oblivion's years th' appointed hour,
To break thy trance and reassume thy power?
Or canst thou without thought or feeling be?
Oh, say what art thou, when no more thou'rt thee?"

But it is the last verse which has been so repeatedly quoted. Indeed, there is a delightful freshness in its expression, full of the brightest and most animating hope. They are probably among the very last lines which fell from her pen.

"Life! we've been long together,
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear,
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;

Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time;
Say not Good-night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good-morning!"

Crabb Robinson gave the volumes in which these verses were published to Miss Wordsworth, the sister of the poet. When Wordsworth next met Robinson he said to him, "Repeat me that stanza by Mrs. Barbauld." Robinson did so. Then he requested him to repeat it again until he learnt it by heart. Then he walked up and down the sitting-room at Rydal repeating it himself, and ended by muttering, "I am not in the habit of grudging people their good things, but I wish I had written those lines!"

Mrs. Barbauld died in 1825, in her eighty-second year. Her last letter was written to Maria Edgeworth. Referring to her approaching end, she had said to Crabb Robinson, "I do not wish to be better; but don't mistake me, I am not at all impatient, but quite ready." To Miss Edgeworth she wrote, "I believe you will allow, that there is not much new, or animating, or inviting to be met with at my age. For my part, I only find that many things I knew I have forgotten; many things I thought I knew, I know nothing about. Some things I know I have found not worth knowing; and some things I would give—oh! what would one not give, to know? They are beyond human ken." It was her brother who had written that beautiful couplet, which might have happily expressed her own state as a pious wish:

"From the Banquet of Life rise a satisfied guest,
Thank the Lord of the Feast, and in peace go to rest."

She passed away peacefully and calmly, realizing the last verse of one of her sweetest and best known hymns:

"So fades a summer cloud away,
So sinks the gale when storms are o'er,
So gently shuts the eye of day,
So dies a wave along the shore.
Life's duty done—as sinks the clay,
Light from its load the spirit flies,
While heaven and earth combine to say,
How blest the righteous when he dies!"

Mrs. Barbauld resided but a short time in Highgate, but she has left a memory behind her which will help to encourage and elevate many human lives, and Highgate cannot afford to lose its share of it.

There is an inscription to her memory in the old Presbyterian

Chapel, Stoke Newington, from the pen of her nephew Arthur Aikin, late Secretary of the Society of Arts; it terminates thus:—

"Endowed by the Giver of all good
With wit, genius, poetic talent, and a vigorous understanding,
She employed those high gifts
In promoting the cause of humanity, peace, and justice,
Of civil and religious liberty,
Of pure, ardent, and affectionate devotion.
Let the young, matured by her writings in the pure spirit
Of Christian morality;
Let those of mature years capable of appreciating
The acuteness, the brilliant fancy, and sound reasoning
Of her literary compositions;
Let the surviving few who shared
Her delightful and instructive conversation,
Bear witness that this monument records
No exaggerated praise."

"Shortly after her husband's death, Mrs. Barbauld undertook an edition in *fifty* volumes of the best English novelists! Prefixed to the edition is an essay, written at some length, on the 'Origin and Progress of Novel Writing.' In 1811 she prepared for the use of young ladies a selection of the best passages from English poets and prose writers, called *The Female Speaker*. In the same year she wrote the most considerable of her poems, entitled *Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, a work which at a time of the deepest national gloom was written in eloquent but too despondent strains. This was the last of her published works."[1]

Sir Henry Blount, who resided in the family house at Upper Holloway, on the slope of Highgate Hill, was born December 15th, 1602. He received his education at Trinity College, Oxford, and afterwards became a member of the Society of Gray's Inn. In 1634 he set out on his travels through Turkey in Europe, Syria, and Egypt, of which journey he published an entertaining memoir, on his return in 1636, under the title of *A Voyage to the Levant, with Observations concerning the Modern Condition of the Turks*. The work went through several editions. In 1638 the death of his father put him in possession of the family estate of Blount's Hall, Staffordshire; the year following he was knighted, and on the breaking out of the civil wars, being one of the band of Gentlemen Pensioners, attached himself to the royal cause, and fought under the banner of Charles at the Battle of Edge Hill. On the ruin of the king's party, however, he contrived so far to

[1] *Dictionary National Biography.*

ingratiate himself with those in power as to procure not only a pardon but employment. In 1651 he was appointed a Commissioner for the reformation of the criminal code, and in 1654 sat as a Commissioner on the trial of the "Portuguese Ambassador's brother" for murder, and voted for his execution. His brother dying in the same year, he succeeded to the family estate of Tittenhanger, in Hertfordshire, and in 1661 became High Sheriff of that county on the return of Charles II., who received him into favour.

Six comedies, printed in 8vo, under the name of John Lilly, and entitled *Court Comedies*, have been ascribed to him. His other works are *An Epistle in Praise of Tobacco and Coffee*, 8vo, and the *Exchange Walk*, a satire, 8vo. His opinions, as expressed in these works, are of considerable latitude, and accounted sceptical. His death took place 9th October, 1682.

Sir Thomas Pope Blount, eldest son of Sir Henry Blount, was born 12th September, 1649, at the family mansion at Upper Holloway. While yet a young man his literary attainments had brought him into considerable notice, so that through the favour of Charles II. he was raised to the Baronetage in 1679. During the lifetime of his father he was Member for St. Albans, in the 30th and 31st Parliaments of Charles II., and sat as Member for Herts in the three successive Parliaments after the Revolution. His works are *Censura Celebriorum Auctorum*, 1690, London, reprinted in 4to at Geneva in 1694 and 1710; *De Re Poetica; or, Remarks on Poetry*, 1694; a compilation entitled *Natural History*, 12mo, 1693; and *Essays on Several Subjects*, 8vo, 1697. He died in his forty-eighth year, 30th June, 1697, at the family seat of Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire.

Charles Blount, youngest son of Sir Henry Blount, was considered the most able man of the family in point of intellect. He was avowedly a favourer of Deism, of which his father was only suspected. He was born 27th April, 1654, at Upper Holloway (where his father for some time resided), and was baptized at Highgate Old Chapel. At the age of eighteen he married a daughter of Sir T. Tyrrell, of Shotover, near Oxford. In 1675 he published a defence of Dryden's play *The Conquest of Grenada*, and three years after his *Anima Mundi; or, An Historical Narrative of the Opinions of the Ancients concerning Man's Soul after this Life*, etc. The sceptical opinions broached in this work brought it under the cognizance of Compton, Bishop of London, by whose order it was suppressed, and the book afterwards publicly burnt. In the same year a single sheet, entitled *Hobbes Last Words and Dying Legacy*, a satirical exposure of the *Leviathan* of that author (with whose principles, however, he agreed in the main), appeared from his pen, which was

followed by a strongly written pamphlet against the Popish succession under the signature of Junius Brutus. In 1680 he published the most celebrated of his writings, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, in folio, extracted from the first books of Philostratus, with his own notes. This was considered so dangerous a work that its suppression was at once determined on, and but few copies got into circulation. In the course of the same year he published a severe attack upon the heathen priestcraft, in his *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, which publication caused him at once to be considered as the chief of the deistical writers of the age. *Religio Laici*, said by Leland to be little more than a recapitulation of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was his next literary effort, but owing to the prejudice already excited against him it was published anonymously. In 1684 appeared his *Janus Scietiarum*, 8vo, a work intended for the initiation of youth into science. He concurred heartily in the Revolution of 1688, and published soon after it had taken place a *Vindication of Learning and the Liberty of the Press*, considered one of his best performances; soon after which, in 1693, he wrote an extraordinary treatise called *King William and Queen Mary Conquerors*, justifying the title of those Sovereigns to the Crown on the grounds of conquest. This absurd performance proved so obnoxious to the Commons, that by a vote of the House it was burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The death of Mr. Blount was extraordinary. On the decease of his wife, to whom he had been much attached, he paid his addresses to her sister, a lady of great beauty and accomplishments, who accepted them, with a proviso that the sanction of the Church should be obtained for their espousals; when, notwithstanding the case was drawn up with great perspicuity and ingenuity of argument by Blount himself, the decision of the divines to whom it was submitted was against him. The lady abided by it, and Blount shot himself through the head in consequence, in August 1693. His writings have been collected and printed by Gildon.[1]

Sir William Manneringe resided in Highgate, where his son was baptized and buried. The following is the entry in the register:—"William, sonne of Hester Lady Manneringe (Mainwaring) and of Sir William Manneringe, Knt., baptized September 21st, 1645; buried July 29th, 1646." Sir William Mainwaring was descended from a very ancient family in Cheshire, and distinguished himself by his bravery on the king's side during the civil war. He was slain on the walls of Chester about a month after the birth of this son.

Sir John Pettus, a native of Suffolk, who obtained the rank of Deputy Governor of the Royal Mines, and was M.P. for Dulwich in the

[1] Prickett's MSS.

reign of Charles II. He published *The History, Laws, and Places of the Chief Mines and Mineral Works in England and Wales* (fol., 1670); *Volatiles from the History of Adam and Eve; England's Independency of the Papal Power; Fleta Minor; or, The Laws of Art and Nature in Knowing, Assaying, etc., of Metals* (fol., 1683), from the German, and translated while the author was in the Fleet Prison. He died about 1690.[1]

Sir John Pettus was cupbearer to Charles II., James II., and William III.[2]

Extracts from Register.—"Charlotte, daughter of Sir John Pettus, buried May 28th, 1678." His infant son Charles was buried at Highgate, February 19th, 1678-9; Anne, his daughter, Nov. 4th, 1689.

William Platt, son of Sir Hugh Platt, resided in the hamlet of Green Street, Highgate, at the foot of the West Hill. He died in 1637. He gave £6 per annum to the poor, charged on his estates;[3] also £10 per annum to the minister of Highgate Chapel, and twenty shillings for a sermon on the immortality of the soul, to be preached upon the anniversary of his burial, the preacher to be appointed by St. John's College, Cambridge;[4] also £10 per annum to the poor of Highgate, and £4 to the poor of Kentish Town.[5]

The Platt Fellowships, which he founded at St. John's, are similar to what are called "Bye-fellowships" in some other colleges at Cambridge, and are not on the foundation. The original number was six, with a stipend of £20 per annum each, besides rooms, and commons at the fellows' table. They are described as founded by William Platt, an opulent citizen of London, out of an estate then of the annual value of £140. Being a rent-charge, the fellowships cannot be enlarged in point of revenue, though the number has been increased to eight by savings from the surplus. There is a good portrait of Platt in the Master's lodge at St. John's, with the date 1626, æt. 47.[6]

"On the fourth wall in the chancel in Highgate Chapel was the monument of William Platt, founder of some fellowships in St. John's College, Cambridge, who died in 1637. The monument is surrounded with a great number of escutcheons; under arches are busts of Platt and his wife Mary,[7] who was daughter of Sir John Hungerford of Down-Amney in Gloucestershire, and afterwards married to Edward Tucker, Esq., of Madingley, Wilts."[8]

[1] Rose's *Biographical Dictionary.*
[2] Lysons.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Lysons.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes.*
[7] Removed to Cambridge when old Chapel was pulled down.
[8] Lysons.

Extracts from Registers.—"Hon. D^na^ Judith Platt, uxor Hugonis Platt, militis sepult. Jan. 28, 1635." Sir Hugh Platt was the author of *The Garden of Eden*, *The Jewel-house of Art and Nature*, and other curious works. It is probable that Sir Hugh, who died in 1605, was buried here also, but there is no register extant of so early a date. William Platt (whose monument has been described) was buried Nov. 11th, 1637. Thomasine, wife of Robert Platt (another son of Sir Hugh), Aug. 12th, 1656.

Among the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum are the following lines :—

"TO THE WORSHIPFUL MR. WILLIAM PLAT, ESQUIRE.

"With your deserts my muse can keepe no pace,
I n you ther is such consonance of merit,
L oe, all I can, is all too meane and base,
L abouringe to shew the vertures you inherit,
I n whom, as in a fountaine that containes
A ll that doth spring to mak the rivers flow ;
M ay all those graces your high worth retaynes
Prove honor's gayne and envie's overthrow.

"P eace, pleasure, plenty, and a worthy mynde,
L ye in your brest, which all your actions guide,
A nd soe salute the tyme in their true kinde
T hat from the tract of truth they cannot slyde ;
Since goodness then to make you blest doth strive,
Lett poore men in your goodness ever thrive."

Sir Hugh Platt seems to have removed from Kirby Castle, Bethnal Green, to a house near his son's in Green Street, called "Bishop's Hall;" and confirmatory of this, the register states "*his wife* was buried in the old chapel" (Highgate).

"Sir Hugh Platt wrote a tractate on gardening, called *The Garden of Eden*, a very proper title ; for, though he has planted a tree of knowledge, he forbids it to be tasted, having concealed his principal secret in a figurative description in imitation of Baptista Porta in his *Natural Magic*, so that you might as soon understand a book of alchemy as Sir Hugh's treatise, at least his secret."[1]

"Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer (about the year 1578), mentions the death of John Kirby, who built the 'faire house upon Bednal Green, which house, lofty like a castle, occasioned certain rhymes abusive of him.' This house was afterwards the residence of Sir Hugh Platt, Knt., author of *The Garden of Eden*, and other works. Sir Hugh Platt is described as of Kirby Castle in the epitaph of his son, who died A.D. 1637 at Highgate. In 1594 Sir Hugh

[1] Walpole's *Letters*, September 1776.

lived at the neighbouring house, called Bishop's Hall, as he says himself in his *Jewel-house of Art and Nature.*"[1]

"What, in the name of all that is wonderful, is that very curious old portrait on a panel within the arched recess yonder? That aged grey-bearded gentleman, with a cap and gown of black velvet, profusely furred and with a massive gold chain, resembling that of a Dutch burgomaster, round his neck? He is seated in a chair richly ornamented with crimson brocade and gilded bosses, and surrounded by a multitudinous and confused display of chemical or alchemical utensils, and of philosophical and nondescript instruments. Retorts, alembics, receivers, blow-pipes, crucibles, mortars, bellows, and a thousand other things of quaint and marvellous aspect, bewilder the eye of the uninitiated observer. His right hand, adorned with a spacious thumb ring, containing an onyx cameo (Hercules slaying the Nemæan Lion), grasps a pen with a most venerable snow-white plume; and an antique silver watch, of rude construction, lies near it, on the adjoining table; where may also be noticed a hand-bell, that might have been chased by the matchless graver of Benvenuto Cellini himself. In his left hand he holds a manuscript volume, inscribed with the mysterious title *The Jewel-house of Art and Nature.* A curtain composed of rich eastern tapestry is arranged so as to let in a casual view of the old books and manuscripts, labelled on the dark edges of the leaves, or rejoicing in lapping-over vellum covers, that impart so inviting an air to the carved ebony shelves, with their gilded leather flaps, richly embossed, and having escalloped edges, occupying a recess beyond. Aha! there is a tricking of arms, represented as hanging on the mottled and gilded wainscot above. What say these? Will they give us an introduction to the bizarre-looking inmate of that dimly-lighted Gothic chamber? Let us read them. Argent, a saltier voided, gules, between four pelicans vulning themselves, proper: on a chief, indented, vert, three owls of the first. Crest—on a wreath a cock, gules, standing on a trumpet, or. Motto, 'Vigilantibus.' We know them not—turn we to the catalogue. Now for thee, old Squarebeard! 'No. 759, Sir Hugh Platt, Knight, of Lincoln's Inn, author of *The Jewel-house of Art and Nature*, and other works.' Ha! Sir Hugh Platt, we claim your worship's acquaintance.

"That Sir Hugh Platt was well-to-do in the world may be incidentally gathered from the occasional notices which he gives us of the modes of culinary preparation, and other matters of domestic arrangement, 'in mine own house;' while he speaks of his crops of barley and of his pasture land in the true style of an opulent landed proprietor. He used scented waters to wash with, and to perfume his furniture, and gratified his guests in Lent with delicacies as unexpected as acceptable.

[1] Lysons.

He speaks of a wonderful crop of barley 'which did grow at Bishop's Hall where I dwel, to the great admiration of all the beholders.' He 'never kept but two kine in any one summer.' We can glean little further respecting the worthy knight's biography, except that he was a native of London, a fact recorded by himself."[1]

Sir William Pritchard. "On Wednesday last the Corps of Sir William Pritchard, Knt., late Alderman, and sometime Lord Mayor of the City of London (who died February 18th), having lain some days in State at his house in *Highgate*, was convey'd from thence in a Hearse, accompanied by several Mourning Coaches, with six Horses each, through Barnet and St. Albans to Dunstable, and the next day through Hockley (where it was met by about twenty Persons on Horseback) to Woburn and Newport Pagnel, and to his seat at Great Lynford (a Mile farther), in the county of Buckingham. Where, after the Body had been set out, with all ceremony befitting his Degree, for near two hours, 'twas carried to the Church adjacent in this order, viz. : two Conductors with long staves, six Men in long cloakes two and two, the Standard, eighteen Men in Cloakes as before. Servants to the Deceas'd two and two, Divines Minister of the Parish and the Preacher, the Helm and Crest, Sword and Target, Gauntlets and Spurs, born by an Officer of Arms, the Surcoat of Arms, born by another Officer of Arms, both in their rich Coats of her Majesty's Arms embroider'd, the Body between six persons of the Arms of Christ's Hospital, St. Bartholomew's, and Merchant Taylors' Company, City of London, implated Coat and single Coat, the Chief Mourner and his four Assistants, followed by the Relations of the Defunct, etc. : After Divine Service was performed and an excellent Sermon suitable to the Occasion preached by the Reverend Lewis Atterbury, LL.D., Minister of Highgate aforsaid, the Corps was interred in a handsome large Vault in the Ile on the North side of the Church betwixt seven and eight of the clock that Evening." [2]

Sir William Pritchard, Knt., Alderman, Sheriff 1672, Lord Mayor 1682, Remembrancer and M.P. for the City.

In the Court Records of the Merchant Taylors' Company there is an entry that on 7th July, 1687, it was ordered : "That the pictures of the Right Worshipful Sir William Turner and Sir William Pritchard, worthy members of the Society, be drawne, and hung up in the Hall." Sir G. Kneller seems to have been employed to paint the same.

Sir William purchased the manor of Linford, Bucks, in 1679 from the Napier family for £19,500, which is still in the possession of his descendants, the Uthwatts.

[1] *Visions of the Times of Old*, by Robert Bigsby.
[2] *Daily Courant*, March 5th, 1705.

The burial register states: "1704, March 1st, the Right Worshipful Sir William Pritchard, Knt., Alderman of London, æt. 74."

On a marble slab in the church it is recorded that—

> "In a vault underneath lies interred the body of Sir William Pritchard, Knt. and Alderman, and some time since Lord Mayor of London, a most excellent Magistrate, and of exemplary virtue and goodness. He was one of that City's representatives in several Parliaments, and President of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he erected a suitable apartment for cutting of the stone, and built and endowed a school house and six almshouses in this parish.
>
> "Hee departed this life the 18th February, 1704, in the 74 yeare of his age."

Sir William was a liberal benefactor to the parish of Linford, and did much to restore the parish church.[1]

Dame Sarah Pritchard, by will, dated 26th April, 1707, bequeathed the sum of £800 to divers charities, which yielded the sum of £32, a proportion of which is appropriated to Highgate, amounting to about £2 10*s.* 0*d.*, and is paid yearly to ten poor old maids of the hamlet of Highgate, or widows when no old maids can be found.

Joshua Sprigge, son of William Sprigge, sometime servant to Lord Say, born at Banbury in Oxfordshire in 1618. In 1634 he became a Commoner of New Inn; he was some time a retainer to Sir Thomas Fairfax, General of the Parliament Army. In 1648 the Committee and visitors appointed by Parliament to reform the University constituted him M.A., as he had stood at Edinburgh.

"While he continued in All Souls' College he was of civil conversation, but far gone in enthusiasm; and blamed much by some of the fellows then there for his zeal in causing the History of our Saviour's Ascension curiously carved in stone over that College gate to be defaced, after it had remained there since the foundation of that house. About that time he was esteemed also a noted Independent, and afterwards very well known to be a great favourer of factious and blasphemous persons, particularly that grand impostor James Naylor, Quaker, in whose behalf he did, at the head of an hundred men, deliver a petition in favour of him to Oliver, Lord Protector. After the king's return he retired to an estate which he had purchased at Crayford in Kent, lived privately there, and frequented conventicles. At length upon the death of James Lord Say, which was in the latter end of 1673, he married his widow, named Frances, daughter of Edward Viscount Wimbledon. But she, being a 'holy sister,' kept or caused to be kept conventicles in her house, upon

[1] *History of Bucks.*

which trouble ensuing, they removed to *Highgate* near London, where Sprigge died in 1684. He was the author of several sermons, published in 1648: *Anglia Rediviva*, England's recovery; being the *History of the Actions and Successes of the Army under the Conduct of Sir Thomas Fairfax* (fol.; London, 1648); *Certain Weighty Considerations, humbly tendered to the High Court of Justice, for the Trial of the King* (London, 1648); *Solace for Saints in the Saddest Times*, and *News of a New World from the Word and Works of God, compared together; evidencing that the Times of the Man of Sin are legally determined.*"[1]

JOHN TAYLOR, author of *Monsieur Tonson*, whose life, published by Bull, Holles Street, 1832, abounds with anecdotes of theatrical notabilities, was born in Highgate.

"JOSEPH TOWERS was born, in 1737, at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, but according to some accounts in Southwark, where his father dealt in second-hand books. He received no regular education, and is said to have acquired his first taste for literature by listening to the conversation of Hawkesworth and others, who used to meet at the shop of Goadby the bookseller of the Royal Exchange. In 1754 he was apprenticed to a printer at Sherborne, and on coming again to London he some time supported himself as a journeyman in that trade. In 1763 he published his first work, entitled *A Review of the Genuine Doctrines of Christ*, and subsequently contracting a profitable marriage, he opened a bookseller's shop in Fore Street; but in 1774 he resigned his business and became a dissenting minister. He was in the same year chosen pastor of a congregation of dissenters at Highgate, and in 1778 was elected one of the ministers at Newington Green. In 1779 the University of Edinburgh conferred upon him the degree of LL.D., from which time he began to publish at intervals a variety of pamphlets up to the period of his death in 1799, exclusive of the share he had in the *Biographia Britannica*, and the *British Biography*, of which he composed the greater part. Most of his works will be found in three volumes of pamphlets, printed by subscription. He also wrote *Memoirs of the Life and Reign of Frederick III. of Prussia*, in two volumes. Dr. Towers, who is said to have been a modified Arian, was an industrious and forcible writer."[2]

"DAVID WILLIAMS, founder of the Royal Literary Fund. He was born at a village near Cardigan in 1738, and received the chief portion of his education at a college at Carmarthen. In later years he attributed the revulsion which took place in his opinions and feelings concerning religious institutions to the harsh, cold, and oppressive manner in which

[1] Prickett MSS. [2] *Biographical Dictionary.*

the doctrines and duties of Christian faith were disguised in the stern and rigid habits of a Puritanical master. On leaving this seminary, he became the minister of a small congregation at Frome in Somersetshire, but soon removed to a more important charge at Exeter, and from thence to *Highgate*.

"In 1770 he appeared as the defender of Mossop against David Garrick, in a letter to Garrick, which contained a masterly critique on the great actor, and at the same time an unsparing attack on his proceedings. The letter produced the intended effect; Mossop was liberated, and the letter withdrawn from further publication.

"Soon after followed his *Philosopher, in Three Conversations*, and this was soon followed by *Essays on Public Worship, Patriotism, and Projects of Reformation*. The appendix to these essays gave a strong indication of his detestation of intolerance, bigotry, and hypocrisy, the seed of which had been sown in the ascetic Welsh school of Carmarthen, and which became the leading character of his subsequent life. His sermons, chiefly upon religious hypocrisy, marked the close of his connection with the Nonconformists of Highgate.

"He now settled at Chelsea, and published in 1773 *A Treatise on Education*, recommending a method founded on the plans of Commenius and Rousseau, a system which he proposed to carry into effect.

"During his residence at Chelsea, he for a time gave an asylum to Dr. Franklin in his house at a period when there was a popular excitement against him in connection with American affairs. Franklin was a member of a club of literary men and politicians, of which club David Williams was also a member. In this club a scheme for universal uniformity of worship was drawn up, on principles supposed to be capable of uniting all parties; and Mr. Williams composed and published *A Liturgy on the Universal Principles of Religion and Morality*. With this was combined a set of lectures illustrating these principles, delivered in the chapel in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square, forming two volumes, 1776. This service lasted about four years, but drew little attention, and involved the lecturers in serious difficulties. As the acknowledgment of the being of a God was the only tenet demanded of its members, the Theistic Church had nothing sufficiently binding in its composition to hold any great number of men together who had no other bond of union.

"During the alarm in 1780, from the outburst of French revolutionary principles, he published a tract entitled *A Plan of Association on Constitutional Principles*, and in 1782 *Letters on Political Liberty*, a work extensively read in both England and France. It was translated by Brissot, and procured Mr. Williams an invitation to Paris to assist in drawing up a constitution for France, one of the earliest of the numerous constitutions which appeared and perished in succession during the violent

effervescence of the Revolution. He continued only about six months in Paris. He gave temperate and most excellent advice to the party of the Gironde, with which he was in communication, which, had it been taken, might have prevented the shedding of torrents of blood. But the tornado of excited human passion swept all reason before it, and Mr. Williams took his leave, prognosticating the awful scenes which followed. He brought home with him a letter from the French Minister of War to Lord Grenville, intended to enable Mr. Williams to make known to the British Ministry the real sentiments and wishes of the French Administration, but Mr. Williams never was admitted to an audience of Lord Grenville. He left the letter in the hands of Mr. Aust, Under Secretary of State, and nothing more was heard of it. A mention of this circumstance is made in Bisset's *History of George III.* In fact, his going to France had ruined him with the Ministry here, and he found himself denounced in England as a 'democrat' and in France as a 'royalist.' Such was the jealousy of French revolutionary ideas by the British Government, that Mr. Williams might have foreseen that his intercourse with political leaders in Paris would evoke the deepest suspicions of him here. Still, undaunted by this rebuff, he published his *Letters to a Young Prince*, and engaged in and completed in one volume quarto a *History of Monmouthshire*, with plates by his friend the Reverend John Gardiner. The work, however, on which he laboured with the most benevolent enthusiasm, and for which he will always be held in grateful remembrance by thousands who have derived from it comfort and support in the seasons of deepest distress, was that of the establishment of the Royal Literary Fund. On this philanthropic achievement he built the dearest hopes of his fame, and not in vain. In connection with this noble institution the name of David Williams will always be held in honour. An excellent bust of him, executed by Richard Westmacott, and presented by him to the Institution, stands in the house of the Fund. During his residence at Chelsea, Mr. Williams had conceived the plan of this society for the assistance of deserving authors, and in 1788 and 1789 he succeeded in establishing it, and devoted all his talents and energies and much of his time to the advancement of its interests. He had the satisfaction of seeing it continually rise in public estimation. The Prince of Wales honoured it with his patronage, and conferred on it an annual donation for the purpose of purchasing a house for the use of the Society, and expressly desired that Mr. Williams should reside in it. Thus launched, this benevolent Institution has gone on from year to year for eighty years, diffusing substantial blessings amongst those for whom it was designed.

"During the Peace of Amiens Mr. Williams again visited Paris, but this time, it is believed, on a private commission from our Government

to the First Consul, as he was seen repeatedly entering the Government Offices before his departure.

"He still continued to write for the promotion of his views of political progress, and produced *Egeria; or, Elementary Studies on the Progress of Nations in Political Economy, Education, and Government*, and *Preparatory Studies for Political Reformers*. He died on June 29th, 1816. The whole of Mr. Williams's proceedings evince an enthusiastic love of liberty, and a generous regard for the good of his fellow-men. His weakness was the abandonment of faith in the Christian religion, the result of the unlovable form in which he had seen in his youth the doctrines of what was called Christianity presented in the practices of those who mistook harshness and severity for the life of that religion, which on the contrary is gentleness and love."[1]

THE LORD CHANCELLOR YORKE was a Governor of the Grammar School, and therefore must have been a resident in Highgate, as the deed of the school provides that a Governor should be a "resident person."

Warburton says[2]:—"Last Thursday I dined with Mr. and Mrs. Yorke, at *Highgate;* it was not a good day, but we walked on his terrace and round his domain."

Lord Campbell says[3]:—"The ex-Attorney-General had now a charming villa at *Highgate*, where his family resided, and to which he eagerly retired as often as the Court of Chancery and Parliament would permit."

It is a matter for regret that this house has not so far been traced.

Charles Yorke was the second son of Lord Hardwicke, and was born in 1723. He was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn in 1743. Was M.P. for Reigate 1747, Solicitor-General 1756, Attorney-General 1762, went out of office with the Ministry, was returned again under the Rockingham administration in 1765, but finally resigned in 1766.

At the opening of the session of 1770, Lord Chatham having again thundered against "ministerial corruption and imbecility," Lord Camden, who held the great seal, stated that "on subjects of colonial and domestic policy he utterly condemned the course his colleagues were pursuing." This declaration naturally caused his resignation, and the total surrender of the Government depended upon whether any lawyer of decent character and ability could be found to succeed him. Lord Shelburne declared in the House of Lords that "the seals would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom a wretch so base and mean-spirited as to accept them on the terms on which they must be offered." This was on the 9th January.

[1] Howitt. [2] Warburton's *Letters*. [3] *Lives of the Chancellors*.

Pressure was brought to bear on Charles Yorke by the Duke of Grafton, but he had given a pledge to his party not to accept office, and he accordingly refused the great seal on Friday the 12th inst. On Tuesday the 16th there was a levée at St. James's, and His Majesty requested Mr. Yorke to see him in his closet afterwards. The outcome was, that he kissed the king's hand as Lord Chancellor of Great Britain!

He was never installed in Westminster Hall, nor sat in the Court of Chancery, and there is no entry respecting him in the "Close Roll," or in the records of the Crown Office; simply the following minute in the books of the Privy Council :—

"At the Court of the Queen's House, 17th January, 1770. Present the King's Most Gracious Majesty in Council. His Majesty in Council was this day graciously pleased to deliver the great seal to the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, Esquire, who was thereupon by His Majesty's command sworn of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, and likewise Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and accordingly took his place at the Board."

At the same time a warrant was signed by the king for a patent raising him to the peerage by the title of Baron Morden of Morden, in the county of Cambridge.

As soon as the Council was over, Lord Chancellor Yorke, carrying away the great seal, drove to Lord Rockingham's, where it so happened that Yorke's brother, Lord Hardwicke, and other leaders of the Opposition, were in meeting, concerting measures against the Government. He was received with a burst of indignation, all present upbraiding him for a breach of honour.

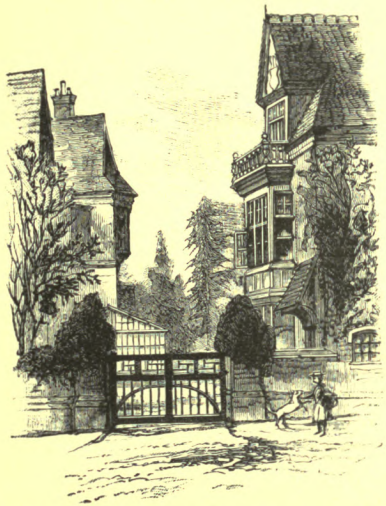
He instantly left them and returned home, his mind sorely harassed by the severity of their reproaches.

It was announced that very evening he was ill, and at five o'clock on the 20th January, three days after he had been sworn as Lord Chancellor, he was no more. His patent of nobility had been made out and was found in the room in which he died, but the great seal had not been affixed, so that the title did not descend to his heirs.[1] He died in the forty-eighth year of his age. Walpole[2] says, "whether by sword or razor was uncertain." But his friends state he died from the rupture of a blood vessel.[3]

Lord Campbell adds[4]:—"His acceptance of the great seal was wrong, but it did not proceed from sordid motives; he made no condition for pecuniary grants to himself, which, if he had asked them, would have been showered down upon him; nor does he seem to have been seduced by the love of power or splendour, for he quitted a strong united party

[1] *Lives of the Chancellors.*
[2] *Memoirs of Times of George III.*
[3] Craddock's *Memoirs.*
[4] *Lives of the Chancellors.*

to join one that was crumbling to pieces, and if he had survived, he could hardly have expected long to enjoy his elevation. He was overpowered by the royal blandishments and a momentary mistake as to the duty of a good subject ; but he was struck with deep remorse, and his love for honest fame was demonstrated by his being unable to survive the loss of it."



ENTRANCE LODGE OF SOUTHWOOD COURT.

CHAPTER VII.

HIGHGATE OF TO-DAY.

THE OLD FORGE.

Notes on population, etc.—Local government—The Hornsey Local Board, rates, etc.—South Hornsey Local Board, rates, etc.—The Union of Edmonton, rates, etc.—The Hornsey School Board, rates, etc.—The National Schools—The old British School—The magistrates and police—The Episcopal and Nonconformist Churches—The Loyal Highgate Volunteers—The 14th Middlesex Volunteer Rifle Corps, now the 3rd Middlesex Rifle Volunteers—The Literary and Scientific Institution—The Book Society—F. D. Society—Reading Society—The Bookworms—The Choral Society—Chess Club—Tennis Club—The Skating Club—The Working Men's Club—Youths' Institute—The Gymnastic Club—The Football Club—The Dispensary—The Horticultural Society—The Chrysanthemum Society—The Cottage Gardens—The Model Lodging Houses—The Cable Tramway—*The Parish Magazine*—The Diocesan Penitentiary—The Alexandra Palace—The Cemetery—The Gravel Pit Wood—The Parliament Fields.

HIGHGATE will favourably compare with any village for its local energy, or what my Lord Derby calls "local patriotism," which of all forms of public service is the most needed, and is generally the least valued. The very isolation of its position has made its inhabitants self-reliant, whilst its antiquity seems to have created a power of cohesion which is often strikingly absent in a younger community. In a new neighbourhood no one seems to care for the general good; the householders are *here* to-day and *gone* to-morrow, and there seems little or no desire for co-operative neighbourly action. But an old neighbourhood has its traditions to inspire it, and families whose interests from long residence seem rooted in its very soil.

There are several such families connected with Highgate and its immediate neighbourhood, who have been residents from one to two hundred years.[1]

Living on a hill famed for its bracing air, the inhabitants seem to be endowed with a kind of Highland vigour both bodily and mentally, which is sought for in vain on the vapid plains below. Garth, from its associations with the poets Marvell, Milton, and Coleridge, compares Highgate with the famed mountain of Greece,—

"Or Highgate Hill with lofty Pindus vie."

It is certain that those inhabitants who have resided the longest time on the famous old Hill are the most attached to it, and knowing its many advantages, unhesitatingly give it the preference to any other neighbourhood immediately contiguous to the Metropolis.

Having traced the past history of Highgate, it is now our pleasant duty to record some of the doings of its inhabitants as exhibited in the local energy, which is so marked a feature of "Highgate of to-day."

NOTES ON POPULATION.

The following table shows the population, the number of houses inhabited, uninhabited, and building, in each of the under-mentioned years in the parish of Hornsey, now divided into Hornsey and South Hornsey. The figures quoted before 1822 must be considered as approximate only :—

Year.	Population.	Houses.			Authority.
		Occupied.	Empty.	Building.	
1624	...	100	...	...	
1793	2,310	420	...	...	Lysons.
1801	2,716	458	...	...	Coles' MSS.
[2] 1822	4,122	640	...	...	Population Act, 1 George IV., c. 94.
1841	5,937	960	17	6	Census returns and Local Board statistics.
1851	7,191	1,169	46	53	Do.
1861	11,124	1,790	94	40	Do.
[3] 1871	19,357	3,086	499	151	Do.
1881	37,078	5,725	512	389	Do.
1887	—	5,769	770	275	Estimate for Hornsey only ; does not include South Hornsey, as in 1881.
The returns for 1871 and 1881 may be subdivided as under :—					
1871	11,746	1,970	354	110	Hornsey.
,,	7,611	1,116	145	41	South Hornsey.
1881	22,485	3,665	378	354	Hornsey.
,,	14,593	2,060	134	35	South Hornsey.

[1] The Martin family, of High Street, have been residents for two hundred years.

[2] In 1822 out of 743 families residing in Hornsey 113 are returned as being engaged in agriculture.

[3] The Highgate and Edgware Railway, now a branch line of the Great Northern Railway, was opened on Aug. 22nd, 1867.

The "Empty" column shows the progress of building for speculation; prior to 1841, houses were erected principally for occupation.

The following figures have been quoted by various authorities as the number of houses in the hamlets of Hornsey at the respective dates given. The figures quoted for Highgate include the houses situated in the interlacing parishes of St. Pancras and Islington.

Highgate.

The number of houses in	1624	59
,, ,,	1700	90
,, ,,	1793	264
,, ,,	1846	903
,, ,,	1886	1130

Hornsey Village.

The number of houses in	1624	30
,, ,,	1793	90
,, ,,	1886	1035

Crouch End.

The number of houses in	1624	5
,, ,,	1793	23
,, ,,	1886	750

Muswell Hill.

The number of houses in	1624	6
,, ,,	1793	20
,, ,,	1886	270

Stroud Green.

The number of houses in	1886	1060

It may be interesting to compare the number of houses of the adjoining parishes of St. Pancras and Islington as far as the respective dates will allow.

St. Pancras.

Domesday Survey	Number of houses	11
1251	,, ,,	40
1793	,, ,,	4,000
1801	,, ,,	4,426
1810	,, ,,	5,550
1887 (averaging the population at ten persons to a house, say)		22,300

Islington.

Domesday Survey	Number of houses	21
1708	,, ,,	325
1793	,, ,,	1,200
1801	,, ,,	1,745
1810	,, ,,	2,200
1841	,, ,,	8,790
1887 (averaging the population at ten persons to a house,—probably an over-estimate, but the large block of model lodging-houses has to be taken into consideration,—say)		29,400

THE HORNSEY LOCAL BOARD.

The parish of Hornsey is divided for Local Government purposes into the districts of North Hornsey or Hornsey proper, and South Hornsey; the former extending from the north side of the Seven Sisters Road to Finchley, including Finsbury Park, Stroud Green, Crouch End, Hornsey, Highgate, Muswell Hill, and Fortis Green, covering an area of about 2,740 acres; the latter extending from High Street, Stoke Newington, to the south side of Seven Sisters Road, an area of some 294 acres only; and each of these districts has its Local Board.

Hornsey, after considerable discussion, adopted the Local Government Act in June 1867. There was very great difficulty in persuading the inhabitants of the Hornsey and Highgate sides of the parish to co-operate, their needs not being the same; Hornsey was still in the fields, Highgate was preparing for the change which the railway then about to be opened would soon inevitably bring about.

The arrangement of the district was at that time a most disadvantageous one. Hornsey was ruled by three and Highgate by four distinct and independent boards, each possessing absolute power to tax the ratepayer, and each involving the cost of separate management.[1]

The houses of the poor were overcrowded and unhealthy. Mr. Moger, a resident medical man, reported "as having visited twenty cottages in Highgate, containing together forty-six rooms, in which one hundred and twenty-one persons resided; the whole of which were very dilapidated, the sewerage most questionable, and the roofs admitting the rain,"—and this was but a specimen case. The roads were in a most unsatisfactory condition, unlighted, unchannelled, the paths without kerbs, and, worse than all, there was no system of disposing of the sewage, such as we now happily have the advantage of; every house stood over, or in close

[1] *Parish Magazine*, May 1867.

proximity to a cesspool, the effluent of which found its way through partial pipe drainage into the field ditches, and so ultimately into the River Lea.

It was to remedy this state of things, and to regulate and control the requirements of the growing parish, that the Hornsey Local Board was formed, it being called into existence at a meeting of about one hundred ratepayers, held in the Drill Hall, Crouch End, on June 28th, 1867; Colonel Jeakes, Mr. W. H. Michael, and Mr. C. K. Bedells taking the leading part in the proceedings; and so quickly had public opinion ripened as to the absolute necessity for immediate action (although at first there was a strong opposition), that the resolution was carried with but *two* dissentients. In due course, the new Board of fifteen members was elected, and held its first meeting on November 7th, 1867.

In 1871, after almost insuperable difficulties as to drainage,—principally occasioned by the hilly nature of the district and its natural watershed, which gravitated towards the valley of the River Lea, the Commissioners of which obtained an injunction against the parish, with a heavy penalty attached, for fouling its waters,—an arrangement was entered into with the Metropolitan Board of Works, by which it was provided that, for certain considerations, the sewage of Hornsey should pass into the northern high level sewer of the Metropolitan system, but that the storm water should, as far as possible, be excluded.

This arrangement, a very happy one for the parish, was confirmed by an Act of 34 & 35 Victoria, entitled "The Hornsey Local Board Act," which received the royal assent on July 13th, 1871, and thus the suburban district of Hornsey was provided with a system of sewerage equal to any portion of the Metropolis, in fact superior to some, inasmuch as the separation of the storm water ensures the cleanliness of the older water-courses.

From this time Hornsey rapidly increased, as will be seen by the value of the assessments; the ratable value in

	£
1871 being	77,226
1877 ,, ...	107,210
1881 ,, ...	183,060
1887 ,, ...	265,152

Being an increase in sixteen years of 243·35 per cent. !

That the work of the Local Board has been done zealously is shown, by the thirty-seven miles of well-made and well-lighted roads and foot-paths which they control, and the care evinced for the comfort and the protection of the ratepayers.

The rates, which were naturally somewhat high during the time the parish was sparsely inhabited, have been considerably reduced, and now compare not unfavourably with the Metropolitan districts.

Hornsey Local Board Rates.

March	1875 to March	1876	...	3*s.* 8*d.*	in the £.
,,	1876 ,,	1877	...	3*s.* 6*d.*	,,
,,	1877 ,,	1878	...	3*s.* 4*d.*	,,
,,	1878 ,,	1879	...	3*s.* 2*d.*	,,
,,	1879 ,,	1880	...	2*s.* 9*d.*	,,
,,	1880 ,,	1881	...	2*s.* 8*d.*	,,
,,	1881 ,,	1882	...	3*s.* 0*d.*	,,
,,	1882 ,,	1883	...	2*s.* 5*d.*	,,
,,	1883 ,,	1884	...	2*s.* 5*d.*	,,
,,	1884 ,,	1885	...	2*s.* 6*d.*	,,
,,	1885 ,,	1886	...	2*s.* 9*d.*	,,
,,	1886 ,,	1887	...	3*s.* 0*d.*	,,

The death rate for Hornsey for 1885 ... 12·66.
,, ,, 1886 ... 11·82.

Chairmen of the Board.

Mr. W. H. Michael, Q.C.	elected 1867
Mr. Toulmin Smith	,, 1868
Colonel Jeakes, J.P.	,, 1869
Colonel Stedall, J.P.	,, 1874
Mr. H. R. Williams	,, 1884

Medical Officer.

Dr. Clothier ... ... appointed May 19th, 1879

Clerk.

Mr. R. C. C. White ... appointed June 12th, 1876.

Engineer and Surveyor.

Mr. T. De Courcy Meade, appointed Assistant Surveyor June 7th, 1880; Surveyor July 18th, 1881.

Collectors.

Mr. W. Potter and Mr. Lawdham.

The South Hornsey Local Board was formed two years before that of Hornsey proper, viz. 12th July, 1865, the districts lying very closely together, and having no divergence of interest.

The first meeting of the Board was held on 3rd August, 1865 :—

Chairmen of the Board.

Mr. Richard Chace	... ...	elected 1865
Mr. F. J. Weightman	... ...	,, 1866
Mr. S. Turquand	... ...	,, 1867
Mr. G. R. Soper	... ...	,, 1871
Mr. H. Williams	... ...	,, 1872
Mr. J. B. Porter	... ...	,, 1875
Mr. John Whiteley	... ...	,, 1876
Mr. Thomas Garner	... ...	,, 1876
Mr. George C. Boor	... ...	,, 1877
Mr. A. Sclanders	... ...	,, 1885

Medical Officer.

Dr. Thomas Jackman ... appointed 1872.

Clerk.

Mr. Edward B. Bennett ... appointed 1865.

Surveyor.

Mr. Edward Fry ... ... appointed 1874.

Collector.

Mr. Alfred H. Barnes ... appointed 1865.

The local rate of this district is probably the lowest in the Metropolis, there being no main roads through it, and but little traffic, and the district being so small is very easily worked. The following table shows the

Ratable Values and Rates for the South Hornsey District, since 1875.

Ratable Values.	Rate made.	Rate at.
£		
52,657	April 7th, 1875	9*d.*
	October 6th, ,, ...	10*d.*
60,369	April 19th, 1876	10*d.*
	October 4th, ,, ...	10*d.*
60,515	April 4th, 1877	10*d.*
	October 3rd, ,, ...	11*d.*
70,190	April 3rd, 1878	9*d.*
	October 2nd, ,, ...	9*d.*
70,169	April 2nd, 1879	9*d.*
	October 2nd, ,, ...	8*d.*

Ratable Values.	Rate made.	Rate at.
£		
82,752	April 7th, 1880	6*d.*
	October 6th, ,, ...	7*d.*
86,577	April 6th, 1881	10*d.*
	October 5th, ,, ...	9*d.*
88,292	April 5th, 1882	8*d.*
	October 4th, ,, ...	10*d.*
93,720	April 4th, 1883	8*d.*
	October 3rd, ,, ...	8*d.*
94,773	April 2nd, 1884	10*d.*
	October 1st, ,, ...	9*d.*
85,777	April 1st, 1885	7*d.*
	October 7th, ,, ...	9*d.*
87,457	April 7th, 1886	8*d.*
	October 6th, ,, ...	8*d.*
85,814	April 6th, 1887	8*d.*

The present number of houses is 2,300. The ratable value in 1865 was £25,505; in 1887, £85,814. The population in 1881 was 14,593; in 1886, 16,000 (estimated).

The Union.

Prior to 1837, the parish of Hornsey dealt with its own poor,[1] the Workhouse being situated in the Priory Road, Hornsey, at the back of the Old Cage (until recently used as a mortuary, but now removed to the rear of the houses opposite the parish church); but at that date Hornsey was joined with the parishes of Tottenham, Enfield, Edmonton, Waltham Abbey, and Cheshunt, for poor law purposes, and now forms part of the Edmonton Union.

This arrangement was doubtless a desirable one at the date mentioned, but from the rapid growth of the several districts forming the Union, it has now become cumbersome, and the time seems approaching when each parish will again have to deal with its own poor. A serious drawback to the present system is, that, as the poor law assessment governs the local rating, appeals have to be made to the guardians at Edmonton, instead of at each local centre, at a very serious cost of time, trouble, and temper.

[1] Edmonton Union formed 4 & 5 William IV. The order of the Commissioners is dated 7th January, 1837.

The Board of Guardians is composed of :—

15	representatives	of	Tottenham
8	,,	,,	Hornsey
7	,,	,,	Edmonton
5	,,	,,	Enfield
3	,,	,,	Cheshunt
2	,,	,,	Waltham Abbey.

The poor law rating for the last twelve years is as under, the assessment being upon both Hornsey and South Hornsey valuation lists, *i.e.*, the entire parish :—

Ratable Values.		Rate made.		Rate at.	
£	s.			s.	d.
151,579	10	May 10th,	1875	1	0
151,510	0	November 1st,	,, ...	1	0
159,779	0	April 26th,	1876	1	0
168,280	0	November 22nd,	,, ...	1	0
167,777	0	May 2nd,	1877	1	4
167,551	0	October 31st,	,, ...	1	2
201,860	0	May 15th,	1878	1	2
202,260	0	October 30th,	,, ...	0	9
202,143	0	May 26th,	1879	1	0
248,844	0	November 24th,	,, ...	0	10
243,961	10	May 24th,	1880	1	0
269,841	0	November 22nd,	,, ...	1	0
277,341	10	April 25th,	1881	1	2
291,141	0	October 24th,	,, ...	1	2
290,567	0	April 4th,	1882	1	2
308,309	10	October 24th,	,, ...	1	2
331,457	0	April 30th,	1883	1	3
335,545	10	October 29th,	,, ...	1	2
357,160	0	May 12th,	1884	1	2
328,748	0	November 24th,	,, ...	1	1
336,424	0	May 26th,	1885	1	3
335,953	0	November 9th,	,, ...	1	1
352,805	0	May 3rd,	1886	1	3
355,755	0	November 15th,	,, ...	1	1
354,120	0	May 2nd,	1887	1	3

Collector of the Poor Rates for Hornsey:
Mr. Fred John Potter.

THE HORNSEY SCHOOL BOARD.

On 17th May, 1874, the Education Department published a preliminary notice, setting forth the educational deficiencies of the parish, which were very considerable in South Hornsey. This was followed on the 14th September by a final notice showing the exact deficiency in each portion of the parish, stating that the deficiency at Highgate and Crouch End had been increased by the resolution which had been arrived at by the managers of the British Schools in those places, to close them as soon as convenient. The notice further stated that if the educational deficiency (which then amounted to the required provision for twelve hundred children) was not supplied, or was not in course of being supplied, at the expiration of six months from the date of the notice, the Department would order the formation of a School Board.

As the proposed School Board was inevitable, the parishioners wisely resolved to anticipate it, in order that there should be no unnecessary delay in the all-important work of education.

In answer to a requisition signed by fifty ratepayers (that being the number required by the statute), the clerk of the Edmonton Union called a public meeting of ratepayers on the 26th November, 1874, at which the Rev. Canon Harvey, the Rector of Hornsey, presided. A resolution was moved by Mr. E. W. Crosse of Hornsey, seconded by Rev. J. Viney of Highgate, and carried with but one dissentient:—"That it is expedient that a School Board should be formed for the parish of Hornsey." At the close of the proceedings, Mr. C. E. Mudie of Muswell Hill moved, and Mr. H. R Williams of Highgate seconded, a cordial vote of thanks to the Rector, which was unanimously carried.

By an arrangement which was eminently creditable to the parish, the basis of an agreement was fixed upon by which a public contest was avoided, and the work commenced under the happiest auspices. Inclusive of this compromise there have been five elections, the Act requiring one every three years, viz., the first on 21st December, 1874; second on 13th December, 1877; third on the 9th December, 1880; fourth on the 7th December, 1883; fifth on the 16th December, 1886.

The Board consists of eleven members. The Chairmen of the successive Boards have been as follows:—Mr. E. W. Crosse, Mr. H. R. Williams,[1] Mr. M. Mitchell, Mr. W. Reynolds. The Clerk to the Board (appointed 16th February, 1875) is Mr. R. C. C. White.

The work for which the Board was called into existence grew upon it very rapidly, so that instead of twelve hundred children for whom in the first instance it was necessary to provide, the number has reached two thousand seven hundred! Three schools have been erected,

[1] Mr. Williams held the office of Chairman for six years.

viz., South Hornsey, to accommodate 1,200 children (without the central hall); Crouch End, 1,200; Highgate, 260. The cost has been as follows :—

South Hornsey	£20,456 4 4		
Additions	885 3 6		
		£21,341	7 10
Crouch End	9,845 8 11		
Additions	8,584 2 11		
		18,429	11 10
Highgate	4,273 4 7		
Additions	1,105 0 0		
		5,378	4 7
One-third share of cost of Truant School	1,791 0 0		
Additions	450 0 0		
		2,241	0 0
Total cost of land and buildings		£47,390	4 3

The Government grants earned in the year ending 31st December 1886, were :—South Hornsey Schools, £1,362 3*s.* 8*d.*; Crouch End, £757 5*s.* 3*d.*; Highgate, £220 2*s.* 9*d.* Total, £2,339 11*s.* 8*d.*

Percentage of passes, 1886 :—South Hornsey: Boys, 97·6; Girls, 98; Infants, 100. Crouch End: Boys, 97; Girls, 95; Infants, 100. Highgate: mixed, 96·97. A result greatly to the credit of the teachers.

Hornsey School Board Rates have been as follows :—

Half Year to	In the £
September, 1875	2*d.*
March, 1876	2*d.*
September, ,, ...	2*d.*
March, 1877	2*d.*
September, ,, ...	2*d.*
March, 1878	2*d.*
September, ,, ...	2*d.*
March, 1879	2½*d.*
September, ,, ...	3*d.*
March, 1880	2½*d.*
September, ,, ...	2½*d.*
March, 1881	3½*d.*
September, ,, ...	3*d.*
March, 1882	2½*d.*
September, ,, ...	2½*d.*
March, 1883	2½*d.*
September, ,, ...	3*d.*
March, 1884	3*d.*
September, ,, ...	3*d.*
March, 1885	3½*d.*
September, ,, ...	3½*d.*
March, 1886	3*d.*
September, ,, ...	3*d.*
March, 1887	3½*d.*
September, ,, ...	3½*d.*

The public day schools in operation in Highgate and its immediate neighbourhood are as follows, the figures showing their capability and average attendance for 1886.

Highgate (Hornsey School Board)	built for	260.	Average attendance	225
Whittington (London School Board)	,,	574	,,	546
St. Michael's National	,,	470	,,	360
St. Ann's ,,	,,	320	,,	200
St. Joseph's R. C.	,,	300	,,	225
		1,924		1,556

The National Schools.

These schools are situated on the west side of the North Road, Highgate, standing on a beautiful site some considerable distance back from the main road.

The buildings are well planned, and remembering that they were erected some thirty five years since, if the very moderate requirements of the then existing village is taken into consideration, it will be seen that the scope of the intention was *exceedingly* liberal, and far in advance of the educational ideas of the day. The old school houses in Southwood Lane seem to have been exceedingly inadequate. The report of 1850 stated that "the existing school-buildings are universally admitted to require much extension and improvement. The boys' and girls' schools are without the essential requisite of a class room; the drainage, warming, and ventilation are extremely defective; the boys have scarcely any playground, the girls have none. The children therefore play in the streets. Neither school has a residence for the teacher; the master lives in a hired house, and the mistress in a very poor tenement, belonging to the trustees of the Pauncefort Charity. There are no means of training the boys in out-door industry, or indeed in any industrial occupation, or the girls in cooking, washing, house-work, or any industry but needle-work. To lay out a large sum of money in effecting some of the desired additions on the existing site would be injudicious, because the site is leasehold, and subject to a rent; and it is also too confined to admit of all or even the principal part of the necessary improvements. The infants' school-room is not, as it should be, in immediate contiguity to the schools for the elder children, neither has it the advantage of an airy playground, but only a close and confined court. The present site will not allow the existing defects to be remedied, and it is moreover leasehold, as well as the other schools, and subject to an annual rent."

At a meeting held in the National School House, on Thursday, July 25th, 1850,—the Rev. T. H. Causton in the chair; present, Mr.

Basevi, Mr. Block, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Chester, Mr. Clarke, Rev. J. B. Dyne, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Ford, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Kilburn, Mr. Owen, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Prickett, Mr. Richardson, Rev. W. Shaw, Mr. Tatham, Mr. J. L. Tatham, Mr. Wilkinson,—it was proposed by Mr. Chester, seconded by Mr. Gladstone, and resolved unanimously, "That this meeting is of opinion, that for better training the children of the poor of Highgate, in religion and industry, the existing school-buildings for boys, girls, and infants should be abandoned, and the leases should be disposed of; and that a freehold site should be procured, where new buildings for the three schools may be erected, with proper class rooms, and other appurtenances, houses, and play-grounds, and where school gardens for the boys, and a school kitchen, washhouse, and other domestic offices for the girls, may afford the means of training the children in those habits of hardy and skilful industry, which, by God's blessing, may promote their bodily and moral health, and prepare them for the discharge of their duties in after life."

It was proposed by Mr. Clarke, seconded by Mr. Wilkinson, and resolved unanimously, "That the undermentioned be a Committee to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect, and that they have power to add to their number: the Rev. T. H. Causton, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Bain, Mr. Basevi, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Bodkin, Mr. Block, Mr. Brendon, Mr. Chester, Mr. Crawley, Rev. J. B. Dyne, Rev. L. Evans, Mr. J. Fisher, Mr. Fleming, Mr. Furnee, Mr. Gardiner, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Kilburn, Mr. Lake, Mr. Lea, Mr. Lloyd, Mr. Moger, Mr. Oldfield, Mr. Owen, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Parkinson, Mr. Parry, Mr. Prickett, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Redmayne, Mr. Richardson, Mr. F. Rivington, Mr. G. K. Smith, Mr. Sadler, Rev. W. Shaw, Mr. Tatham, Mr. J. L. Tatham, Mr. H. Tatham, Mr. Tebbs, Rev. Mr. Wardale, Mr. Wetherell, Mr. Wilkinson."[1] It was proposed by Mr. Beaumont, seconded by the Rev. J. B. Dyne, and resolved unanimously, "That Thomas Clarke, Esq., and William Gladstone, Esq., be appointed treasurers; and William Ford, Esq., and W. D Owen, Esq., Secretaries of the said Committee; and that those gentlemen, with Mr. Prickett, Mr. Palmer, and Josiah Wilkinson, Esq., be a Sub-Committee of Management to accomplish the proposed undertaking, under the general control of the Committee already appointed."

The plans as suggested in the foregoing resolutions were boldly carried into effect, although for a time the proposed work was beset with difficulties. The title of the site proved to be a questionable one, and it was almost determined at one time to abandon it in favour of an

[1] These names are printed as a remembrance of old and respected neighbours, nearly the whole of whom have now passed away.

alternative one on North Hill adjoining the pound, called the "Cardinal's Hat Field," but ultimately it was decided to adhere to the original plan, setting the buildings well back on that portion of the ground respecting which no question could arise, devoting the frontage for gardening purposes. Having disposed of this difficulty, a second one arose, from the fact that the owner of a property of which but a small portion was required, refused to treat except for the whole; this decision compelled the managers to purchase some ten acres of land at a cost of £3,500, six acres of which they sold to Mr. Tatham for £1,460, and ultimately, by sales and exchanges, the site, which is an admirable one, and covers four acres two roods thirty-five perches, cost but £1,691 18*s.* 7*d.*,—of course exclusive of the one acre of land for which an Act was obtained to enable the Bishop of London to convey it gratuitously for the use of the schools.

Plans were prepared by Mr. Salvin for schools to accommodate 150 boys, 120 girls, and 150 infants, which were erected at a cost, including fittings and furnishing, of £5,043 14*s.* 1*d.*, or, including the cost of site, £6,735 12*s.* 8*d.*

Towards this sum the Privy Council on Education granted £1,800, stated to have been the *largest* grant made up to that date for school buildings; the National Society, £200; sale of leases of the old premises, etc., about £300,—the balance being raised by subscriptions.

An admirable feature in these schools was the industrial occupations in which the children, or at least a portion of them, were employed, but which has been much crippled by the articles of the Code providing "payment by results." The boys are taught gardening and the cultivation of the ground for farming purposes, and the girls to bake, cook, cut out and make clothing, knit, wash, and general household work.

The number of children in average attendance, as stated in the Report for 1885, was: boys, 116; girls, 109; infants, 109.

The grant awarded on the Inspector's Report was £337 1*s.* 9*d.*, divided in the earnings as follows:—Boys' school, £127 10*s.* 5*d.*; average 20*s.* 1*d.* per head, with 40*s.* for pupil teacher. Girls', £108 14*s.* 4*d.*; 17*s.* 10*d.* per head, with 70*s.* for pupil teachers. Infants', £100 17*s.* 0*d.*; 17*s.* per head, with 45*s.* for pupil teacher.

The percentage of passes was: boys, 91; girls, 82. As the ecclesiastical district of St. Michael is partly in the parish of St. Pancras, a portion of the accommodation of the schools is reserved, if necessary, for children residing in that parish.

The Late British School.

This school can hardly be called an item of "Highgate of to-day," seeing it no longer exists, but it may be considered here as a record of the past.

On the 13th August, 1852, soon after the completion of the National Schools, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Highgate was held to consider the desirability of establishing a British School, Mr. Joseph Leech in the chair. The following Resolutions were passed unanimously :—

> Resolved,—I. That this meeting, while viewing with satisfaction the extended means of education in Highgate afforded by the new National and Industrial Schools, is of opinion that it is desirable that a British School should also be established ; in order that parents in the humbler ranks may have the same free choice which those in more affluent circumstances enjoy, of sending their children either to a school where the religious instruction is combined with the doctrines peculiar to the Church of England, or to a school in which the religious instruction is not combined with the doctrines peculiar to any Christian Church or Sect ; so that the fundamental principle of Protestantism, the right of private judgment, may be recognised and practically carried out.
>
> II. That, for the present, temporary rooms shall be hired for a Boys' School and a Girls' School. That a subscription be opened to provide the money required for the rent of the rooms, the school furniture, and materials for teaching, the salaries of a master and mistress, and incidental expenses.
>
> III. That the following ladies and gentlemen be members of the Provisional Committee : Mrs. Yates, Mrs. Horner, Miss Horner, Miss Leech, Mrs. Wetherall, Miss Hatch, Mrs. Nettlefold, Mrs. Birch, Mr. J. Nettlefold, Mr. L. Horner, Mr. J. Yates, F.R.S., Mr. J. Leech, Mr. T. Bousfield, Mr. S. Hickson, Mr. J. Clarke, Mr. G. Lowe, Rev. S. Hatch, Rev. G. R. Birch, *Secretary*.
>
> IV. That the Committee have authority (if requisite) to apply for assistance to the Committee of Privy Council on Education, and to the Committee of the British and Foreign School Society, in such manner as to the Committee shall seem advisable, and that the school be placed under Government inspection.
>
> V. That so soon as the Committee shall have matured their plans, and fourteen days before the opening of the schools, they shall print a report of their proceedings, send a copy thereof to every contributor, and give it such further circulation as to the Committee shall seem advisable.

In pursuance of the above resolutions the schools were commenced, and in 1860 were transferred to the old Congregational Church buildings in Southwood Lane (now the science rooms of the Grammar School), at which time 211 children were on the register.

The schools were carried on in these premises, which were but ill-adapted for the purpose, some fifteen years, until the date of the formation of the Hornsey School Board, when they were closed, and the building was disposed of by its owner to the Trustees of the Grammar School.

The Magistrates and Police.

The Highgate Cage, or lock-up, was on the west side of High Street, looking down Southwood Lane, now occupied as a hairdresser's shop. There is a record that in July 1720 an alehouse-keeper at Whetstone attacked a gentleman on Finchley Common, but was captured and lodged

in Highgate Cage, "and lay in the cage all night to public view;" and in the Hornsey Churchwardens' accounts for 1822 there are the items, "Repairs to Highgate Cage, £3 2*s.* 10*d.*," and "Cash paid for destroying vermin, 12*s.* 8*d.*,"—which is suggestive.

The old watchmen were superseded by the Metropolitan police in 1842, and the police station was built in 1850.

The police force consists of one superintendent, two inspectors, and about eighty sergeants and constables.

Provision was made in the building for the accommodation of a Court of Petty Sessions, but on so limited a scale that arrangements have recently been made to hold it on the Northfield Hall premises.

The Justices attending these sessions are :—

	Appointed on the Commission of the Peace.
W. P. Bodkin, Esq.	July 31st, 1854.
J. H. Lermitte, Esq.	January 18th, 1869.
Colonel Stedall	March 22nd, 1880.
Ebenezer Homan, Esq.	September 5th, 1881.
John Glover, Esq.	August 10th, 1885.
Francis Reckitt, Esq.	August 10th, 1885.
Francis Orton, Esq., M.D. ...	March 16th, 1886.
Thomas P. Baptie, Esq. ...	January 7th, 1887.

Clerk to the Justices.—Mr. E. W. Beale.

The Episcopal and Nonconformist Churches of Hornsey and the Immediate Vicinity.

Episcopal Churches.

Hornsey Parish Church.—Rector, Rev. J. Jeakes, M.A., Hon. Fellow of King's Coll. Curates, Rev. J. S. Clementson, M.A.; Rev. W. J. Hocking, A.K.C.L.

Holy Innocent's, Hornsey.—Vicar, Rev. R. W. Powell, M.A. Curate, Rev. T. Smith, M.A.

Christ Church, Crouch End.—Vicar, Rev. C. W. Edmonstone, M.A. Curate, Rev. W. L. Christie, M.A.

St. James's, Muswell Hill.—Vicar, E. P. Cachemaille, M.A.

St. John's, Brownswood Park.—Vicar, Rev. G. B. Latreille, A.K.C. Curate, Rev. E. C. Jarvis, M.A.

Holy Trinity, Stroud Green.—Vicar, Rev. R. Linklater, M.A. Curate, Rev. W. Cator, B.A.

St. Michael's, Highgate.—Vicar, Rev. D. Trinder, M.A. Curates, Rev. H. Laurence; Rev. E. C. Mackenzie, B.A.

All Saints', Highgate.—Vicar, Rev. Edgar Smith, B.A. Curates, Rev. W. H. M. Church, M.A.; Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith, M.A.
St. Augustine, Archway Road, Highgate.—In course of erection.
St. Ann's, Highgate Rise.[1]—Vicar, Rev. T. C. Ackland, M.A. Curates Rev. J. D. K. Mahomed, B.A.; Rev. A. C. Wheeler, B.A.
St. Mary's, Highgate Rise.—Vicar, Rev. D. J. T. Cooke, M.A. Curate Rev. F. C. Skey, M.A.
St. Peter's, Highgate Hill.—Vicar, Rev. J. F. Osborne, M.A. Curate Rev. H. S. Field, B.A.

Congregational Churches.

The Park, Crouch End.—Pastor, Rev. Alfred Rowland, LL.B.
Mount View, Stroud Green.—In course of erection.
South Grove, Highgate.—Pastor, Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon.
New Court, Tollington Park.—Pastor, Rev. J. Ossian Davies.
East Finchley.—Pastor, Rev. J. T. B. Tinling, B.A.
Junction Road.—Pastor, Rev. W. J. Craig, F.R.G.S.

Baptist Churches.

Hornsey, Campsbourne Road.—Pastor, Rev. J. S. Bruce.
Hornsey Rise, Sunnyside Road.—Pastor, Rev. Dr. Duncan.
Highgate, Southwood Lane.—Pastor, Rev. J. H. Barnard.
Highgate, Archway Road.—In course of erection.
Crouch End, Broadway.—Pastor, Rev. J. Batey.
Crouch Hill, Stapleton Hall Road.—Pastorate vacant.

Wesleyan Churches.

Hornsey, Willoughby Road; Middle Lane.
Crouch Hill, Holly Park.
Upper Holloway, corner of Archway Road.

Presbyterian Churches.

Hornsey, Crouch Hill.—Pastor, Rev. Dr. Murphy.
Highgate, corner of Hornsey Lane.—Pastorate vacant.

Roman Catholic Church.

St. Joseph's, Highgate Hill.—Provincial, The Very Rev. Vincent Grogan.

Unitarian Church.

Highgate Hill.—Pastor, Rev. R. Spears.

[1] Erected at the cost of Miss Barnett, in memory of her brother.

THE VOLUNTEERS.

When England was threatened with invasion in 1803, preparations for its defence were carried into execution on a gigantic scale, and the Government, in addition to other means, appealed to the people for their voluntary services. On this occasion the inhabitants of Highgate immediately raised, and supported during the war, a battalion of *three hundred men*,[1] commanded by a field officer, with the regulation number of officers. The Government provided the adjutant, the arms, and the ammunition, but the clothing and all other expenses were defrayed by the voluntary subscriptions of the inhabitants.

The colours were presented by the Countess of Mansfield, who delivered the following address :—

"GENTLEMEN VOLUNTEERS,—I am informed that it will give pleasure to my neighbours if they receive their colours through my hands. This wish of theirs is considered by me as a great distinction, and a valuable mark of their kindness. I accordingly accept their offer with a due sense of their friendly partiality, and am very thankful. The only efforts which I can make in supporting the public interest are by my prayers and good wishes. These I can promise, and I feel confident that they will not be misplaced; for I am well assured that you will hold the colours now entrusted to your care, as the most sacred pledge of your affection for your king and love for your country; and that should you be called out to the support of a British man's duty, you will offer an honourable and effectual service, and meet on your return an animated expression of joy and satisfaction in the eyes of your family."

The Corps was reviewed, in 1805, by His Majesty George III., at Harrow Weald, and at different periods subsequently by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, General Fox, and other officers, on Finchley Common and elsewhere; on all which occasions the commanding generals expressed their thanks for the zeal displayed, and their approbation of the efficient state of discipline the Corps had attained.

The place of muster was frequently The Grove, and of exercise Highgate Common, which thus became an object of considerable attraction, and was frequently thronged with visitors to witness the military evolutions. A very creditable band was also maintained, which enlivened the neighbourhood with its inspiriting airs.

The following are the rules and regulations of the first Highgate Volunteers.

RESOLUTIONS AND REGULATIONS OF THE LOYAL HIGHGATE VOLUNTEERS.

We whose names are here inscribed as members of a Military Association for the defence of our Sovereign, our Constitution, and our Country, against foreign and domestic enemies, do by our signature declare our most hearty assent to the following Resolutions and Regulations, and do hereby engage to conform to these and every

[1] Prickett MS.

other rule of conduct, the observance of which may be deemed necessary for promoting the prosperity and the honour of the Association.

I. That the Corps be distinguished by the name of "THE LOYAL HIGHGATE VOLUNTEERS."

II. That for regulating the procedure and superintending the concerns of this Association, a Committee be appointed, consisting of the following noblemen, clergymen, and gentlemen:—Right Hon. the Earl of Mansfield; Sir Allan Chambre, Knt.; Abel Moysey, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Bennett; the Rev. Dr. Crombie; Charles Causton, Esq.; Robert Mendham, Esq.; David Davelaz, Esq.; Stephen Dowell, Esq.; T. R. Swane, Esq.; James Poulain, Esq.; Edward Dew, Esq.; Thomas Rodwell, Esq.; Henry Isherwood, Esq.; T. Hayne, Esq.; H. J. Brooke, Esq.; Jacob Osorio, Esq.; Benjamin Price, Esq.; W. Belcher, Esq.; James Bolland, Esq.; Abel Langford, Esq.; Nathaniel Harden, Esq.; G. Ranking, Esq.; Walter Miller, Esq.; George Idle, Esq.; J. Addison, Esq.; J. Prickett, Esq.; Thomas Shackleton, Esq.; William Bloxam, Esq.; Thomas Cross, Esq.

III. That this Committee be invested with authority to increase, if necessary, the number of its members.

IV. That no person be admitted a member of the Corps unless unanimously approved by the Committee.

V. That no one be allowed to join the ranks until he has produced to the commanding officer a ticket of admission, signed by one or more members of the Committee.

VI. That no member shall receive uniform from the Committee unless two approved householders become responsible that, on his quitting the Corps, it shall be returned to the Quartermaster in proper condition.

VII. That no member shall wear his uniform, unless on days of duty, under the penalty of half-a-crown for the first offence, five shillings for the second, and for the third, expulsion from the Corps.

VIII. That if any member of the Corps shall appear on duty with uniform and accoutrements not regular and clean, he shall, if a private or non-commissioned officer, be subject to the penalty of one shilling for each offence; if a commissioned officer, to the penalty of one guinea.

IX. That any member using, without permission, the arms or accoutrements not allotted to him, shall be fined one shilling.

X. That any member who shall talk in the ranks, or conduct himself there in a disorderly manner, or shall not wait to be regularly dismissed, shall be fined one shilling.

XI. That a commissioned officer, if absent on a field day, without leave from the commanding officer, be fined half-a-guinea; a non-commissioned officer five shillings; and a private half-a-crown; if absent two successive field days, these several penalties shall be doubled for each offence; and if absent three successive field days, a commissioned officer shall be reported to the Secretary at War, a non-commissioned officer shall be degraded from his rank, and a private shall be expelled from the Corps.

XII. That any commissioned officer who shall without leave absent himself three successive drill days shall be fined five shillings; and if absent five successive drill days, he shall be subject to a fine of half-a-guinea; and if absent on seven drill days successively, his conduct shall be reported by the commanding officer to the Secretary at War.

XIII. That if any non-commissioned officer or private be absent without permission four successive drill days, he shall be liable to a penalty of one shilling for each day's absence; and if absent six drill days successively, he shall be expelled from the Corps, and

his name reported to the Lord Lieutenant of the county, as no longer entitled to the rights or privileges of a volunteer.

XIV. That these penalties for absence be strictly exacted, unless a satisfactory excuse shall be given to the commanding officer.

XV. That a book be prepared by the sergeant of each company, to ascertain the absentees on every general drill and field day; and that he be provided with a list of those on duty, ready to be delivered to the adjutant previously to the line being formed.

XVI. That the Quartermaster attend duly to the collection of fines; and that on the first day of every month he shall pay the same into the hands of the Treasurer, for the benefit of the common fund.

XVII. That the Treasurer be empowered to enforce payment from defaulters.

XVIII. That the election of a Commandant be vested in the Committee.

XIX. That the election of other commissioned officers, the Adjutant excepted, shall in like manner belong to the Committee—subject, however, to the approbation of the Corps.

XX. That the appointment of non-commissioned officers shall originate in the Corps at large; and that they shall have the right of proposing not less than double the necessary number, from which the commissioned officers shall make an election.

XXI. That any member refusing to conform to the preceding rules and regulations, or betraying a spirit of contumacy or insubordination, shall be expelled from the Corps.

From the account of the firing for a silver cup, given by Lieutenant Prickett, September 25th, 1805, it appears that four companies competed. The first consisted of twenty-one men, the second fifteen, the third twelve, and the fourth nineteen; making a total of sixty-seven. But it should be borne in mind the Association of the "Loyal Highgate Volunteers" was then but newly formed; therefore their numbers were small in comparison to what they afterwards became. The 1st Company had seventeen shots, 2nd eleven, 3rd eleven, 4th ten; total forty-nine. The prize was won by Short in the 3rd Company; and a second one by Bent in the 2nd Company. The officers of the Corps were:—

		Appointed.
Major Commandant ...	Nathaniel Harden ...	August 1803.
Captain	John Addison ...	,,
,, ...	Walter Miller ...	,,
,, ...	George Idle	,,
,, ...	James Ensor	March 1804.
Lieutenant	Thomas Cross ...	August 1803.
,, ...	John Prickett ...	,,
,, ...	William Pell Rew ...	,,
,, ...	James Groves ...	January 1805.
Ensign	Joseph Palmer ...	January 1805.
,, ...	Joseph Godfrey ...	April 1805.
Chaplain	Thomas Bennett, D.D.	December 1803.
Adjutant	James Ensor	,,
Surgeon	Charles Scudamore ...	,,

The Corps was probably disbanded in 1813, at the same time as the Loyal Hampstead Volunteer Infantry, the Government considering that any immediate danger of invasion had passed away. In 1842 there were nine members of the Highgate Loyal Volunteers still residing in Highgate.[1]

In 1859 the present Volunteer force of the kingdom was called into existence by the unsettled state of European politics.

The War Office circular, signed by General Peel, was issued to the Lord Lieutenants of counties on the 4th May, 1859, and a second one on the 25th May; but Highgate—as usual, "to the front"—had forestalled the second circular, for a meeting was held at the house of W. H. Bodkin, Esq., one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the county of Middlesex, afterwards Sir W. H. Bodkin, on the evening of the 24th, to consider the propriety of forming a Volunteer Rifle Corps for Highgate and its vicinity.

At this meeting there were present:—Mr. W. H. Bodkin (in the chair), Dr. Blatherwick, Mr. Barclay, Mr. W. P. Bodkin, Mr. Brendon, Mr. Block, Mr. Crawley, Mr. Harris, Mr. R. R. Holmes, Mr. B. Lake, Mr. Langdale, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Moger, Mr. F. Smith, Mr. H. Tatham, Mr. Underdown. Resolutions were passed favourable to the formation of a Corps, and a strong committee appointed to carry them into effect.

The first meeting of the Corps was held in the cricket field, Swain's Lane, on 21st June, 1859, when there were present twenty-three enrolled members. This number had increased to forty-one at the date of the first drill on 1st July.

The first officers of the Corps were—Captain Wilkinson, Lieutenant Langdale, Ensign Barclay.

The first circular issued to the 14th Middlesex (Highgate) Volunteer Rifle Corps under that designation, was dated 5th November, 1859, and signed by Captain Wilkinson, and after announcing the formal "acceptance by Her Majesty of the services of the Corps," it announced the appointment of Mr. B. G. Lake as company sergeant, of Messrs. Donaldson, Greening, and Underdown as sergeants, and Mr. R. R. Holmes as bugler, etc.

In February 1860 the Corps had increased so considerably as to warrant the formation of two companies; in August it consisted of one hundred and thirty-nine rank and file, and seven officers! In 1871-2 there was a considerable decrease in the number of enrolled members, and at one time the Corps seemed likely to collapse; but measures were taken to secure the services of some popular Highgate residents as officers, and their vigorous appeal to the patriotism of their neighbours once more

[1] Prickett MS.

placed it on a satisfactory footing. In May 1879 it numbered one hundred and eighty members.

The old head-quarters had long been found most inconveniently small and deficient in accommodation, but in November 1878 a building known as Northfield Hall was erected through the energy of Captain Lake, and is made use of principally for Volunteer purposes.

The Hall (also used as a gymnasium) is eighty feet long by forty wide, with an open timber roof, thus affording the most ample ventilation; there is also accommodation for the officers and a room for band-practice, besides canteen and reading-room; probably the accommodation thus provided is second to that of no other drill hall in the suburbs.

Upon the completion of the consolidation of the 2nd Administrative Battalion, the 14th Middlesex (Highgate) Rifle Volunteers ceased to bear its old title and number, and is now known as the Highgate Detachment, of the F and G Companies of the 3rd Middlesex Rifle Volunteers.

The officers at the present time are: Battalion officer residing in Highgate, Major W. T. Walker; Company officers, Major B. G. Lake, Captain Bentley, and Lieutenants Dorman, E. Faux, and J. W. Faux. Number of enrolled members, 140.

The Highgate Corps is not the only one in the parish of Hornsey. The example set by Highgate in 1859 was speedily followed by the sister village of the vale, and at a meeting called by Mr. William Bird, of Crouch Hall, on the 10th of June, the same vigorous action was taken to found a volunteer corps as at Highgate.

The Committee consisted of Mr. William Bird, J.P., Mr. James Bird, Mr. E. W. Crosse, Mr. Thomas Dakin, Mr. Thomas William Eady, Mr. H. H. Elder, Mr. George Gibbons, Mr. W. H. Norton, Mr. Henry Oakley, Mr. H. Richmond, M. James R. Scott, Mr. L. Walton.

On 24th September the first drill took place, thirty effective members having been enrolled.

The officers in 1860 were Captain J. H. Warner, Lieutenant James Bird, Ensign J. M. Fletcher.

In 1863 forty-eight rank and file were present at the annual inspection. In 1868 the number of efficient members was eighty-four. In 1871-2, similarly to the experience of the Highgate Corps, its numbers decreased considerably; in 1875 there were only forty-three efficient members, but in 1876 it had increased to an enrolled strength of ninety, of a maximum establishment of one hundred.

On the consolidation of the 2nd Administrative Battalion, the Hornsey Corps became the D and E Companies of the 3rd Middlesex Rifle Volunteers.

The officers at the present time are:—Battalion officer residing in Hornsey, Lieut.-Colonel R. Clay; Company officers, Captain A. G.

Hickes, Lieutenants Frank Collinson, Stanley Williams, and Cecil Clay, Sub-Lieutenant George Collinson. Enrolled members, 159.[1]

Long may our Volunteers maintain the high standard of efficiency for which they have worked so long and so well; and as their motto is "*Defence, not defiance*," may their services never be required!

In 1868, in consequence of the expected Fenian rising, two hundred special constables were enrolled in Hornsey, including many of the Volunteers.

THE LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC INSTITUTION.

This useful and popular Institution was founded in 1839, a public meeting having been convened for that purpose on the 16th January, at the Gate House Tavern, which was presided over by Mr. Harry Chester.[2]

At that meeting seventy-six names were handed in of residents who were willing to become subscribers, which number was increased before the end of the year to one hundred and eighty-nine!

Temporary premises were occupied at No. 1, Southwood Terrace, but on 12th May, 1840, the occupancy of the present building was entered upon, after having been adapted for its purpose by an outlay of £382.

The premises, which had been occupied as a school for Jewish lads, consisted of a spacious room in the front, which was appropriated as a Library, Museum, and Reading-room (now used as a reading-room only), an equally good and very lofty room in the rear (now the Library), which was appropriated as a Lecture Theatre, in which seats were arranged rising in tiers to within a few feet of the ceiling, a committee or class-room, and apartments for the resident Librarian.

This arrangement lasted some forty years, when in consequence of the increased number of subscribers, it was determined to enlarge the accommodation by the erection of a Lecture Theatre over the courtyard, and to renovate the entire premises. This was carried out at a cost of about £1,900, which was raised by subscription, and the premises re-opened free of debt by the Baroness Burdett-Coutts on the 9th March, 1880, and the Institution then started on a fresh career of usefulness. It now consists of a comfortable reading-room, a commodious lecture theatre, and a library of some six thousand volumes, to which additions are constantly being made; and numbers about six hundred subscribers.

From the first it has enlisted the sympathy of the leading residents of Highgate, and has received the hearty support of all classes of its

[1] For further particulars of the local Volunteer movement see *Records of the Third Middlesex Rifle Volunteers*, by Captain Evans.

[2] Mr. William Potter, the last survivor of the attendants at that meeting, died in 1886.

inhabitants. On the 16th January, 1888, the date of the issue of this commemorative volume, it enters upon the JUBILEE YEAR of its existence.

The Institution appeals for a generous support, as, not only by the speaking voices of its lectures, but by the silent voices of its books, it helps to give a healthy mental stimulus to Highgate, and its walls enclose a "neutral space" where neighbours meet on an equality, independent of social, religious, or political differences; it welcomes *all*, its terms of membership being arranged to meet the requirements of *all*.

During an active existence of fifty years, upwards of ONE THOUSAND lectures on literary, scientific, or art subjects have been delivered, besides concerts, soirées, and conversazioni.

Among its many distinguished lecturers have been Lord Justice Fry, Sir John Lubbock, Sir John Bowring, Lord Dufferin, Dean Trench, Dr. Spottiswoode (President of the Royal Society), Dr. Miller (V.-P. Royal Society), Dr. Buckland, Colonel Wilkinson, W. H. Michael, Q.C., Joseph Brown, Q.C., Professors Tomlinson,[1] Tennant, Symonds, Huggins, Carpenter, Creasy, Field, Morris, Guy, Gardner, Bernays, Griffiths, Harley, Henslow, Morley, Seeley, Robertson, S. R. Gardiner, Mattieu Williams, Leone Levi, G. R. Romanes, Samuel Birch, Carruthers, Edmund Gosse, R. K. Douglas, H. C. Banister;—Reverends Derwent Coleridge, William Harness, R. Gleig, J. T. Rowsell, A. Blomfield, J. Viney, H. Dupuis, Dr. James Hamilton, Thomas Jackson, J. Wardlaw, G. P. Pownall, W. W. Skeat, A. Jukes, Paxton Hood, D. Trinder, A. Ainger, J. M. Gibbon, J. G. Wood, Dr. L. Bevan, etc.;—Mrs. M. G. Fawcett, the Misses Fanny Kemble, Lucy Toulmin Smith, and Glyn;—Doctors Russell, Lankester, Latham, Letheby, Warrick, Hastings, Pike, Tidy, Robert Brown, H. Noad, Garnett;—Messieurs Waterhouse Hawkins, Henry Woodward, Cowden Clarke, R. R. Holmes, A. Poland, D. Allport, R. D. Grainger, T. Rymer Jones, Carter Smith, Charles Kemble, Toulmin Smith, J. S. Buckingham, Le Gros Clark, G. Scharff, George Dawson, George Grossmith, James Yates, John Hullah, P. H. Gosse, Fred Blomfield, John B. Dyne, George Offer, W. Pengelly, W. H. Monk, R. J. Lodge, J. T. Taylor,[2] J. Sime, A. S. Harvey, R. A. Proctor, C. E. Mudie, Chatfield Clarke, F. W. Rudler, R. Hammond, Walter Besant, Robert Giffen, H. Greenwood, Inglis Palgrave, F. Scudamore, W. T. Walker, W. Rowton, Cotter Morison, W. R. S. Ralston, J. T. Maude, R. F. Horton, E. Radford, J. S. Keltie, J. Glover, C. E. Chapman, L. Fagan, W. L. Carpenter, and very many others.

[1] Professor Tomlinson's honoured name has rarely been absent from the annual syllabus for the past twenty-five years.

[2] Mr. J. T. Taylor's course of lectures on *The Highgate Worthies* is happily not yet completed.

The walls of the reading-room, etc., are covered with prints and drawings illustrating many of the older houses of Highgate, and of portraits of some of the men notable in their time who have been residents, as well as memorials of neighbours of a later date, helping to keep their memory green among us.

The collection has been made by the Honorary Secretary, who will be glad to receive any additions, the object being to make the Institution an interesting local centre.

Names of gentlemen who have filled its various offices of honour and responsibility :—

Presidents.

Harry Chester, Esq. ...	... 18 years.	B. G. Lake, Esq. ...	... 2 years.
William Gladstone, Esq.	... 9 ,,	Professor Tomlinson, F.R.S.	... 1 year.
Dr. J. B. Dyne ...	... 1 year.	William Green, Esq. ...	... 1 ,,
Sir W. H. Bodkin ...	... 1 ,,	Rev. A. Jukes	... 2 years.
Colonel Wilkinson ...	... 1 year.	Sir Edward Fry, K.B.	... 2 ,,
Sir S. H. Waterlow, Ald.	... 1 year.	Lord Justice Fry, K.B., P.C.	... 1 year.
W. H. Michael, Esq., Q.C.	... 1 ,,	W. P. Bodkin, Esq., J.P.	... 2 years.
Jas. Brotherton, Esq. ...	... 1 ,,	John Glover, Esq., J.P.	... 1 year.
Edward Fry, Esq., Q.C.	... 1 ,,	Colonel Wilkinson ...	Jubilee year.
Colonel Leach	... 1 ,,		

Honorary Treasurers in succession.

Messrs. G. Redmayne (2 years), J. H. Keith (15), W. P. Bodkin, J.P. (1), Colonel Wilkinson (6), J. J. Miles (19), R. J. Lodge (6).

Honorary Solicitors in succession.

Messrs. B. G. Lake, Francis Smith, Charles Evans, A. Ranken Ford.

Trustees.

Messrs. J. H. Lloyd, Walter Reynolds, H. R. Williams.

Honorary Secretaries.

Rev. R. Carter Smith (10 years), Messrs. James Beaumont (1), J. S. Godfrey (6), W. P. Bodkin (10), Professor Tomlinson, F.R.S. (10), J. H. Lloyd (12).

Present Committee of Management.

Bartlet, Rev. G. D., M.A.	Greenwood, H., M.A., LL.M.	Reynolds, W.
Chapman, C. E.	Hammond, Robert	Sime, John
Clothier, H., M.D.	Harvey, A. S., B.A.	Soper, F. L.
Crowdy, F. H., M.D.	McDowall, Rev. C., D.D.	Trinder, Rev. D., M.A.
Empson, C. W., M.A.	Potter, Geo.	Williams, H. R.
Fayrer, Rev. R., M.A.	Reed, Talbot B.	Wood, Wm.
Gibbon, Rev. J. M.		

Resident Librarian.

Mr. James Drummond.

Highgate is eminently a sociable suburb, seeking its amusements at home rather than at a distance, and residents disposed to be neighbourly will find great facilities in its various social arrangements; subscribing to the Literary Institution is certainly the *best* means of a new resident becoming known to his neighbours.

Amongst the numerous societies meeting in Highgate are :—

THE BOOK SOCIETY, which has been in existence over one hundred years, and of which Coleridge is said to have been a frequent attendant. *Treasurer*—Mr. John B. Dyne, The Grove.

THE FRIENDLY DISCUSSION SOCIETY, generally known as the "F.D.S.," which meets monthly during the winter and spring months, for the discussion of some agreed subject, upon which a paper is read. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. John Sime, Hampstead Lane.

THE READING SOCIETY, at which the works of some author are read and discussed. *President*—Professor Tomlinson, F.R.S., North Road.

THE BOOKWORMS, a literary society, meeting at Mr. H. Greenwood's, The Limes, Southwood Lane.

THE CHORAL SOCIETY, meeting at the Institution during the winter months. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. W. Hayes, Mendip House.

THE CHESS CLUB, meeting frequently during the winter months. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. William Schäfer, Woodside Park, N.

THE LAWN TENNIS CLUB, which possesses six excellent courts in a field west of North Hill. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. Leonard C. Tatham, North Hill.

THE SKATING CLUB. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. H. Conway, Tatham, North Hill.

There have been several WORKING MEN'S CLUBS during the last few years, but there is so little cohesion amongst the members of such clubs that when one or two of the leading spirits remove from the neighbourhood, which the exigencies of labour constantly compel them to do, the club generally fails,—a curious circumstance in their history being the difficulty of getting members to join such clubs when once they *have been* started. Almost any number of men can be readily induced to join a club *at* starting, but from that time it generally falls steadily away.

The most successful of the Highgate Working Men's Clubs was that started under the auspices of the late Mr. Alexander Scrimgeour, Professor Tomlinson, Mr. J. H. Lloyd, and Mr. John James. This club interested a large number of working men for many years; parties were organised to visit Woolwich Arsenal, Westminster Abbey, British

Museum, etc., and the larger gardens round Highgate, which were cheerfully thrown open to them.

By arrangement, the late Dean Stanley conducted more than one hundred men over the Abbey, and then invited them to tea, in the name of Lady Augusta Stanley, for whose absence he apologized, pleading her indisposition. As it proved, this estimable lady never rose again from her bed, and when the men heard of her serious illness, they prepared a basket of the finest roses that could be procured, and sent it to the Dean through Mr. Lloyd, asking him to give it to Lady Stanley in token of their gratitude. Dean Stanley afterwards wrote: "It gave his dear wife great delight, and was almost the last thing she spoke about."

Through the liberality of the late Mr. Alexander Scrimgeour,—who was always doing liberal things,—the lease of the "Castle Inn," at the corner of Castle Yard, was purchased, and the license, in the interest of the neighbourhood, was cancelled; here the club was vigorously sustained for some years until the lease expired, when the Governors of the Grammar School, having some scheme of dealing with the property, would only consent to re-let it on a quarter's notice, and this necessarily broke up the club, the best members joining the Literary Institution under the Working Man's Associateship subscription of *five shillings* per annum. There is a club of this character meeting at the Mission Room on North Hill during the winter months, which would be glad of assistance, especially to be helped to more commodious premises. The Hon. Sec. is Mr. Massingham, of The Woodlands, North Hill.

HIGHGATE YOUTHS' INSTITUTE.

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Mr. J. G. Johnson, Southwood Court, Highgate.

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Mr. A. Ranken Ford, Broadlands, Highgate.

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Mr. Charles B. Dalton, Torquay.
Mr. Arthur D. Sharp, South Grove, Highgate.
Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith, 3, The Grove, Highgate.

Hon. Assistant Secretaries.

Mr. James Hamp and Mr. W. Hunt.

In the month of February of the year 1881, the Rev. Edgar Smith, Vicar of All Saints', started a club for young men under the title of The All Saints' Highgate Youths' Institute.

The object of the club was to provide reasonable amusement and opportunities for self-improvement for the youth of the parish. During the first session eighteen members joined. The meetings were held in the old iron schoolroom, which stood on the site of the present All Saints' Mission House.

The first notice respecting it appears in the *Parish Magazine* for October 1881. Here we have a list of the officers, the Rev. Edgar Smith being President, and a programme of the work for the ensuing winter. The rooms were open on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings; they were well supplied with papers and magazines, and with games; a lending library was started, as were classes in such useful subjects as Shorthand, Geography, Arithmetic, and Dictation, and a Bible Class. During the winter of 1881-2 between thirty and forty members joined.

In the summer of 1882 the old iron school building was supplanted by a permanent brick schoolroom with class rooms attached. Those responsible for the management seized the opportunity to give the Institute a new start on a somewhat different footing. Its doors were thrown open to all, the name being changed to the "Highgate Youths' Institute;" Mr. W. L. A. Burdett-Coutts, of Holly Lodge, became President, and Mr. C. B. Dalton Honorary Secretary and Treasurer, with Mr. James Hamp as his assistant.

During the winter of 1882-3 the progress was very marked. In January 1883 the Rev. D. Trinder, Vicar of St. Michael's, writing to his parishioners, refers to the Institute in the following terms:—"While old charities and institutions have been very fairly supported, we have to rejoice in the growth of the Youths' Institute, which now holds classes in the All Saints' Mission House and in the National Schools. By the help of many friends, directed by the excellent Honorary Secretary Mr. C. B. Dalton, the youths of Highgate are provided with the means of a 'continuous education' which may prove of good service to them in after life, in addition to the safeguards and enjoyment which are offered them now."

From this time onward the Institute has grown so rapidly in efficiency, and in the number of its members, that the "All Saints'" rooms were found too small for its requirements. Several schemes were suggested for supplying an increased accommodation. That which found most favour, and was eventually carried into effect, was the purchase of the "Northfield Hall," up to this time rented by the Highgate Volunteers,

and used as a drill hall, and adding thereto whatever additional rooms were needed for the purposes of the Institute. The liberality of the President and Lady Burdett-Coutts, to whom the Institute is indebted for constant support and sympathy, rendered the purchase of the hall possible, and additional rooms were provided at a cost of £2,000, of which sum an anonymous donor subscribed £1,000!

The Institute is now in possession of premises in every way suited for its work, as complete as any in or near London. There are separate reading and game rooms for its younger and older members, a fine gymnasium, and other rooms in which are held classes calculated to be of great benefit to those attending them. The number of members who joined in the year 1886-7 was nearly one hundred and fifty.

The Gymnastic Club meets at Northfield Hall during the winter months, on Tuesday and Friday evenings. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. Herbert Lloyd, Merton Lane.

The Football Club meets weekly during the season. *Hon. Sec.*—Mr. A. H. Marshall, North Grove.

THE HIGHGATE DISPENSARY.

Extract from the first Minute Book, 1787:—

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Highgate, Muswell Hill, Crouch End, Hornsey, and Holloway, holden at the Gate House, at Highgate, on Saturday, 10th of November, 1787, pursuant to public notice, to take into consideration the expedience and propriety of establishing a Dispensary at Highgate, for the relief of the poor of the several places above mentioned, the following persons were present, viz.:—Mr. Mendham, the Rev. Mr. Andrews, Mr. Boetefeur, Mr. Bolland, Mr. Banks, Mr. Isherwood, Mr. Wetherell, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Jones, Mr. T. W. Smith, Mr. Ware, Mr. Swain, Mr. Herne, Mr. Day, and Mr. Robert Smith. The meeting proceeded to elect a chairman. Robert Mendham, Esq., being called to the chair, he opened and explained the business of the meeting, and thereupon the Resolutions following were severally proposed, debated, and agreed to:—

Resolved, That the establishing of a Dispensary at Highgate for the relief of the poor of Highgate, Muswell Hill, Crouch End, Hornsey, and Holloway, and of all places within those districts, is expedient and proper; and that such Dispensary be therefore established, under the denomination of the Highgate Dispensary.

Resolved, That the charity consist of a president, treasurer and subscribers, and of a secretary, who is to officiate gratis; also of a medical gentleman, an inhabitant and constant resident of the hamlet of Highgate, who is to act in the joint capacity of surgeon and apothecary.

Resolved, That all poor necessitous persons residing within any of the districts mentioned in the first resolution, who shall stand in need of medical or surgical assistance, be deemed proper objects of this charity.

Resolved, That the surgeon and apothecary give his advice and assistance in all medical and surgical cases; that he supply and administer all drugs, medicines,

medicaments, and everything appertaining to each branch of the profession, and that he attend the patients, when necessary, at their own habitations.

Resolved, That as a reasonable compensation for all such supplies, and for his time, trouble, and attendances, the surgeon and apothecary be allowed by the charity three-fourths of all the annual subscriptions; and that the remaining fourth part be reserved to defray the charges of printing and other contingent expenses.

Resolved, That all persons subscribing one guinea annually, or more, be Governors of this charity during the continuance of their subscriptions, and that they be severally entitled to have one patient, at a time, under cure, for each guinea subscribed.

Resolved, That no person be admitted a patient of this charity but by a ticket or written order under the hand of a subscriber.

Resolved, That the surgeon and apothecary keep in a book for that purpose a regular account of the patients admitted, cured, and under cure, and of the nature of their diseases or accidents, after the manner observed in other Dispensaries; that he make a report thereof monthly to the subscribers; and that he then lay such book before them, for their perusal.

Resolved, That a meeting of the subscribers (of whom three shall constitute a quorum) be holden on the last Saturday in every month, at five o'clock in the afternoon, to receive the report of the surgeon and apothecary, and to regulate the ordinary business of the charity.

Resolved, That the secretary attend all meetings of the subscribers; that he enter the proceedings of the charity in a methodical manner in a book; and that he transact all other usual and necessary business.

Resolved, That the next meeting of the subscribers be holden at this place on Saturday the first day of December next, at five o'clock in the afternoon, to proceed farther in the business of this charity, and particularly to nominate a treasurer and secretary and to elect a surgeon and apothecary.

Resolved, That such election be by ballot, to commence at six o'clock and close at eight, and that the subscribers have liberty to vote either in person or by proxy.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Mr. Robert Smith, for his trouble in convening this meeting.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Robert Mendham, Esq., for his polite acceptance of and obliging conduct in the chair.

The Dispensary was accordingly started, Robert Mendham, Esq. being appointed Treasurer, Mr. Robert Smith Hon. Secretary, and Messrs. Hodges and Sandys surgeons and apothecaries; the following rules being agreed on :—

RULES TO BE OBSERVED.

I. No persons are deemed objects of this charity but such as are really necessitous.

II. The Dispensary is open for the reception of recommendatory letters and the admission of patients every day (Sunday excepted) from 7 to 9 o'clock in the forenoon; but the patients may apply or send for their medicines at any other hour in the daytime.

III. All persons bringing recommendatory letters are to be admitted as patients and to receive advice and medicines; but none are to be visited at their own habitations, except such as are absolutely incapable of attending at the Dispensary.

IV. The patients are to provide all necessary phials, etc., they are to behave

themselves decently and soberly, and are to conform strictly to such rules as are given them by the surgeon and apothecary, or they will be immediately dismissed.

V. They are to keep their letters of recommendation clean under cover; they are to deliver the same when cured, at the Dispensary, and are immediately thereupon to return a letter of thanks to the Governor who recommended them, on pain of not being admitted to any future benefit from this charity.

Patients having a reasonable cause of complaint, on any account whatsoever, are to make known their complaint to the Governor who recommended them, that the same may be laid before the subscribers at their monthly meeting and proper measures taken for prevention of the like complaints in future.

At the first annual meeting, held at the Gate House on 13th December, 1788—a hundred years ago—it was reported that during the year 159 cases had been attended, more than one-third of which were at their own habitations. Discharged cured, 132; relieved, 10; incurable, 2; dismissed not conforming to rules, 1; removed, 2; died, 8; under treatment, 4.

The Treasurer's account for the same time showed the receipts to be £69 16*s.* 6*d.*, of which one-fourth was retained for expenses of management, and the remaining three-fourths handed to the medical officers.

In 1817 the patients were 406. It is interesting to note that Mr. James Gillman, the friend of Coleridge, was medical officer of the Dispensary for twenty-five years (1812—1837), and Mr. Benjamin Price Treasurer. In 1840 it was resolved "That the Dispensary should be remodelled, and governed henceforth on the self-supporting principle, aided by voluntary contributions," and rules were drawn in accordance. Mr. Robert Moger and Mr. N. T. Wetherell were appointed surgeons under the new arrangement.

The last Report shows the successful working of the Dispensary under its present arrangement.

REPORT, 1887.

The Committee of Governors have much pleasure in submitting the following Report for the year ending the 31st March, 1887, to the subscribers to the Institution.

It appears from the Report of the Medical Officers that there are, at the present time, more than one thousand three hundred persons who derive benefits from the Dispensary, and that during the past year more than five thousand cases have been attended to and prescribed for. These facts show that an immense amount of good is being rendered by the Institution to the poor of the neighbourhood.

The Committee of Governors of the Institution are pleased to notice from the Report of the Medical Officers that during the past year the neighbourhood has maintained its high reputation for the general health of the population, and that there have been no serious epidemics calling for any extraordinary relief; but the large and ever-increasing number of poor persons who avail themselves of the benefits of the Institution shows how highly it is valued by those who are unable, unassisted, to provide medical relief for themselves, and if the Institution is to be maintained in its present state of efficiency it is necessary that it should receive the support of all residents, both in the Parish of St. Michael's and also in that of All Saints', to all of whom the Committee of Governors appeal for their support of so good an object.

It is with great satisfaction that the Committee of Governors are able to bear witness to the continued zeal of the Medical Officers in the discharge of their arduous duties, and they desire to take this opportunity of thanking Miss Church for the practical interest she has shown in the welfare of the Institution by collecting the subscriptions from the Members.

The present managers are :—

Treasurer.

Charles Church, Esq., Hampstead Lane.

Committee.

Messrs. J. B. Dyne, J. Glover, J. G. Johnson, J. H. Lloyd, A. Marshall, J. G. Randall, W. A. Sharpe, J. Simmonds, Rev. E. Smith, Rev. D. Trinder.

Medical Officers.

Dr. Clothier ; Dr. Forshall.

The old Highgate Dispensary being a form of charity which *helps* our poorer neighbours to *help themselves*, it is very heartily commended to the benevolent notice of new residents.

HIGHGATE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

On 15th December, 1859, a circular, signed by Mr. James Cutbush, was issued, convening a meeting for the purpose of establishing a Society to be called the "Highgate Horticultural and Floricultural Society," to encourage horticultural pursuits, particularly among the labouring classes ; and a meeting was held on the 23rd of the same month at the National schools, the then Vicar (Rev. C. B. Dalton) in the chair ; at which meeting a code of rules was drawn up, and officers, etc., appointed, and the Society started which has grown into the present "Highgate Horticultural Society."

The Rev. C. B. Dalton was the first President, Mr. James Cutbush Treasurer, and Mr. J. Ward Secretary.

Colonel (then Captain) Wilkinson's name appears as a Vice-President, and his connection with the Society has remained unbroken until the present time. The first exhibition was held on 27th June, 1860, in Lady Dufferin's grounds.

The number of entries at the first exhibition was seventy-one, and prizes amounting to £23 7*s.* were awarded. The receipts at the gates were £30. The growth of the Society will be seen by the fact that last year the number of entries was five hundred and thirteen, and prizes amounting to £108 17*s.* 6*d.* were competed for. For the first few years the Society held two exhibitions, but in 1866 it was thought expedient not to attempt more than one. An autumn show has been occasionally held, but its success has not proved encouraging.

In 1870 it was determined, if possible, to elect an annual president, which has been done, with occasional exceptions, till the present time. In 1867 Mr. W. M. Bürck was elected to the office of Secretary, which he has held ever since, with great advantage to the Society. In August 1872 an additional schedule was issued, offering special prizes to those who pledged themselves to prevent the destruction of wild birds, etc., and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts inaugurated some special prizes to cottagers and allotment-holders.

In 1874, during the presidency of Professor Tomlinson, the title of the Society was altered to its present form.

The committee and general meetings are held at the Literary and Scientific Institution.

The following are the particulars of the exhibitions since the commencement of the Society.

No. of Shows.	Year.	Date.	Where held.	By permission of.	President.
1	1860	June 27th	Dufferin Lodge	Lady Dufferin	Rev. C. B. Dalton.
2	,,	Sept. 18th	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
3	1861	May 30th	Cholmeley Cricket Field	Dr. Dyne	,, ,,
4	,,	July 31st	,, ,,	,,	,, ,,
5	1862	April 11th	National Schools	The Managers	,, ,,
6	,,	July 4th	Holly Lodge	Miss Burdett-Coutts	,, ,,
7	1863	June 30th	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
8	,,	Sept. 15th	Dufferin Lodge	Lady Gifford	,, ,,
9	1864	June 28th	Holly Lodge	Miss Burdett-Coutts	,, ,,
10	1865	June 29th	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
11	,,	Sept. 21st	National Schools	The Managers	,, ,,
12	1866	July 5th	Holly Lodge	Miss Burdett-Coutts	,, ,,
13	1867	July 11th	Southampton Lodge	Col. Wilkinson	,, ,,
14	1868	June 23rd	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
15	1869	June 22nd	Winchester Hall	Col. Jeakes, J.P.	,, ,,
16	1870	June 30th	Fitzroy Park	S. Pope, Esq., Q.C.	Sir W. H. Bodkin.
17	1871	June 29th	Fairseat House	Sir S. H. Waterlow	Col. Wilkinson.
18	1872	July 4th	Holly Lodge	Baroness Burdett-Coutts	Col. Jeakes, J.P.
19	1873	July 3rd	Winchester Hall	Col. Jeakes, J.P.	,, ,,
20	,,	Nov. 25th	Old Drill Hall	Col. Wilkinson	,, ,,
21	1874	June 30th	Caen Wood Towers	E. Brooke, Esq., J.P.	C. Tomlinson, Esq., F.R.S.
22	1875	July 7th	Fairseat House	Sir S. H. Waterlow	Sir S. H. Waterlow, Ald.
23	,,	Nov. 6th	National Schools	The Managers	,, ,,
24	1876	July 13th	Caen Wood Towers	E. Brooke, Esq., J.P.	E. Brooke, Esq., J.P.
25	1877	July 12th	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
26	,,	Nov. 21st	Old Drill Hall	Col. Wilkinson	,, ,,
27	1878	July 4th	Holly Lodge	Baroness Burdett-Coutts	Col. Wilkinson.
28	,,	Nov.	Northfield Hall	Capt. Walker	,, ,,
29	1879	July 15th	Fairseat House	Sir S. H. Waterlow, M.P.	Sir S. H. Waterlow, M.P.
30	1880	July 1st	Caen Wood Towers	E. Brooke, Esq., J.P.	E. Brooke, Esq., J.P.
31	1881	July 5th	,, ,,	,, ,,	,, ,,
32	1882	June 29th	Southampton Lodge	Col. Wilkinson	Col. Wilkinson.
33	1883	July 5th	Holly Lodge	Baroness Burdett-Coutts	W. L. A. Burdett-Coutts, Esq., M.P.
34	1884	July 10th	Caen Wood Towers	F. Reckitt, Esq., J.P.	F. Reckitt, Esq., J.P.
35	1885	July 9th	Northfield	A. J. Reynolds, Esq.	Col. Wilkinson.
36	1886	July 8th	Parkfield	A. W. Block, Esq.	W. Reynolds, Esq.
37	1887	July 21st	Holly Lodge	Baroness Burdett-Coutts	W. L. A. Burdett-Coutts, Esq., M.P.

The popularity of these pleasant annual gatherings is very great; the afternoon is practically "a Highgate holiday," the shops closing early, and the residents gathering in great force to admire the flowers and enjoy the music.

In 1883 the attendance was the largest known; no less than £280 was taken at the gates, the greater part in sixpences after 5 o'clock. There were probably not less than ten thousand persons present, the great attraction doubtless being to see the beautiful grounds of Holly Lodge.

Since the formation of the Society no less a sum than £3,329 (exclusive of 1887) has been distributed as prizes for the successful cultivation of flowers and vegetables.

That the Society has helped to foster a love of flowers is evident; the little plots of front gardens and many of the cottage windows, notably those of the model lodging-houses, Coleridge Buildings, being during the summer months a blaze of beauty; nothing like it is seen in any of the surrounding villages. So pure a taste, besides the infinite sense of pleasure it imparts, must be conducive in no small degree to health, peace of mind, and good will.

> "Wondrous truths, and manifold as wondrous,
> God has written in the stars above;
> Yet not less in the bright flowerets under us
> Stands the revelation of His love."
>
> *Longfellow.*

THE CHRYSANTHEMUM SOCIETY.

The Chrysanthemum, or "Gold Flower," was introduced into England in 1789. It made but slow growth in the public estimation for many years; the attention of the London public being first directed to its wonderful capabilities by the late Mr. Broom, of the Temple Gardens, whose annual exhibition became and remains exceedingly popular, and incidentally led to the formation of many local societies for the cultivation of the flower.

Besides its quaint and weird beauty,—which *was* more highly appreciated by the Eastern imagination than by the barbarians of the West, for the Japanese have the knightly order of "The Chrysanthemum," surely a more appropriate symbol of distinction than a "Bath" or a "Garter"!—it is practically the last free-blooming flower of the season, and beautifies our rooms and greenhouses during many of the dull days of early winter. Surely there is room for the poet to celebrate the seasonableness of the chrysanthemum as well as "the last rose of summer," and a prize might be offered for such a poem,—only quite three syllables must be docked off its name, for no one can possibly be poetical in words of "four" syllables.

The Highgate Society was founded in 1885, largely through the influence of Mr. Walter Reynolds, its first President.

The results of the two exhibitions have been as follows:—1885: Exhibitors 35, entries 193, prizes awarded 134, cash prizes £47 4*s.* 6*d.* 1886: Exhibitors 43, entries 302, prizes awarded 195, cash prizes £74 17*s.*

The Committee report with regard to the exhibition of 1886:—

"The result of the work of the Society during the past year has been marked with such progress that its success has exceeded our most sanguine expectations. There was a marked increase in the number of the exhibits, and a great improvement in quality, especially in the classes for specimen plants. The Committee were also pleased to note a great increase in the number, and a vast improvement in the quality, of the exhibits of the amateurs and cottagers, which reflects great credit upon those enthusiastic and enterprising growers.

"The entries were so numerous that the large hall (Northfield) and room attached were found inadequate to accommodate them. A large tent had to be provided, and this was well filled with specimen plants and groups, which were tastefully arranged, and presented a very pleasing effect.

"Upwards of one hundred specimen and trained plants, one thousand five hundred cut blooms, several beautiful groups, as well as foliage plants, fruits, and vegetables, were exhibited, and very much admired by all who visited the show."

The present officers are—*President:* Mr. Robert J. Lodge. *Hon. Treasurer:* Mr. A. R. Rundell, 26, Northwood Road. *Secretary and Collector*: Mr. Henry Barnaby, 49, Southwood Lane, Highgate, N.

THE HIGHGATE COTTAGE GARDENS,

Bishopswood Road, Hampstead Lane.

This excellent scheme was carried into effect in 1850, being the result of a conference held at the Literary Institution, the promoters being Mr. Harry Chester, Mr. James Beaumont, and Mr. Henry Lake, all since deceased.

The present landlords hold the land (over five acres in extent) under the Governors of the Cholmeley School; it is divided into eighty-four plots, averaging nine poles each, all fully occupied and carefully cultivated, and it is most satisfactory to record that during the *thirty-seven years* this scheme has been in existence, *not* a single plot has been unoccupied, and the rents have invariably been promptly and cheerfully paid.

An important feature in this undertaking is the entire absence of the charitable element; all occupiers of the allotments have the satisfaction of

feeling that the privileges enjoyed are fairly and honestly paid for, a fact to which the success of the undertaking is mainly due.

The lease of the land expires at Michaelmas 1899, but it is most desirable in the best interests of the neighbourhood that the scheme should be continued, and if possible enlarged, for these gardens form a bank in which the "odds and ends of time," as well as "the leisure hour," may be properly invested, and there can be no stronger inducement to habits of industry, tidiness, and thrift.

Landlords.

Charles Church, Esq.; John Bradley Dyne, Esq.; Robert John Lodge, Esq.

Wardens.

C. Crane, C. Dean, R. Lowen, T. Shears, C. Shepherd, W. Sherlock.

Superintendent.

Mr. John James.

The following are the conditions of occupancy :—

1.—RENT.—For the present the rent to be after the rate of one shilling and sixpence per pole per annum; to be paid on Michaelmas Day and Lady Day, or on any other days to be fixed by the landlords. If the tenancy shall be determined by notice under the 4th Rule, a proportionate part of the rent to be paid up to the expiration thereof. All rates and taxes will be paid by the landlords.

2.—No garden to be underlet or assigned, but any tenant desiring to give up his garden shall be at liberty to propose to the landlords a new tenant in his place, who (if previously accepted by the landlords) shall take over the crops at a valuation to be arranged between the incoming and outgoing tenant.

3.—No building to be erected, nor tree planted, without leave from the landlords.

4.—Either party may put an end to the agreement by giving three months' notice to the other, to expire on any day of the year. If given by the landlords the tenant to be allowed the value of his growing crops, unless he shall have incurred a forfeiture under the 7th Rule.

5.—Every tenant to keep in good repair the fences and paths adjoining or belonging to his own garden. The divisional paths to be of the uniform width of two feet.

6.—Every tenant to use his best endeavours to protect the gardens and crops of the other tenants, and to discover and bring to justice all pilferers and trespassers thereon; and, in case of any dispute between two or more of the tenants respecting the gardens, or any matter connected with them, the matter in dispute to be referred to the landlords, whose decision shall be final.

7.—If any tenant shall work in his garden, or follow his worldly calling contrary to law, on the Lord's Day; shall commit any act punishable by law; shall alter the boundaries of his garden; shall trespass or encroach upon another tenant's garden; shall assign or underlet any part of his garden, except as mentioned in Rule 2; shall fail to pay his rent at the proper time; shall bring any horse or cart into the gardens, or in any way injure the paths, locks, gates, or fences; shall allow any manure or refuse of any kind to remain on the paths

either inside or outside of the gardens longer than the space of twenty-four hours; shall suffer any dog to be at large in the gardens; shall suffer his garden to be so foul with weeds as to injure any other garden; shall reside at a distance of two miles or more from the gardens; shall have a lease or be tenant of a house for which he shall pay more than £30 a-year rent; shall fail to perform any of the foregoing conditions; or shall, in the opinion of the landlords, be an undesirable tenant; he shall immediately forfeit his garden, with the crop thereon; and the landlords or their agent may forthwith re-enter and take possession of his garden without any notice or proceedings at law, and may enforce payment of any rent then due, or in course of becoming due.

The Model Lodging-Houses.

The residential accommodation for the "wage-earning" classes in Highgate was for many years of the meanest and most questionable character. The pioneer in its improvement was—to his credit be it recorded—the Rev. Josiah Viney, the minister of the Congregational Church, who erected "Verandah Cottage" model lodging-house, on North Hill, about 1862.

This desirable action suggested the formation of the "Highgate Dwellings Improvement Company, Limited," which was founded in 1865, for the purpose of providing clean and healthy homes for the working classes of the neighbourhood.

The Company owns two blocks of dwellings, viz., "Coleridge Buildings" in the Archway Road, and "Springfield Cottages" on the North Hill. The occupation of both blocks has been satisfactory throughout, and the return on the capital invested slightly over 4 per cent. per annum.

The Directors may fairly congratulate the shareholders that, whilst much good has been accomplished, a safe and reasonably profitable investment has been secured.

The cultivation of garden plots in connection with both blocks of buildings is encouraged.

The following is the last Report of the Directors.

THE HIGHGATE DWELLINGS' IMPROVEMENT COMPANY, Ld.

Directors.

Sir S. H. Waterlow, Bart., Chairman,	Great Winchester-street, E.C.
B. G. Lake, Esq. - - - -	The Priory, Orpington, Kent.
Walter Scrimgeour, Esq. - - -	The Grove, Highgate.
Martin R. Sharp, Esq. - - -	Clovelly, Eastbourne.
Colonel Wilkinson - - - -	Fitzroy Park, Highgate.

Honorary Solicitor.—B. G. Lake, Esq., 10, New Square, Lincoln's Inn.

Secretary.—Mr. John James.

Office.—21, Springfield Cottages, North Hill, Highgate.

REPORT.

Owing to the general depression, as evidenced by local want of employment, the occupation of the Company's properties has not been quite so satisfactory as in past years. The receipts month by month show a gross total £842 9*s.* 6*d.* for 52 weeks, against £853 15*s.* 0*d.* during the year 1885, being a decrease of £11 5*s.* 6*d.*

The two retiring Directors are W. Scrimgeour, Esq., and M. R. Sharp, Esq., who, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election.

Both the Company's buildings are in a satisfactory state of repair. The exterior of Coleridge Buildings has been restored and painted during the year at a cost of £50.

Annexed are the accounts for the year ending 31st December, 1886, showing a balance of £295 13*s.* 8*d.* to the credit of revenue account after charging thereto £80 10*s.* 11*d.*, the amount of capital repaid to the Public Works Loan Commissioners during the year. Out of this sum the Directors recommend a dividend of eight shillings per share *free of income tax*, being at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, which will absorb £260, and leave a balance of £35 13*s.* 8*d.* to be carried forward to the year 1887.

£50 now stands on deposit to credit of the Reserve Fund, which during the present year will be increased to £65.

By order of the Board,

JNO. JAMES, *Secretary.*

21, SPRINGFIELD COTTAGES, NORTH HILL, HIGHGATE,

31*st January*, 1887.

THE CABLE TRAMWAY.

"This tramway was formally opened yesterday by the Lord Mayor, and the day was a sort of gala day in the neighbourhood, flags being freely displayed. The Lord Mayor, with whom were Sir R. Carden, M.P., and Sir Sydney Waterlow, M.P., attended with Lieutenant-Colonel Sheriff Cowan, and they were met at the Archway terminus by the directors of the constructing and proprietary companies. Mr. J. C. Robinson, general manager of the Patent Cable Tramways Corporation (Limited), read an address to the Lord Mayor, thanking him for undertaking to perform the inaugural ceremony, and giving some particulars with regard to the work. It appeared that this was the first cable tramway constructed in the United Kingdom, and that though the system is by no means new—having been tested by ten years' experience in the United States—there were some peculiar difficulties which had had to be overcome in this short line. Among other peculiarities, the cables had to change from a double to a single line, with loops for passing, and the gradients, though not so severe as in San Francisco, rose from the flat to one in eleven. Mr. Eppelsheimer, one of the original inventors, had given his personal supervision to the work throughout. The Lord Mayor and his party, with a number of visitors, amongst whom were Mr. Puleston, M.P., Sir Saul Samuel, Mr. Brunker (Liverpool), Mr. Butler

(Bristol), Mr. C. B. King, C.E., etc., then entered the cars, which were decorated with flags and evergreens, and, preceded by the band of the City of London Artillery Brigade, traversed the line—which runs from the Archway Tavern to the south end of Southwood Lane—a stoppage being made from time to time to show the ease with which the 'grip' could lay hold of the travelling cable or let it go. As the cars passed between the spectators massed on each side, they were regarded with much interest by the adults, and were loudly cheered by the youthful portion of the assemblage. They certainly presented a novel appearance, with their 'cow-catcher' ends and with no apparent mode of propulsion. The narrow open space between the rails, along which the endless cable passes, and from which a low humming sound was heard, was curiously inspected after the cars had passed. The visitors returned to the engine-house, where the ingenious machinery for driving the bands and leading them to the engines at right angles to the road was examined and highly praised. * * * As two companies are concerned in the production of this tramway, it may be well to state that the Patent Cable Tramways Corporation—of which Mr. H. M. Smith is secretary, and Mr. J. Kincaid consulting engineer—have constructed and equipped the line, which, after having been worked by them for a time, will be handed over as a going concern to the proprietors, the Steep Grade Tramways and Works Company, of which Mr. G. D. Mertens is the secretary. The cable, by Scott, of Southport, is made from crucible steel wire, and consists of six strands of nineteen wires each, wound around a Manilla rope. The engines are in duplicate, by Jessop, of Leicester, from designs by Graftons, of London, and consist of two twenty-five-horse power (nominal) horizontal reversible engines. The two fifty-horse-power tubular boilers are by Babcock and Wilcox, of Glasgow and New York. The rails are laid on a gauge of three feet six inches."—*Daily News*, 30th May, 1884.

This cable tram, which was at first regarded with very considerable disapproval by the older residents of Highgate, has proved itself to be a very great public convenience, practically abolishing the steep gradient, and bringing the *top* of Highgate Hill into direct communication with the Metropolis. The difficulty now would be to *do without it*. Nevertheless, for many reasons it is not desirable to extend it through the village of Highgate, even if the promoters were inclined to do so,—which financial considerations would probably prevent.

Where a tram line really is required, is along the Archway Road, which possesses no facilities of public communication whatever.

The practical difficulties are (*a*) the steep gradients of the road, which in some parts are one in twenty-seven, and (*b*) the arch carrying Hornsey Lane across the Archway Road. The road under the arch is only sixteen feet six inches wide, consequently the whole roadway would be absorbed

by the tram line, which would thus become a source of very considerable danger to the public; and besides these considerations, immediately contiguous to the top of the arch is one of the great reservoirs of the New River Company; consequently the work of removal of, or interference, with the foundations of the present archway, which keeps two huge banks of clay in position, and from which their natural supports have been removed, would involve very considerable risk, and the Local Board are perfectly justified, in the interest of the ratepayers, in asking for a material guarantee from any company which for its own purposes is desirous of dealing with it: at the same time it should be borne in mind that the arch will be, and indeed already practically is, a serious block to the greatly increasing traffic of the great North Road, and as it *must* ultimately be reconstructed, it seems desirable that some mutual arrangement should be arrived at, by the several parties interested, that the necessary works for the public convenience should be carried out with as little delay as possible.

THE PARISH MAGAZINE.

This useful form of disseminating local information was established in 1863, and has therefore attained a somewhat mature age.

Such publications as a general rule are mere chronicles of the doings of the Parish Church, and should more appropriately be called "The Parish *Church* Magazine"; but this periodical, in the hands of its late Editor, Mr. C. W. Empson, rose above this tradition, and became an interesting record of all the important events—or at least many of them—occurring in the neighbourhood, and became distinguished for a wide and generous liberality, of which it is hoped in the general interest of Highgate, future editors will not fall short.

The Magazine is printed in a very convenient form for binding and for reference, and will thus become very valuable material for future local history. A complete set is to be found in the library of the Literary Institution.

The following is a list of the successive Editors of the Magazine, to whom Highgate is indebted for much useful and good work:—Rev. P. P. Fogg; Mr. J. B. Dyne; Mr. Herbert Lake; Mr. H. R. Cooper Smith; Mr. C. W. Empson; Mr. L. C. Tatham; and Rev. H. R. Cooper Smith.

THE DIOCESAN PENITENTIARY, PARK HOUSE.

"This forms part of a large scheme which was projected under Bishop Blomfield for the erection of four Diocesan Penitentiaries, to be managed by Sisters, with refuges attached to them.

"The first Warden of the Penitentiary at Highgate was the Rev. George Nugee. The second was the Rev. John Oliver, who has, with the unfailing

assistance of the Treasurer, Mr. Richard Twining, made the Institution what it is. Of great singleness of purpose and devotion to his work, fatherly in his tender sympathy with the fallen, yet firm and unfaltering in his dealings with them, he is reported in a Parliamentary Blue Book 'to have been more successful in the difficult work of reformation than any other person similarly engaged.' Indeed, so striking was his influence on cases coming under his care, and so impressive the tone and character of the house, that Mary Howitt wrote an account of a visit which she paid to the Institution, that others might be induced to visit and support it. This effect was in part, of course, due to the Sisters and other ladies who worked with and under the late Warden, foremost amongst whom was the late Lady Principal, 'Sister Jessie,' a sister of Lord Chancellor Selborne.

"The financial resources of the Institution, not less than its internal management, owe much to Mr. Oliver's cool judgment, and it was at his suggestion that the Council, with Bishop Tait's approval (who remained a subscriber and firm friend to his death), ventured on the bold outlay of £12,000 in order to obtain the freehold of the Park House Estate, when offered for sale by the family of the late Mr. Cooper Cooper. The Warden having raised between £2,000 and £3,000 by general subscription, the remainder was obtained on mortgage. By skilful management the ground rents accruing from building leases on that portion of the estate which is now called 'The Park' at the present time more than cover the interest on the mortgage, so that the Penitentiary will in the future be well endowed, if only it can be maintained during the interval.

"Mr. Oliver also paid great attention to the resources which are created by the industry of the inmates, so that during the year 1882, £1,000 was received on the laundry account, and £82 for needlework.

"The Chapel was the gift of the Treasurer, Mr. Twining. It was designed by Mr. Arthur Blomfield, but erected entirely under the superintendence of the late Warden, without clerk of the works or builder. In addition to his duties here, Mr. Oliver had during his latter years the superintendence of the Refuge at Westminster."[1] He died 10th July, 1883.

The present Warden is the Rev. J. Amps.

THE ALEXANDRA PALACE.

"Shortly after the close of the second International Exhibition (that of 1862) at South Kensington, it was resolved to erect on the slope of Muswell Hill a place of popular entertainment for the working classes of northern London, which should rival the Crystal Palace at Sydenham. To the great mass of people in the north of London the Crystal Palace,

[1] *Parish Magazine.*

except on great occasions and great attractions, is so distant as to be almost inaccessible; and it is reported, as was proved by railway returns, it is mainly the south London population which keeps up the great building 'over the water.' There seemed no valid reason, therefore, why the north of London, with at least three times the number of inhabitants, should not be able to support a 'Crystal Palace' of its own. It was considered, moreover, that the Alexandra Palace—for such the building was to be named, in honour of the Princess Alexandra—would not be dependent on support from local influences. The rare beauty of its site, which probably has not its equal round London, together with the special attractions in the building, would be likely to make it a universal favourite.

"With regard to the palace itself, it was decided to purchase some portion of the materials of the International Exhibition, and with them to erect the building, in the same manner as the originators of its prototype at Sydenham had purchased for that purpose the materials of the Great Exhibition of 1851. The new palace, therefore, was almost entirely built out of the materials of the Great Exhibition of 1862, but totally altered and improved in their reconstruction. It had only one of the noble domes in the centre transept, with two less lofty octagon towers at either end. It had one main nave, exclusive of the entrances, about 900 feet long, and three cross transepts of about 400 feet each. The building was beautifully decorated in the Renaissance style; and round the eight columns which supported the great central dome were ranged groups of statuary surrounded by flowers. Behind this ornamental walk were placed the cases for the exhibitors, mixed, as in the nave itself, with flowers and statuary. Then there were a variety of courts—such as the glass court, china court, furniture court, courts for French goods, courts for American, Indian, Italian,—in short, the usual courts which we are accustomed to find in such an exhibition. At the north end of the centre transept was built a splendid organ by Willis, decorated in a style to be in harmony with its surroundings, and in front of this was the orchestra. A large concert room was in another part of the building. There was also a theatre, capable of holding two thousand spectators, and having a stage as large as that of Drury Lane.

"During the progress of the building, sundry stoppages and hindrances arose from various causes; and in the grounds great difficulty was at times experienced through the subsidence of the soil; indeed, to use the words of one of the contractor's foremen, the hills round Muswell had, during one winter, 'been slipping about like anything.'

"Strange as such statements may seem, it is literally true. The hills, as asserted, had been moving in several directions. They are mostly resting, at about twenty feet deep, on a two-feet seam of soapy clay,

which, when the superincumbent mass was thoroughly penetrated by the constant rain, allowed it to slip. Fortunately the Alexandra Palace was so deeply moored in its foundations that it never shifted, or showed the slightest signs of any subsidence or yielding in any direction; yet a very formidable landslip took place close by it, and in one night between three and four acres slipped quietly down a few feet. But beyond this landslip none of the hills immediately round the palace have moved to any material extent, except where the viaduct for the railway crosses over a small valley just before arriving at the palace.

"After a delay of some six or seven years beyond the first appointed time, the palace and grounds being all but completed, it was opened to the public on the 24th May, 1873.

"The proceedings, though not graced by the presence of royalty, were as successful an inauguration of a national institution as could possibly have been expected. The opening was inaugurated by a grand concert, presided over by Sir Michael Costa, in which some of the leading singers of the day took part.

"But, alas! about midday on the 9th of June the whole building fell a prey to the flames, and all that was left in a few hours was a melancholy and gutted ruin. The fire originated at the base of the great dome, where some workmen had been employed in 'repairing the roof,' and had possibly let some lighted tobacco fall into a crevice. During the brief period the palace was open (fourteen days only), it was visited by as many as 124,124 persons, and its success seemed no longer doubtful. Thus encouraged, the directors resolved at once to rebuild it, and in its reconstruction they availed themselves of the experience so dearly purchased, particularly with reference to arrangements for protection from fire.

"The new building, which was opened on the 1st May, 1875, occupies an area of about seven acres, and is constructed in a most substantial manner. It contains the grand hall, capable of seating 12,000 visitors, and an orchestra of 2,000; the Italian garden, a spacious court in which are asphalt paths, flower-beds, and a fine fountain; also the concert room, which has been erected on the best known acoustic principles, and will seat 3,500 visitors. The conservatory is surmounted by a glass dome, and in close proximity are two spacious halls for the exhibition of works of art, also a corridor for the display of ornamental works. The reading-room is a very comfortable apartment, and near thereto are the modern Moorish house and Egyptian villa. The theatre is of the most perfect kind, and will seat more than 3,000 persons. The exhibition department is divided into two parts, the space occupied being two hundred and four feet by one hundred and six feet. The bazaar department is two hundred and thirteen feet by one hundred and forty

feet. The frontage of the stalls is upwards of 3,000 feet, and they are so arranged as to give the greatest facility of access to visitors and purchasers. The picture galleries are on the northern side of the building, and comprise six fine large well-lighted rooms. The refreshment department is complete, and extensive in character; including spacious grill and coffee rooms, two banqueting rooms, drawing, billiard, and smoke rooms, and private rooms for large or small parties, and the grand dining saloon, which will accommodate as many as 1,000 persons at table. For the efficient supply of this vast establishment the plan of the basement is considered to be the most perfect as well as the most extensive of its kind ever yet seen, and within the building are numerous private offices for managers and clerks, and a spacious board room."[1]

But we regret to add that in spite of these ample provisions as a place of public recreation, up to the present time the palace has not been a success. There has been no lack of enterprise shown by at least one of its successive "managements," but it simply does not take, and the problem is what to do with it, lying as it does wide of the great centres of population, and somewhat difficult of access both by road and rail. The last suggestion is to secure it for the use of the people as a public recreation ground; it would make excellent head-quarters for the volunteers of the north of London; or its buildings could be utilized as a national museum of plaster casts,—a great artistic desideratum.

The park is richly timbered, and of a pleasingly undulated surface, intersected by broad carriage drives, and there are several ornamental lakes of great beauty, rustic buildings and horticultural gardens, with extensive ranges of glass houses. At the foot of the hill on which the palace stands there is a racecourse, upwards of a mile in length, and the grand stand is one of the handsomest and most substantial buildings of its kind in this country. There is also a trotting ring on the American principle, and in connection therewith a range of stabling for several hundred horses, thus rendering the property well adapted for horse and agricultural shows. The cricket ground is ten acres in extent, with two pavilions, and every convenience for cricketers.

MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

The Railway Station at Highgate was opened to the public on the 22nd August, 1867.

The first stone of the Infirmary in Maiden Lane was laid by W. H. Wyatt, Esq., on the 10th December, 1868. It contains five hundred and twenty-four beds, and has cost for building, furniture, etc., £70 per bed, or £36,680!

[1] Walford's *Old and New London.*

THE CEMETERY.

The approach to Highgate cemetery from the Metropolis is through Swain's Lane, which, rising gradually for half a mile overshadowed by trees of considerable growth, is a fitting approach to what is certainly the most picturesque cemetery of the north of London.

The road divides the upper from the lower grounds, which together cover some fifty acres. On the left, as the visitor enters the upper cemetery from Swain's Lane, stands the chapel, built in a style which might be termed "Undertaker's Gothic," but it is fitted with simple good taste, the light from the stained-glass windows harmonizing with the continuous solemn service of sorrow to which the building is devoted.

On entering the grounds, the eye is struck by the taste with which nature is combined with art, all the beauties of situation being improved by cultivation and taken the fullest advantage of.

Broad gravel paths wind up either side of the steep slope to the Church of St. Michael, which is seen to great advantage from every part of the grounds, and seems to appertain to the cemetery itself.

Parterres of flowers, picturesque trees and evergreens, add a charm to the scene, and life and beauty to the very dominion of death.

On ascending the hill, the entrance to the Catacombs is through an archway of the stern and appropriate architecture of Egypt, and seems to lead into the very bosom of the hill; but the circular path conducts again to the entrance. On the top of the central compartment stands a magnificent cypress tree, which spreads its dark shadow over the whole of what is known as the "Lebanon Circle." Above the Catacombs the path continues to ascend till it reaches a broad level terrace, with a handsome balustrade, a point from which the view over the Metropolis is remarkably fine. The newer portion of the cemetery is on a much lower level, and consequently less picturesque.

The ground (a large portion of which once belonged to the Old Mansion House, built by Sir William Ashurst) was laid out for its present purposes by Mr. J. B. Bunning, the City architect, and was opened in 1839.

Many familiar names present themselves on the tombstones; some of considerable distinction. Amongst them are the tombs of Lord Lyndhurst (who married his wife from Highgate), Baron Gurney, Sir Herbert Edwardes, Michael Faraday, Alaric A. Watts (poet and journalist), Gilbert à Becket, Joseph Haydn (the man of dates), Dr. James Hamilton, Dr. John Wordsworth (son of the poet), C. J. Hullmandel (artist), W. H. Hunt (artist), Sir William Ross (painter), Mrs. Bartholomew (flower painter), Sir William Bodkin (Assistant Judge),

Judge Payne (the Ragged School Rhymester), Lillywhite (cricketer), Dr. Letheby (analyst), Mrs. Mary Ann Cross (George Eliot), Mrs. W. H. Wood, Joseph Guy (geographer), Sir Thomas Lawrence, Abraham Cooper, R.A., George Jones, R.A., Rev. F. Maurice (Working Man's College), Pierce Egan, Sowerby (naturalist), Parepa Rosa (singer), Vandenhoff (actor), Crabb Robinson, the father, mother, and daughter of Charles Dickens, Critchett the oculist, John Francis (editor), the mother of Lord Tennyson, Lord Radstock, Josiah Wilson, Sir Peter Laurie, Alderman Hale (City of London School), etc., etc. Probably no tomb in England of late years has attracted so many thousands of visitors as that of Tom Sayers (prize fighter), which bears his own portrait and also that of his dog. The tombs of Wombwell the lion tamer and Atcherley the horse slaughterer are surmounted by figures of animals symbolical of their craft; the latter by a monstrosity which surpasses the usual level of cemetery art.

There are now upwards of twenty-five thousand graves in this cemetery, on an average certainly containing four bodies each,—one hundred thousand bodies!

The drainage naturally finds its way to the lower level, now being rapidly covered with houses. Happily the soil is a stiff clay, and no portion of the "Fleet river" or its affluents is now used for domestic purposes, as it flows silently through the sewers.

But the future of this cemetery is a matter of serious consideration for the neighbourhood, the earth becoming yearly more densely charged with the most poisonous matter.

Churchyards, bad as they were, were but of limited extent, but our great metropolitan cemeteries may yet possibly bring us face to face with some very serious problems.

Nature is kindly if left to work out her own great laws, but inexorable in demanding the penalty if they are broken.

THE GRAVEL PIT WOOD, PUBLIC PARK.

The initiation of the movement which ultimately secured these beautiful woods for the use of the public is due to Mr. H. R. Williams, the chairman of the Hornsey Local Board, to whose constant and watchful care over the growing district of Hornsey, the resident public is greatly indebted.

On the 8th September, 1884, Mr. Williams wrote to *The Times* newspaper as follows:—

To the Editor of "The Times."

"Sir,—The destruction of the Highgate Woods is now imminent. So far as sanitary and recreative purposes are concerned their fate is, I fear, sealed. The

Ecclesiastical Commissioners have just acquired the whole of Lord Mansfield's leasehold interests in them, and they are again in full possession of their freehold rights, and are now free to deal with their immense estate, which extends from Crouch End to the Spaniard's at Hampstead, covering roughly from 800 to 1,000 acres.

"As I have before pointed out in *The Times* that the appropriation of these charming and in many respects unique woods for sanitary and recreative purposes would add immensely to the value of the remaining portion of the enormous estate administered by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the free use to the public of only a portion of these magnificent woods would lend an additional charm to our northern heights, and add much to their natural attractions as a residential neighbourhood. But I am not sanguine that any such considerations would weigh with the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who appear to have a very matter-of-fact way in dealing with such property. Woodland, like any other of the land owned by them near London, is estimated solely for its building capabilities, and the yearly value fixed accordingly. Is there no one who can authoritatively stay the axe of the woodman and avert a catastrophe which would be felt for all time?

"The impression is firmly fixed in the minds of multitudes that the public have the free use and enjoyment of these woods, which are regarded as the great recreation ground of Highgate; but this notion is soon dispelled if visitors venture into their sacred precincts; they are speedily warned off, and that without much ceremony, while full and impartial notice calculated to damp the ardour of the most courageous pleasure-seeker stares them everywhere in the face that 'trespassers will be prosecuted.' It is only on Bank Holidays that the people break through the restraints imposed upon them. 'Keep to the path' has no meaning for them on these occasions; thousands spread themselves over their charming retreats in true picnic fashion, and no warnings will induce them to leave the wooded dells or the favourite clumps and points of vantage which they have selected for their enjoyment; men, women, and children alike participate in the health-giving delights afforded by the exquisite woodland.

"'I have tried,' said the late rector of Hornsey, Canon Harvey, to me one day, 'to keep Hornsey a village, but circumstances have beaten me.' So much did he try that no inducement would allow him to sell a single acre of his glebe; but such consideration is no longer possible, some acres have been disposed of for building since he left. Those who have travelled by the Great Northern Railway will remember the green fields and the fine country scenery which opened upon them on nearing Hornsey; but, alas! the scene is changed. The large tract of land known as the 'Hog's Back' is everywhere intersected by newly-made roads; a vast brickfield, in full operation, supplies bricks for the building of the houses, which are rising up in every direction; while the well-wooded estate on the other side of the line, formerly the residence of Mr. David Chapman, and known as Haringey, having its extensive frontage along the Green Lanes, has become the property of the British Land Company, and is being rapidly covered with small houses. Two iron churches have been erected and a site secured for a Nonconformist chapel. The Hornsey School Board are also in possession of an eligible site of an acre or more to provide in part for the educational necessities which will soon arise in what is destined to be an immense neighbourhood. The Great Northern Railway Company, too, have just commenced the building of a new station for the accommodation of the masses soon to congregate there, while, in addition, the course of the New River is to be diverted and tunnelled for the general convenience and greater compactness of the locality. Thus our open spaces, interspersed with glimpses of bright and attractive scenery,

are being taken one by one, and soon they will all disappear. At present what remains of the Alexandra Park is safe, but how long it will remain so no one can tell. Bills have been presented to Parliament in two successive sessions for the disposal of this fine open space, to be used like all others for building purposes, but hitherto without success; no doubt other trials will be made in this direction to deprive the public of such rights as the Act of 1866 gave them.

"I may, however, ask in all earnestness whether the public have not some claim upon a great body of landowners like the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, to whom belongs nearly one-third of the Parish of Hornsey. Private landowners not infrequently do much to benefit and beautify the neighbourhoods in which their wealth was made, or in which their estates are situated, and why not a great corporation whose wealth will be increased to a fabulous extent by the building operations which must soon be pushed forward on a gigantic scale?

"Are all sanitary considerations to be set aside for the building of churches and the payment of their ministers, both good things in themselves? Surely the people of Hornsey, in whose midst this great estate is situated, have some claim upon it. The local authorities will no doubt be referred to as the parties to deal with the woods, but they are powerless in matters of this kind.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"H. R. WILLIAMS.

"OAK LODGE, HIGHGATE, *Sept. 8th.*"[1]

The Times admirably seconded the appeal Mr. Williams had made by the following leading article:—

"When a committee was formed this summer for the purpose of trying to secure Highgate Woods as perpetual recreation grounds for North London, it was generally hoped that an object so desirable would not be frustrated; but a desponding letter from Mr. H. R. Williams, which we published yesterday, informs us that the destruction of Highgate Woods is now imminent. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners have acquired Lord Mansfield's leasehold interest in the woods, and having thus recovered their own freehold rights they are at liberty to deal as they please with the large and beautiful estate which covers nearly a thousand acres between Crouch End and Hampstead. To infer from this however, as our correspondent does, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will not perceive what interests they themselves as well as the public have in the preservation of Highgate Woods, is, perhaps, going too far. At the same time it is well that Londoners should understand exactly how the case as to these woods stands, for there is a mistaken impression in the minds of thousands that the public have free access to this popular resort. This is so on Bank Holidays, for it is almost impossible to resist the inroads of excursionists on such days; but on ordinary occasions trespassers are liable to be warned out of the woods, and apparently there is nothing to prevent the owners from felling the fine masses of trees for timber and handing over the denuded ground

[1] *Times*, Sept. 10th, 1884.

to speculative builders. The Commissioners would certainly be bad men of business if they did this, for, as Mr. Williams points out, the appropriation of the woods for sanitary and recreative purposes would add immensely to the value of the remaining portion of the vast estate which the Commissioners administer. Most of the charm of Highgate would be gone if the woods disappeared. Rich residents would not renew their leases when these expired; rents would fall, and the Commissioners would be the losers—to say nothing of the regret which each of them individually would no doubt feel, when it was too late, at having deprived London for ever of an almost unique piece of woodland. But, on the other hand, the Commissioners may reflect that a spot which Londoners think worth possessing must be worth paying for, and here arises the difficulty which confronts us whenever a favourite haunt has to be rescued from bricks and mortar. The huge agglomeration of townships and parishes comprised within London having no central municipality, there is no public body that can be called upon to provide open spaces for the growing requirements of the metropolis. The expansion of London at the rate of about 30,000 houses and 70,000 inhabitants in a year fills us all with a kind of bewilderment, and the cry for open spaces is regarded as a form of mendicancy with which everybody sympathizes, but which nobody can see his way to relieving. Ratepayers separately would be willing to pay for woods, parks, squares, and playgrounds, but their willingness must be vapoured off in mere platonic expressions, so long as there is no authority to condense it into hard money. Last year it was the Paddington Park scheme that failed, because there was a dispute as to whether the park was a local or a metropolitan want. After that came an agitation for inducing the City Corporation to purchase Alexandra Park, and this year we have had projects for buying Highbury Fields and a park at Fulham. Meanwhile the indefatigable association of which Lord Brabazon is chairman, struggles, now with a partial success, now against disheartening rebuffs, to convert disused burialgrounds into public gardens, to unlock the gates of deserted squares, and to secure occasional admittance for children into secluded grounds, which their proprietors—chiefly Companies—seldom tread. In all these isolated attempts much money and energy are expended, which under some central directing system might compass far greater ends than they actually do. But it is only on occasions that public opinion can be thoroughly roused, as it was about the preservation of Epping Forest; and the rescue of Highgate Woods from the builder—should it happily be effected—will be due no doubt to a similar awakening of public spirit.

"Londoners, in whatever part of the Metropolis they may dwell, will interest themselves more readily in the question of open spaces for the

northern parishes if they consider the serious sanitary and social dangers that are accumulated by the overcrowded and unventilated condition of these great suburbs. The south of London, with its girdle of commons and parks, is comparatively well provided for, but a glance at the map over the huge parishes of Clerkenwell and Islington shows one black mass of houses in narrow streets hardly relieved by a spot of green. The inhabitants of the shabby streets and alleys branching out of the City, Goswell, and Pentonville Roads, must walk miles before they can reach a park. Passing out of the Essex Road into old Canonbury, we come upon houses which by their rural appearance denote that they marked the extreme northern limits of London not so very long ago, but they are now choked up amid endless coils of new streets. Only last year, going through Highbury, which, thanks to its enclosed fields, still looks like a *rus in urbe*, we could enjoy a breath of country air and get a fine view of Highgate and Muswell Hill from the road overlooking the Vale. But the Vale has just been built over. The Blackstock Lane beyond, which, skirting Highbury Barn, led to Hornsey Wood, and where blackberries could be gathered from the hedges within the memory of people not yet middle aged, is now the Blackstock Road—a densely populated thoroughfare, among scores of such, spreading to the east of Finsbury Park. This park, which stood well out in the country when purchased by the Metropolitan Board of Works, is now the centre of a big straggling city, and has become inadequate to the needs of the neighbourhood. On week days it offers a fair recreation ground to nursemaids and children, but on Sundays and holidays it is black with crowds as with swarms of ants. The Green Lanes bounding it on one side were till lately available for country walks, but these, too, are fast becoming a mere main road, through the new city which is opening up over the Haringey Park Estate as far as Hornsey. Nor is there any breathing space to be got by pushing past the old Manor House in the Green Lanes along the Seven Sisters Road, for another forest of houses—Woodberry Town—then comes into view, and, in fact, we may wander among villas and new-built streets, clustering round lately erected railway stations, as far as Stamford Hill and thence to Edmonton. The country is hardly attained in this direction till we alight where the Northern Tramway Line stops at Ponder's End, within two miles of Waltham Cross. Stoke Newington is still kept fresh and pretty owing to the lovely grounds of Clissold Park, which the proprietor throws open on two days a week during a couple of months, but how long these precious acres of wood and lawn may remain as they are is doubtful. When they in their turn have been built over, the miles of ground between Clerkenwell Green—now long since greenless—and Abney Park Cemetery will be represented on the map by one large blot of black. By that time, too, Hornsey will

have nothing of a village about it except its main street and lean strip of common.

"To the people of Clerkenwell, Islington, Canonbury, and South Hornsey these excesses of building mean almost total deprivation of pure air and pleasant exercise. Finsbury Park and Green Lanes on one side, and Highgate on the other, may still be reached from the City by tram-car, omnibus, or train for threepence; but this is of little advantage to the children of poor people. These little unfortunates must use the streets as playgrounds, at the risk of constant collisions with the police if they carry their sports beyond prudent limits. Even on holidays it is a serious matter for a working man to have to pay threepenny fares going and returning for himself and his whole family; and if this be done once in a way it is considered a treat that cannot often be repeated. But, as we have said, the inducements to incur this expense are diminishing yearly so far as Finsbury Park is concerned, and if Highgate Woods be obliterated under brickfields and villas the favourite jaunt past Whittington's Stone will also become a thing of the past. It will be useless to expect working men and their families to pay for frequent trips to whatever undesecrated rural regions may yet remain on the further side of Highgate. They will therefore spend their Sundays and most of their holidays in their squalid streets and slums. Already the sight of these thoroughfares in the outlying districts of the City on Saturday and Sunday afternoons is enough to fill one with uneasiness and pity. The crowds sauntering through St. Luke's, the Goswell Road, and the purlieus round the famous Eagle, opposite which the Old Green Gate and its gardens were still to be seen but a very little while ago, would assuredly rather be rambling over grass and under trees, but they have no places of recreation to go to. Houses have been allowed to grow up around them luxuriantly as weeds, without any authority having the power or forethought to provide open spaces amid this rapid never-ceasing overgrowth. It may not be too late yet to urge that precautions should be taken to check destruction of all woodlands and parks in the furthermost suburbs, where new streets are starting up week after week; and any efforts made to save Highgate Woods will assuredly help to confer such a boon on the Metropolis as can hardly be over-estimated." [1]

On the 8th and 20th October in the same year, Mr. Williams returned to the charge, in two energetic letters to *The Times*, in which he reviewed the open spaces and pleasure-grounds surrounding the Metropolis, again earnestly pleading that this piece of woodland should be saved.

In his letter of the 8th October Mr. Williams says:—

"In his history of London, Mr. Loftie, in describing the northern suburbs, says that 'the enormous extent of the ecclesiastical estates in

[1] *The Times*, 11th September, 1884.

the suburbs, and their seizure by the Crown, have proved circumstances of the happiest kind for us of the time of Queen Victoria. All these 'lungs of London' were at one time church or abbey lands;' but he adds significantly, '*In those parts of London where the church lands remained to the church no parks were made.*' The opportunity occurs by which this want of generosity can be remedied by the surrender at a nominal price of the well-known but much neglected Highgate Woods to the local or some other authorities as a place of recreation for the people. The woods, which appear best fitted for sanitary and recreative purposes, are but a short distance from the Islington and Finchley boundaries, and within sight of an immense and ever-growing population. They skirt the Archway Road, the great outlet to the north from London, and are easily accessible by the Great Northern, the Metropolitan, and the North London Railways. The Highgate station of the former may be said to be in the heart of them. They are, moreover, beautifully undulating and picturesque; their situation and beauty are unique and almost without parallel, at all events near London, and they would, as a well-kept recreation ground, add greatly to the charm of the northern suburbs.

"The abolition of the toll formerly levied by the Archway company for the privilege of passing over their road, has led to an enormous increase both in the pedestrian and vehicular traffic of Highgate. Large building operations have since that time been in progress, and some hundreds of houses have been erected on the Hornsey side of the well-known arch. Everywhere throughout the parish of Hornsey great changes have taken place. From its boundary at Tottenham, miles of new roads have been formed. Even the famous grove at Muswell Hill, with its magnificent trees, is about to be invaded by the ever-encroaching builder, a portion having just been sold, and the plans for covering the estate with houses already passed by the Local Board. Hornsey, like Islington, will in the course of the next few years be a densely-populated portion of the Metropolis, no longer a suburb, and practically without an open space in these parts, should the opportunity be allowed to pass of obtaining some of the Hornsey Woods as places of recreation."

Once more *The Times* followed up the attack by the following vigorous leading article:—

"Mr. H. R. Williams supports this morning his plea for the preservation of the Highgate Woods as an open space in North London by an enumeration of the recreation grounds enjoyed by the other divisions of the Metropolis. Northern London is threatened with a permanent inferiority to its neighbours in the ownership of public gardens and playing fields, in consequence partly of the surpassing advantages it long possessed. On the north, London continued till the present generation comparatively exempt from the invasion of bricks and mortar. Trade

and labour and wealthy leisure pushed east and west and south. Middle-aged men can remember when a short stroll in their boyhood took them, anywhere northwards, into pleasant meadows and beside flowering hedgerows. Immediately north of Regent's Park or Pentonville it was possible to walk across grass into Hertfordshire. A provision of parks for a land of woods and farms seemed a superfluity. Gradually the tide of metropolitan building has turned northwards. It is London as far as Hampstead and Highgate and Hornsey and Finchley. Terraces and shops cover the fields. Streets and alleys alone mark the ancient footpaths. Scattered groups of houses of old did not break the rural charm. They showed a consciousness of elbow-room in their builders. Their gardens returned to the air more sweetness than they robbed it of. Kentish Town and Camden Town, Holloway, Highbury, and Hornsey have been subjected to a process of evisceration and cheap embalming. Their gardens and paddocks have been packed with double and treble rows of mean habitations. Hampstead and Highgate are fast undergoing the same treatment. In a little while the entire northern quarter to its extreme borders will, it is to be feared, be a dense and compact mass of dwellings. Until lately the Londoner could gaze from the heights of Hampstead or Highgate and see no more London. London has crept round the hills, and is before him as well as behind. To a great extent it is London in the most hopeless and monotonous shape. The noisiest and most crowded business districts are less depressing than miles upon miles of two-storied stuccoed tenements aping suburban rusticity. Unless a stand be made, and islands be embanked while the face of the land is still green and leafy, North London will shortly retain of its sylvan solitudes nothing but a name. That will be the dustiest and dreariest side of the metropolis which has survived to the last quarter of the century the most delightful for rural beauty and pure air.

"A way yet remains to rescue an exquisite northern oasis before the advancing sands of the town desolate the whole. Mr. Williams appeals for sympathy in the attempt to secure it to his fellow citizens who have obtained their breathing spaces. His list of the pleasure grounds dedicated to the use of other parts is imposing; and he was fully justified in emphasizing, for the benefit of his argument, the privileges London has granted them. Yet, as he himself remarks, a glance at the map betrays the enormous area the parks and open spaces in his list have to serve. Magnificent as his roll appears, it dwindles into insignificance beside the huge unrelieved deserts remote from trees and turf. London parks and commons are a scanty substitute for the open spaces it ought to have, and, if better advised in time, might have had. Searchers for a rural refuge near the town toil in vain after the destructive march ahead of growing London. The most distant corner of the

kingdom cannot extend its trade without spreading the metropolitan boundaries. With every million added to the national capital, London takes a step forward. During commercial stagnation it may progress less rapidly; it never recedes. Suburban loveliness courts encroachments which obliterate the graces they were attracted by. A shudder is experienced as some especial trait enchants the eye. The thrill of admiration is premonitory of ruin to the site. According to the existing habit of suburban building nobody particularly profits. The speculative builder is doomed sooner or later to a bankrupt's niche in the *Gazette*. His tenants bemoan themselves in wildernesses of blank streets ill-drained, unventilated, and planted upon rubbish heaps. But the wave sweeps on; and it is futile to deprecate its course. Within the town as it is, wherever an old-fashioned garden exists, a township is sure to spring. Garden plots in the rear of streets are coveted by the landlord when they stretch beyond a score of feet. Space for a fresh thoroughfare is economised out of them before a new lease is granted. Outside, every field in private possession for miles away is manifestly predestined to the mason and bricklayer. A wise man may wish that the immoderate dilation of the Metropolis could at least be tempered by the interposition of a zone of verdure and foliage, beyond which another circle of houses might begin if it chose. He knows the absurdity of setting a limit to the craving for more dwellings, or of hoping that heirs of suburban gardens and meadows will abstain from realizing the unearned increment. The single remedy is for the town to buy the oxygen it has hitherto breathed free of cost. To make itself a present of the whole of the grass and foliage within easy access is too much for its munificence, if not for its means. To shrink from the cost of acquiring liberal slices and samples for its perpetual delectation, whatever is fated to happen in front, is to be shamefully penny-wise and pound-foolish.

"The first condition of success in the endeavour to procure for London an enjoyment to which it has an indefeasible right, is to make it see that it is its absolute duty to insist upon a reasonable reservation of open spaces. Londoners as a body should be resolved to keep at any price a fair proportion of the open ground which has virtually been their own. As we have often had occasion to say before, we must repeat that the amount of the price is a secondary consideration. London is bound not to give more than the market terms for the property it requires for public purposes. Whatever private adventurers can afford to offer on behalf of a private enterprise it can afford for the sake of its health, life, and happiness. London is literally paved with gold in respect of the boundlessness of its ability to purchase a sufficiency of pleasure grounds for the comfort of its citizens. Its inhabitants walk on gold in vain if they be stifled for want of fresh air. Anybody who doubts the expediency

of the indispensable outlay, has but to reflect on the past expenditure for the purchase of public spaces, and on the neglect of opportunities for the purchase of more. London has squandered immense treasures on objects it no longer values, or deems mischievous. No Londoner would wish the money unpaid which went to ransom Hampstead Heath, Epping Forest, Hackney Downs, or twenty other playgrounds from bricks. Few Londoners fail to mourn that the money was not spent which might have redeemed the Finchley Road fields and Paddington Park from Queen Anne avenues or worse. Syndicates are formed in an afternoon to enable London, if it will, to gratify an educated taste for pieces of pottery. The more honour such generosity merits, the more extraordinary it seems that no syndicate has ever been constituted to assure to four millions of townsmen a place of repentance for the omission to acquire one of the primary necessaries of healthy urban existence. Should the occasion be let slip for saving the Highgate Woods, and Ken Wood, and Parliament Hill, nothing is more certain than that the present generation itself will deplore its ill-timed parsimony, and be execrated for it by countless generations to come. The result concerns all London, and all London ought to contribute. A locality which gains the most by vicinity, might be equitably called upon to let itself be taxed at a higher rate. But the best quota it can furnish is a determination not to allow the subject to be forgotten, and to render it impossible for London to say too late that it was never told. There have been times when a suburban neighbourhood menaced with conversion into a brickfield was too apathetic to resist, and resented interference on its behalf by strangers. Residents happily are more public-spirited or apprehensive now. Highgate and Hornsey are bestirring themselves in defence of their woods, and Hampstead has a committee agitating for the eventual purchase of Lord Mansfield's beautiful demesne. That all these efforts will be victorious to their utmost scope is perhaps too much to expect; that they should be altogether fruitless it would be a calumny on the good sense of London to fear. London, at any rate, must be in no doubt of the nature of the issue presented to it. Anything it desires to do or have done has to be done forthwith. All delay is costly, and therefore extravagant, though not fatal. Long delay is irreparable. When the stroke of the axe is first heard in Highgate Woods, or the first scaffolding pole is seen in Ken Park, the option is gone from London for ever. A speculative builder *in situ* it is impossible to expel as dry rot, with which, indeed, he may be supposed by his unfortunate customers to have some affinity."[1]

Early in the year 1885 the following gratifying intimation was con-

[1] *The Times*, 20th October, 1884.

veyed to the Chairman of the Hornsey Local Board from Sir George Pringle.

"ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION,
"10, WHITEHALL PLACE, LONDON, S.W.,
"*12th February*, 1885.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to forward to you, for the information of your Board, the accompanying copy of a letter which was addressed by the Earl Stanhope, on the 6th inst., to the Lord Mayor of London.

"I am, Sir,
"Your very obedient servant,
"GEORGE PRINGLE.

"THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HORNSEY LOCAL BOARD,
"HORNSEY, N."

"ECCLESIASTICAL COMMISSION,
"10, WHITEHALL PLACE, LONDON, S.W.,
"*6th February*, 1885.

"MY LORD MAYOR,—I have the honour to address to your Lordship the following communication on behalf of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

"It is one which, having regard to the great interest always evinced by the Corporation of London in securing open spaces for the health and recreation of the population of London, will, I feel sure, receive your most favourable consideration.

"The Commissioners have recently had to determine what course they should adopt in dealing with certain estates in the north and north-west of London. Part of this property has recently fallen out of lease, and much of it has now become, or shortly will be, available for building purposes. The districts within which these estates are situate are outside the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works.

"Under the circumstances the Commissioners have decided to make to the Corporation of London, through your Lordship, the following offer, viz., to appropriate for the perpetual use and enjoyment of the inhabitants of the Metropolis—

"(1) A wood at Highgate, known as 'Gravel Pit Wood,' comprising 69 a. 1 r. 13 p., which is bounded on the east by the road leading from Highgate to Muswell Hill, and on the west by the Alexandra Palace Railway; and

"(2) Thirty acres (30 a. 0 r. 0 p.) of land at Kilburn, situate between the Kensal Green Station on the North London Railway and the Queen's Park Station on the London and North-Western Railway, and forming a portion of the site occupied in 1879 by the Royal Agricultural Show.

"The offer is made by the Commissioners on condition that the Corporation shall obtain Parliamentary sanction for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to make the proposed appropriation, and shall undertake to lay out and maintain these two spaces as Parks in perpetuity.

"Your Lordship is doubtless aware that an application to Parliament is necessary in this case, since the Ecclesiastical Commissioners being Trustees of Church Property have not the same unfettered liberty which private owners possess of appropriating land for public uses, but are limited to such only as are within their trust.

"On behalf of the Commissioners, I may perhaps be allowed to express a hope

that you will be pleased to take the earliest opportunity of laying this communication before the Corporation. I have the honour to be, my Lord,

"Your very obedient servant,

"THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR." "(Signed) STANHOPE."

N.B.—The sites were more precisely indicated on plans enclosed with the letter to the Corporation.

In the review of the Chairman of the Hornsey Local Board (Mr. H. R. Williams), of the work of the Board during the year 1886-7, dated 4th April, 1887, he says:—

"The Gravel Pit Wood, conveyed to the Corporation of London by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners as a free gift for the use and recreation of the public, was publicly dedicated as an open space for ever by the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor (Sir John Staples) on the 30th October last. His Lordship was accompanied by the Lady Mayoress, Mr. Alderman and Sheriff Isaacs, Sir John B. Monckton, the Town Clerk, and a large gathering of the members of the Corporation, including Mr. E. J. Stoneham, the Chairman of the Coal and Corn and Finance Committee, who had charge of the civic arrangements. While this fine piece of woodland of seventy acres will remain the property of the Corporation, it will be of immense benefit to the future of Highgate and the whole of the surrounding district, nor should the fact be forgotten that it has been acquired as an open space without the expenditure of a single shilling from the rates of Hornsey, and is maintained by the Corporation at the expense of the citizens of London. It is to be regretted that the efforts of the Board to acquire the sister wood were not successful; I venture to hope, however, that means may yet be found for its preservation. The opening up and dedication of this lower wood for the use of the public, with approaches thereto from Park Road and Shepherd's Hill, would be of incalculable service to the Crouch End and Hornsey Districts, and give ready and convenient access to an ever-increasing population to a stretch of woodland of surpassing beauty: all London would benefit by the acquisition of the Churchyard Bottom Wood as an open space."

The acquirement of seventy acres of the old woodlands for public purposes is an event in the history of Highgate of the *first* importance, only likely to be equalled by the proposed purchase of the Parliament Fields as an extension of Hampstead Heath; and should this great scheme be carried to as successful a termination, under the leadership of the Baroness and Mr. Burdett-Coutts, M.P., Miss Octavia Hill, Mr. Charles Lee Lewes, Mr. John Glover and Mr. F. S. Osmond (representing Highgate), as the Gravel Pit Wood movement was by Mr. H. R. Williams (of which there seems no reasonable doubt), Highgate will indeed be fortunate in the possession of two magnificent spaces for

recreative purposes for all coming time; and the names of those who have worked so unselfishly, so wisely, and so persistently for the accomplishment of these great ends, will rank high amongst the goodly company of THE WORTHIES OF HIGHGATE.

And now, our willing task is finished. We have endeavoured to people the dear old village with the memories of the past, and so to

> "Make the men that have been, reappear;"

and have tried to set forth some of the many aspects of the vigorous life which employs the powers of its men of to-day. We now take our farewell in the graceful numbers of the historian of *The Sonnet*, whose familiar voice has found a fitting "moral to adorn our tale," which thus happily closes to the music of his happy rhythm.

> My task is done. Dear Reader, shouldst thou be
> A Highgate man, or Highgate lady fair,
> Whose cheeks grow roses in our nimble air,
> Thy praise will be rich recompense to me.
>
> And with my book before thee, wandering free
> Among the hills, woods, fields depicted there,
> The mighty men of old will reappear,
> 'Mid grave debate, or sounds of minstrelsie.
>
> Thou'lt look with pride on Highgate's mighty dead,
> And strive to make the present like the past,
> That so our children may record our fame;
>
> And in some future History it be said,
> If the old worthies' fame was made to last,
> Our modern worthies like renown may claim.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF MINERALS AND FOSSILS FOUND IN THE HIGHGATE ARCHWAY CUTTING.

Classified by the late N. T. Wetherell, F.G.S., M.R.C.S., V.-P. Highgate Literary and Scientific Institution, and paper read at the meeting of the Geological Society, London, 13th June, 1832.

ABBREVIATIONS.

r. Signifies that the fossil was rare. *c.* Common. *v. r.* Very rare. *v. c.* Very common.
Phil., Phillips's "Elementary Introduction to Mineralogy."
Brand., Brander's "Fossilia Hantoniensia."
Mag. Nat. Hist., Charlesworth's "Magazine of Natural History."
Min. Con., Sowerby's "Mineral Conchology of Great Britain."
Geol. Tr., "Transactions of the Geological Society of London."
Bowerb., Bowerbank's "History of the Fossil Fruits and Seeds of the London Clay."

MINERALS.

Name.	References to Descriptions or Figures.
Sulphate of Barytes, *v. r.*	*Phil.*, p. 183.
Sulphuret of Iron, *v. c.*	*Phil.*, p. 217.
Selenite, or Sulphate of Lime, *v. c.*	*Phil.*, p. 174; *Brand.*, pl. ix., fig. 123.
Highgate Resin, *r.*	*Phil.*, p. 375; *Mag. Nat. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 675.

FOSSILS.

Class.	Genus.	Species.	References.
Annulata ...	Serpula	crassa, *v. r.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. i., tab. 30.
Conchifera ...	Teredo	antenautæ, *v. c.*	——— 102, figs. 1, 2, 4—8.
	Solen	affinis, *r.*	——— 3.
	Corbula	globosa, *c.* ...	——— iii, tab. 209, fig. 3.
	Tellina	splendens, *c.* ...	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser., vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 6.
	Lucina	mitis, *v. r.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. vi., tab. 557, fig. 1.
	———	Goodhalli, *r.* ...	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser., vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 7.
	Astarte	rugata, *r.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. iv., tab. 316.
	Venus	tenuistriata, *r.*	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser., vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 8.
	Cardium	nitens, *c.*	*Min. Con.*, vol. i., tab. 14.
	Arca	impolita, *r.* ...	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser., vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 10.
	Pectunculus ...	decussatus, *c.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. i, tab. 27, fig. 1.
	Nucula	similis, *r.* ...	——— ii., tab. 192, figs. 3, 4, 10.
	———	minima, *r.* ...	——— figs. 8, 9.
	———	compressa, *r.* ...	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser, vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 14.
	Modiola	subcarinata, *v. r.*	*Min. Con.*, vol. iii., tab. 210, fig. 1.
	———	depressa, *r.* ...	——— i., tab. 8.

FOSSILS (*continued*).

Class.	Genus.	Species.	References.
Conchifera— (*continued*).	Modiola	elegans, *c.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. i., tab. 9.
	Pinna	affinis, *r.* ...	——— iv., tab. 313, fig. 2.
	——	arcuata, *r.* ...	——— 3.
	Avicula	media, *r.* ...	——— i., tab. 2.
	———	papyracea, *v. r.*	*Geol. Tr.*, 2nd ser., vol. v., pl. viii., fig. 16.
	Pecten	corneus, *v. r.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. iii., tab. 204.
	Anomia	lineata, *v. r.* ...	——— v., tab. 425.
	Lingula	tenuis, *v. r.* ...	——— i., tab. 19, fig. 3.
Mollusca ...	Bulla	constricta, *r.* ...	——— v., tab. 464, fig. 2.
	——	attenuata, *r.* ...	——— 3.
	Neretina... ...	concava, *v. r.* ...	——— tab. 385, fig. 5.
	Natica	glaucinoides, *v.c.*	——— i., tab. 5.
			——— v., tab. 479, fig. 4.
	———	similis, *r.* ...	——— i., tab. 5.
	Vermetus ...	Bognoriensis, *r.c.*	——— vi., tab. 596, figs. 1—3.
	Dentalium ...	nitens, *c.*	——— i., tab. 70, figs. 1, 2.
	——— ...	incrassatum, *c.*	——— 79, figs. 3, 4.
	Scalaria	reticulata, *v. r.*	——— vi., tab. 577, fig. 5.
	Solarium... ...	patulum, *c.* ...	——— i., tab. 11.
	Trochus	extensus, *r.* ...	——— iii., tab. 278, figs. 2, 3.
	Turritella ...	conoidea, *v. r.*	——— i., tab. 51, figs. 1, 4, 5.
	Pleurotoma ...	prisca, *r.*	——— iv., tab. 386.
	——— ...	lævigata, *r.* ...	——— 387, fig. 3.
	——— ...	fusiformis, *v. r.*	——— 1.
	——— ...	acuminata, *r.* ...	——— ii., tab. 146, fig. 4.
	Fusus	bifasciatus, *v. r.*	——— iii., tab. 228.
	——	tuberosus, *v. r.*	——— 229, fig. 1.
	——	curtus, *v. r.* ...	——— ii., tab. 199, fig. 5.
	——	interruptus, *r.* ...	——— iii., tab. 304.
	——	trilineatus, *c.* ...	——— i., tab. 35, figs. 4, 5.
	——	regularis, *c.* ...	——— ii., tab. 187, fig. 2.
			——— v., tab. 423, fig. 1.
	——	complantus, *c.*	——— figs. 2, 3.
	——	coniferus, *r.* ...	——— ii., tab. 187, fig. 1.
	Pyrula	nexilis, *r.* ...	——— iv., tab. 331.
	———	Greenwoodii, *c.*	——— v., tab. 498.
	Triton	argutus, *c.* ...	——— iv., tab. 344.
	Murex	frondosus, *r.* ...	——— v., tab. 416, fig. 3.
	———	cristatus, *r.* ...	——— iii., tab. 230, figs. 1, 2.
	———	coronatus, *c.* ...	——— fig. 3.
	———	minax, *v. r.* ...	——— 229, fig. 2.
	Typhis	muticus, *r.* ...	——— ii., tab. 189, figs. 6, 7.
	Rostellaria ...	lucida, *v. c.* ...	——— i., tab. 91, figs. 1—3.
	——— ...	macroptera, *r.*	——— iii., tab. 298.
	...		——— 299.
	...		——— 300.
	——— ...	Sowerbyi, *r.* ...	——— iv., tab. 349, fig. 4.
	Cassidaria ...	striata, *r.* ...	——— i., tab. 6.

FOSSILS (*continued*).

Class.	Genus.	Species.	References.
Mollusca— (*continued*).	Cassidaria ...	carinata, *c.* ...	*Min. Con.*, vol. i., tab. 6.
	Buccinum ...	junceum, *r.* ...	——————— iv., tab. 375, fig. 1.
	Cancellaria ...	læviuscula, *c.* ...	——————— tab. 361, fig. 1.
	Auricula	turgida, *r.* ...	——————— ii., tab. 163, fig. 4.
	———	simulata, *c.* ...	——————————— figs. 5, 6, 7, 8.
	Acteon	elongatus, *r.* ...	——————— v., tab. 460, fig. 3.
	Voluta	nodosa, *c.* ...	——————— iv., tab. 399, fig. 2.
	Cypræa	oviformis, *v. r.*	——————— i., tab. 4.
	Conus	concinnus, *r.* ...	——————— iii., tab. 302.
	Beloptera ...	anomala, *v. r.* ...	——————— vi., tab. 591, fig. 2.
	Nautilus	imperialis, *c.* ...	——————— i., tab. 1.
	———	ziczac, *v. r.* ...	———————————
Crustacea ...	Cancer	Leachii, *r.* ...	Konig.
Pisces ...	Squalus, *c.* ...		

PLANTÆ.

Nipadites umbonatus, *v. r.*	*Bowerb.*, pl. 1.
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